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DOCUMENTS

RELATIVE TO THE

COLONIAL HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK;

PROCURED IN

HOLLAND, ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

BY

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, ESQ.,

AGENT,

UNDER AND BY VIRTUE OF AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE ENTITLED "AN ACT TO APPOINT AN AGENT TO PROCURE AND TRANSCRIBE DOCUMENTS IN EUROPE RELATIVE TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE," PASSED MAY 2, 1839.



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EDITED BY

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D.

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The Documents in Dutch and French were translated by E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D., who was employed by the State Officers above named for that purpose, and to superintend the publication generally.

TRANSCRIPTS OF DOCUMENTS

IN THE

ARCHIVES OF THE "MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES;" OF THE "MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE," AND IN THE "BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI," AT PARIS.

PARIS DOCUMENTS, I—VIII.

1631—1744.

PARIS DOCUMENTS.

The Documents contained in these volumes, are copies of originals in the Archives of the Department of the Marine and the Colonies; in the Archives of the Department of War, and in the Royal Library at Paris.

The general management of Canadian affairs was, for a long time, intrusted to the Department of the Marine in France, which also included the Colonies under its jurisdiction. It was not until about the year 1755, when a general war broke out in America between France and England, that the Department of War appears to have had any particular communications with the French Agents in America; at any rate, nothing of consequence has been found in its Archives previous to that date.

The Archives of the Department of the Marine and the Colonies are very rich in Documents relating to the history of the French Colonies in America. Owing, however, to various causes (prominent among which may be named the unbridled spirit of wanton destruction which seemed to possess the Revolutionists of 1793), these Archives are, at the present moment (1843), in a state of deplorable confusion; and the toil and time required to examine and select from the vast mass of unarranged papers that load their shelves, can scarcely be appreciated by any one who has not himself made personal investigations.

The papers relating to Canada and New-York, are contained in two separate divisions. The one consists of a series of bound volumes, commencing with the year 1663, and ending very abruptly with 1737. This series numbers about seventy volumes, and contains the despatches of the King and his Ministers to the Governors and other functionaries in the French Colonies. It is greatly to be regretted that the volumes subsequent to 1737, are missing. The other, and by far the most fertile repository, is a series of "Cartons," or Portfolios, in which are placed, loosely, hap-hazard, and without the slightest attempt at arrangement, a vast mass of original Documents relating to Canada from 1630 to the period of the Treaty of Paris, 10th February, 1763. There are upwards of one hundred of these "Cartons," each of which contains Documents enough to make two bound volumes of the usual size. It is scarcely possible to conceive a task more appaling to the investigator than an examination of these papers. Dusty, decayed, without order, often without a date to identify the Document; a despatch of 1670 jostling a paper relating to Dieskau's defeat, an account of the surrender of Quebec, pelê-mêle, with a letter of Governor Dongan; the expedition of 1690, mixed up with the attack on Forts William Henry, Frontenac and Duquesne, the Hurons and Manhattan, Boston and the Ottawas, side by side; the contents of these "Cartons" form, indeed, the materials of a brilliant Historical Mosaic, whose riches will repay the patient investigator who does not allow their painful disorder to deter him from the research.

It must be evident that this state of things was embarrassing in no small degree. It not only very greatly increased the labor of the investigations, but was found that, in a great many instances, valuable papers were missing from the mass. If, therefore, the Historian, in looking over these Transcripts, hereafter, should observe deficiencies in the series, he may feel assured that they have not been so left without regret and mortification on the part of the collector.

The Archives of the "Department of War," however, present a gratifying contrast, in respect to arrangement, to those of the "Marine and the Colonies." The papers are chronologically arranged in

bound volumes; and their examination was as agreeable and pleasant as that of the "Cartons" of the Marine was laborious and annoying. The papers relate, chiefly, to the period between 1755 and the Treaty of Paris, and comprise the correspondence of the Military Commanders in America with the French Government.

In arranging these Transcripts (which were, of course, separately copied), a strictly chronological order has been observed. The papers from the Department of the Marine and the Colonies have been intermingled with those from the Department of War; and whenever inclosures were found they have always been placed next after the letter transmitting them.

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

PARIS, December, 1843.

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF CANADA,

1612 — 1763.

PREPARED, AND POLITELY COMMUNICATED TO THE EDITOR, BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JACQUES VIGER, MONTREAL.

Names.		Remarks.
1. Samuel de Champlain,	1612.	Died at Quebec, December 25, 1635.
2. Marc Antoine de Bras-de-fer de Chasteaufort,	1635.	At first, Commandant of Three Rivers. His commission, as Governor, has been lately discovered by G. B. Faribault, Esq., of Quebec.
3. Charles Huault de Montmagny,	1636.	Knight of Malta.
4. Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge,	1648.	Knight.
5. Jean de Lauson,	1651.	
6. Charles de Lauson-Charny,	1656.	Son of No. 5.
7. Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge, Knight,	1657.	Died at Montreal, 31st May, 1660.
8. Pierre de Voyer, Viscount d'Argenson,	1658.	
9. Pierre du Bois, Viscount d'Avaugour,	1661.	
10. Augustin de Saffray-Mésy, Knight,	1663.	Died at Quebec, May 5, 1665.
11. Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy,	1663.	Viceroy; arrived at Quebec 1665.
12. Daniel de Remy de Courcelle, Knight,	1665.	
13. Louis de Buade, Count de Paluan and de Frontenac,	1672.	
14. Le Febvre de la Barre,	1682.	
15. Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville,	1685.	
16. Count de Frontenac, (*Same as No.* 13),	1689.	Died at Quebec, November 28, 1698
17. Louis Hector de Callière, Knight,	1699.	Died at Quebec, May 26, 1703.
18. Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil,	1703.	Died at Quebec, October 10, 1725.
19. Charles le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil,	1725.	Born at Montreal 1656; died at Montreal, June 8, 1729.
20. Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois,	1726.	
21. Rolland Michel Barrin, Count de la Galissonière,	1747.	
22. Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière,	1749.	Commissioned in 1746, but did not come to Canada until 1749, as the fleet he commanded was defeated on the 3d of May, 1747, on its way to Quebec, and he taken prisoner. Died at Quebec, May 17, 1752.
23. Charles le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil,	1752.	Son of No. 19. Born at Montreal 1686, and died at same place January 17, 1755.
24. Marquis Duquesne de Menneville,	1752.	
25. Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal,	1755.	Son of No. 18. Born at Quebec, 1698.

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PARIS DOCUMENTS:

I—VIII.

French and English Discoveries in America. 1631.

Abstract of the Discoveries in New France, as well of those made by us as by the English, from the Virginias to Davis Straits, and of what they and we can claim, according to the report of Historians who have written thereof, which will enable every one to judge dispassionately of the whole.[1]

The English do not deny us all New France and cannot question what the whole world has admitted; they therefore only argue about boundaries, restricting us to Cape Breton, which is in latitude of 45¾ degrees, not permitting us to go farther South, claiming to themselves the entire extent from Florida to Cape Breton; and within these last years they have been desirous to usurp, as they have done, even unto the River Saint Lawrence.

The foundation of their pretension is this:—About the year 1594, being on the Coast of Florida, they arrived at a place called by the said English *Mocosa*, having found some rivers and an agreeable country there, they began to build, giving it the name of the Virginias, but being thwarted by the Savages and other accidents, they were forced to abandon it, having remained there only two or three years. Nevertheless, the late King James of England ascending the Throne since, he adopted the resolution to explore, settle and cultivate that country; for the encouragement whereof, he granted extensive privileges to those who would undertake this settlement, and among the rest, extended their right of property from the 33^{d} to the 45th and 46th degrees of Latitude, giving them power over all strangers they may find within that extent of country and 50 miles Seaward. These Charters of the King were issued on the 10th of

[1] Samuel de Champlain, Geographer to the King, would seem to have been the author of this Paper. It is found printed at length in Part II., p. 290, of his *Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale*, 4to, Paris, 1632, under this title. "Abregé des Descovvertvres de la Nouuelle France, tant de ce que nous auons descouuert comme aussi les Anglois, depuis les Virgines iusqu'au Freton Davis, & de ce qu'eux & nous pouuons pretendre, suiuant le rapport des Historiens qui en ont descrit, que ie rapporte cy dessous, qui feront iuger à vn chacun du tout sans passion."

April, in the fourth year of his reign, and of grace 1607; 24 years ago. This is all that can be learned regarding those Countries from their commissions and documents.

Here is what we answer them:—

That in the first place, their Royal Charters, on which they stand, contradict their pretension, because this special exception is expressly stated therein—"We grant them all the Countries to the 45th degree which are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince." Now it happens that at the date of these Charters, the King of France actually and really possessed of the said Countries at least as far as the fortieth degree of Latitude, where the Dutch established themselves some years since; all the world knows it by Sieur de Champlain's Voyages, printed with the Maps, Ports and Harbors of all the Coasts drawn by him of which every body since made use and adapted to Globes and Maps of the World (*Cartes Universelles,*) which have been corrected according to this description. And 'tis to be seen by the said voyages that they were in 1604 at Saint Croix, and in 1607 at Port Royal, which said Champlain named, as well as several other places seen on the Maps, the whole settled by the late Sieur de Mons, who, as his most Christian Majesty's Lieutenant, governed all the Country as far as the fortieth degree.

Before the preceding year 1603, the said Champlain made the voyage to New France and into the Great River Saint Lawrence, by order of his most Christian Majesty, to whom, on his return he submitted a report thereof, which report and description he caused to be printed at the time. He departed on the 15th May of the same year, from Honfleur, in Normandy; at that same time, the late Sieur Commander de Caste, Governor of Dieppe, was Lieutenant General in the said New France, from the 40th to the 52d degree of Latitude.

If the English say that they have possessed the Virginias not only from the year 1603, 4 and 7, but from the year 1594, when they discovered [it] as we have stated.

We answer, that the River they then began to possess, is at the 36th and 37th degrees, and that this their hap-hazard allegation might avail, if there were question only of occupying that river, and 7 to eight leagues on one and the other side of it, for so far may the eye be able ordinarily to embrace; but claiming by sovereignty, it is rather an over monstrous stretch of the arm, or rather of cognizance, to extend thirty-six times farther than was explored. Let us suppose it possible.

It would follow that Ribaut and Laudonniere having in the year 1564, 5, 6, gone well equipped to Florida by authority of King Charles IX., to cultivate and settle the Country, being there, founded Carolina at the 35th and 36th degree; thus the English are out of the Virginias, according to their own machinery.

Why shall they, being at 36 or 37, advance to 45, rather than we being, as they admit, at 46, descend as far as 37? What right have they more than we? This is our answer to the English.

And it is very certain and acknowledged by all, that his most Christian Majesty hath taken possession of those lands before any other Prince, and it is certain that the Bretons and Normans first discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland. These discoveries were made in the year 1504, 126 years ago, as may be seen in Niflet's and Antoine Magin's History printed at Douay.

And further, all confess that by command of King Francis, Jean Verrazan took possession in the name of France of said Countries beginning from the 33d degree to the 47th. This was in two voyages, the last of which was in the year 1523, 107 years ago.

Besides, Jacques Cartier, was the first to enter the Great River S[t] Lawrence in two voyages made thither, and discovered the greatest portion of the coasts of Canada; in the latter of his voyages, in 1535, he ascended as far as the Great Sault Saint Louis of the said Great River.

And he made another voyage in the year 1541, as Lieutenant to M[r] Jean Francois de la Rocque, Sieur de Robert Val, who was Lieutenant General of said Country, this was his third voyage when he remained. Not being able to live in the Country with the Savages who were insufferable,[1] he concluded to return in the Spring, which he did in a vessel he had reserved, and being past the Island of Newfoundland, he met said Sieur Robert-Val who was coming with 3 ships in the year 1542. He caused said Cartier to return to the Island of Orleans where they made a settlement, and having remained there some time, it is said that his Majesty required him for some important affairs, and this enterprise by degrees failed, through want of applying the requisite vigilance.

About the same time Alphonse Saintongeois was dispatched[2] by the said S[r] de Robert-Val, others say by his Majesty, who discovered the Northern Coast of the Great bay, or Gulf of Saint Lawrence, and the Strait between the Island of Newfoundland and the Continent to the North up to the 52[d] degree of Latitude.

Afterwards the Marquis de la Roche of Brittany was, in the year 1598, in these countries of New France as his Majesty's Lieutenant; next Sieur Chauven of Honfleur in Normandy, Commanders de Chaste and de Mons, as is stated—and Sieur de Pointrjncourt and Madam de Quercheville, who had some department in Acadie, sent thither la Saulsaye with whom were the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who, as well as Port Royal, were captured by the English, the said Sieur Champlain having discovered and caused to be discovered 28 years since, divers countries, over 4 to 500 leagues inland, as is seen by his preceding Relations printed from the year 1603 to the present time 1631.

Let us come to what is found written respecting the voyages of the English, it is not enough that they boast of being the first who discovered those countries: that they are, is questioned. It is very certain when any natural discovery is made, people are sufficiently curious to describe its epoch. The English have not neglected this, neither have other Nations according to the memoirs sent to them, they forget nothing that has been done. But we do not find in any author that the English ever took possession of the Countries of New France until after the French.

It is true the English discovered on the North side towards Labrador and Davis Straits some lands, islands and some passages from the 56[th] degree towards the Arctic pole, as is seen by the voyages printed as well in England as elsewhere; showing of what they can avail themselves, without usurpation, of which they have been guilty in several parts of New France. We must be blind and ignorant not to perceive the truth that History teaches us.

In the first place, Sebastian Cabot was, by order of King Henry VII of England, in the year 1499, to discover some passages towards Labrador, and returned unsuccessful; and Mr. Martin Frobisher, since in the years 1576, 77 and 78 made three voyages thither. Seven years afterwards Honfroy Guibert was there. Next, John Davis discovered a Strait called after his name. Etienne Permenud was at the Island of Newfoundland, on its North East side, in the year 1583. Another, named Richard Witaabours, was sent shortly after to the same coast; then a man called Captain George was there in the year 1590, towards the North. From the latest memoir, an English Captain was in the year 1612 to the North where he

[1] and being unable to make any further discoveries. *Champlain.* — Ed.

[2] towards la Brador. *Ibid.*

discovered a passage in the 63d degree, as appears by the Map printed in England, and experiencing difficulties in the discovery of the passage for which so many Navigators have looked to go Westward to the East Indies for thirty-five years they have stretched as well to the Virginias as to the Countries belonging to us.

Now the common consent of all Europe represents New France as extending at least to the 35th and 36th degrees of latitude, as appears by the Maps of the world printed in Spain, Italy, Holland, Flanders, Germany, England, even when, if not since, they seized the coasts of New France where lie Acadie, Etechemins,[1] Almouchicois[2] and the Great River of Saint Lawrence, on which they have imposed, according to their fancy, the names of New England, New Scotland, etc. But it is not easy to efface a thing that is known to all Christendom.

Louis XIII. to Sieur D'Aunay Charnisay.

Letter of King Louis 13th on the subject of the boundaries of Sieur D'Aunay Charnisay and Sieur Delacour's Commands in New France. 10 Febr 1638.

Monsieur D'Aunay Charnisay. Wishing a good understanding to exist between you and Sieur de La Cour,[4] and that the boundaries of the places where the one and the other of you will be in command may not excite any controversy between you, I have thought proper to give you particularly to understand my intention respecting the extent of said Countries, which is — that, under the authority I have given to my Cousin, Cardinal Duke de Richelieu over all the Countries newly discovered by means of Navigation, of which he is Superintendent, you be my Lieutenant General on the Etchemins Coast beginning from the centre of the main land on la Baie Francaise[3] and proceeding towards the Virginias and the Governor of Pentagouet, and that the government of Sieur de La Cour, my Lieutenant General on the Coast of Acadie, be from the centre of the Baie Francaise to the Gut of Canseau. Thus you will not have power to alter any arrangement in the Settlement on the River St John made by said Sieur de La Cour who in his economy and plantation will order as he thinks proper and the said Sieur de La Cour will not take upon himself either, to make any change whatever in the settlements of La Haiue and Port Royal or in any Ports. As for the Indian Trade (*la Trocque*) it will be carried on as in the lifetime of Commander de Razilly. As regards other matters, you will continue and redouble your care for the preservation of the places which are within the limits of your charge, and especially take particular heed that no foreigners establish themselves within the country and coasts of New France, of which the Kings, my ancestors, have caused possession to be taken in their name. You will render me, as soon as possible, an account of the state of affairs beyond there and particularly with what

[1] The Etchemins inhabited the country between the rivers Penobscot, Maine, and St. John, New Brunswick. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 469. — Ed.

[2] Between Pentagoet and the Kenebeck, were, in former times, some Indians called Armouchiquois. They retired towards New England. *Charlevoix Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 4to I., 134. Gallatin says they extended from Saco to Cape Cod. *Synopsis*, 31. Williamson adds, that they were Etchemins, and have some villages at present on the river St. John. *History of Maine*, I., 477.

[3] Now, the Bay of Fundy.

[4] La Tour. *Charlev.*

view and commissions some Foreigners have introduced themselves and formed settlements on said coasts, so that I may provide and send you the orders I shall think necessary on that subject by the first vessels which will go to your quarter. Herein I pray God that he may have you, Monsieur D'Aunay, in his holy keeping.

Written at Saint Germain en Laye the 10 February.

Louis

Bouthillier

Negotiations between New France and New England.

Letter of the Council of Quebec to the Commissioners of New England.

Gentlemen: It is now several years since the gentlemen of Boston proposed to us to establish commerce between New France and New England. The Council constituted by his Majesty in these Countries, united their answers to the letters which our Governor had written to your quarter, the tenor of which was, that we would willingly desire that commerce, and at the same time the union of hearts and spirits, between your Colonies and ours, but that we should wish to enter at the same time into a league offensive and defensive with you against the Iroquois, our enemies, who would impede us in that trade, or would at least render it less advantageous for you and for us. The obligation which, it seems to us, you are under to check the insolence of those Iroquois Savages, who kill the Sokoquis[1] and the Abenaquis your allies, and moreover, the facility you can enjoy in this war by taking us the right way, are two reasons which have induced us to prosecute this matter with you at your Court of Commissioners. We have requested our Governor to write effectually to you. This is to unite our entreaties to his, and to assure you of the disposition of our hearts and of all those of New France, for this trade with New England, and for the prosecution of this war against the Iroquois who ought to be our common Enemies. Besides Sieur Druillettes, who had already begun this winter to negotiate this affair, we were very glad that Sieur Godefroy our fellow Councillor was of the party. The Character of these two Deputies induces us to expect a successful issue of this design. They are provided with the powers necessary for that purpose. I wish to say this as much to knit trade effectually between you and us, as to lighten the expenses it will be necessary to incur for the proposed war against the Iroquois Savages. We beg you to listen to them, and to act with them as you would with us, with the frankness which is as natural to Englishmen as to us French. We cannot doubt but God will bless both your arms and ours, as they will be employed for the defence of Christian Indians, as well your allies as ours, against barbarous Heathens, who have neither God nor Faith nor any Justice in all their proceedings, as you will be able to learn more at length from the Gentlemen, our said Deputies, who will assure you of the sincere desire we entertain that Heaven may always go on blessing your Provinces and heaping its favors, Gentlemen, on you.

[1] Or Saco Indians; they were an Abenaqui tribe. *Williamson*, I., 465; *Gallatin*, 32. Some of them assisted at the burning of Schenectady in 1690, in the destruction of the Mohawk castles in 1693, and accompanied Frontenac against the Onondagas in 1696. After removing with the Abenaquis into Canada, they settled, La Potherie says (*Voyages de l'Amerique*, I., 309), at St. Francis in 1700. — Ed.

Done in the Chamber of the Council established by the King, at Quebec in New France, this twentieth of June One thousand six hundred and fifty-one, and is marked Signed by the Council, and on the back is written *A M^rs. M^rs. les Commiss^res des provinces Uniez de la Nouvelle Angletterre.*

Collated with the minute found in the files (*liasses*) of the ancient Council, by me the undersigned King's Councillor, Secretary and Greffier to the Sovereign Council at Quebec. Signed: Penuset, with paraphe.

Extract from the Registers of the Ancient Council of this Country, of the twentieth day of June, one thousand six hundred and fifty-one.

The Council met at nine o'clock in the morning, at which assisted the Governor, the Reverend Father Superior, Mess^rs de Mauze, de Godefroy, and Menoil, on the proposal to the Council regarding certain rescript made by the Gentlemen of the Council in the year 1648, to Mess^rs the Commissioners of the States of New England for a Union between the Colonies of New France and New England for mutual trade.

The Council wishing to comply with their request, nominated and nominates Sieur de Godefroy, one of the Councillors of the Council established by his Majesty in this Country, to repair with the Reverend Father Druillettes to the said New England to the said Sieurs Commissioners, to treat and act with these agreeably to the power to them given by the Gentlemen of the Council, Copy whereof is in the file, as well as Copy of the letter written to the said Sieurs the Commissioners of New England by the Gentlemen of the Council. And respecting the merchandize brought by a man named Thomas Jost, on the assurance and good faith of the Reverend Father Druillettes, the Council hath deliberated that a messenger should be sent to meet him, in order to point out to him the place where he may deliver it, and that at his convenience. Signed: Penuset. with paraphe.

Commission to the Rev^d Father Druillettes and M^r Jean Godefroy as Ambassadors to New England.

Louis Dailleboust, Lieutenant General for the King and Governor of all etc. Health. Having been requested and solicited as well by the Christian Savages depending on our Government, as by the Abenaquis residing on the River Quinibeck, and others their allies, to protect them against the incursions of the Iroquois their common enemies, as was formerly done by the Sieur de Montmagny, our predecessor in this government, and having it represented to us anew that all their tribes were in danger of being entirely destroyed if we did not quickly apply a remedy; Therefore, and for the good of this Colony and according to the particular orders given us on the part of the Queen Regent, the King's Mother, to protect the Indians against their said Enemies, We have, by and with the advice of the Council established by the King in this Country, and of some of the most notable of the Inhabitants, deputed and do depute Sieurs Gabriel Druillettes, Preacher of the Gospel to the Indian Nations, and Jean Godefroy, one of the Councillors of said Council, their Ambassador to the Gentlemen of New England, to treat either with Mess^rs the Governor and Magistrates of New England, or with the General Court of Commissioners and Deputies of the United Colonies, for aid in men, munitions of war and provisions to attack the said Iroquois in the most proper and

convenient places, as well as to agree upon the articles which may be deemed necessary for the assurance of this Treaty, and to grant the said Gentlemen of New England the Trade which they desired of us by their letters of the year One thousand Six hundred and forty-seven, with the articles, clauses and conditions which they will consider necessary to make therein, until the arrival of the Ambassador whom we shall send on our part to ratify and finally conclude what they will have granted. We, therefore request all Governors, Lieutenant Generals, Captains and others to allow free pass &c.

Collated with the Minute found in the files of the ancient Council by me the undersigned His Majesty's Councillor, Secretary and Chief Greffier to the Sovereign Council at Quebec. Signed: Penuset with paraphe.

Compared at Quebec, this 12th 9ber 1712.

VAUDREUIL.

Edict for the Creation of the Sovereign Council of Quebec.

LOUIS, by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre, to all present and to come, Health. The property of the Country of New France, which did belong to a Company of our subjects established to found Colonies there by virtue of concessions granted to them by the Treaty executed the 29th April 1628, by the late King, Our most honored Lord and Father of Glorious memory, having been ceded to us by a contract voluntarily made by those interested in said Company, in Our favor the 24th February last; in order to promote the interests of the said countries and to cause, at the same time, those who inhabit them to experience the same repose and happiness Our other subjects enjoy, since it hath pleased God to grant us Peace, We have deemed it expedient to provide for the establishment of Justice, as being the commencement and a preamble absolutely necessary for the due administration of affairs, and for the security of government, the stability of which depends as much on the maintenance of the laws and of Our ordinances as on the strength of Our arms; and being well informed that the distance of places is too great to admit of a remedy from hence in all matters with the requisite diligence, the circumstances of said affairs being ordinarily changed when Our orders arrive on the spot, and that the conjuncture and evils require prompter remedies than those We can apply to them from so great a distance; We have considered that we could not adopt a better resolution than to establish a regulated Justice and a Sovereign Council in said Country for the encouragement of law, the maintenance and support of the good, the chastisement of the wicked, and the keeping each within his duty, causing the observance as much as possible there, of the same form of justice as obtains in Our Kingdom, and the said Sovereign Council to be composed of a number of officers suitable for its functions. BE IT KNOWN that We, for these reasons and others Us moving, by the advice of Our Council at which were the Queen Our most honored Lady and Mother, Our most dear and beloved only brother the Duke of Orleans, Our most dear and beloved Cousin

the Prince of Condé, and many other Princes, great and Noble Personages of Our said Council, and of Our certain knowledge, full Power and Royal authority, have created, erected, ordained, established, and by these presents signed by Our hand, create, erect, ordain and establish a sovereign Council in Our said Country of New France, ceded unto Us, as is set forth by the contract of cession from the Company to which the property thereof belonged, to be the said Sovereign Council sitting in Our City of Quebec, reserving, nevertheless, unto Ourselves the power of transferring the said Council to such town and other places of said Country as shall appear to Us good, according to circumstances and occurrences; which Sovereign Council We will to be composed of Our dear and beloved Sieurs de Mezi,[1] Governor representing Our person; de Laval, Bishop of Petrée; Robert, Intendant, and four others whom they shall name and choose conjointly and in concert; and of one, our Attorney to the said Sovereign Council; and they shall cause them to take the oath of fidelity at their hands; which four persons, chosen to fill the offices of Councillors, shall be annually changed or continued as shall be deemed most proper and advantageous by the said Governor, Bishop and Intendant. We have also given and granted, give and grant to the said Sovereign Council, the power to try all civil and criminal cases, to judge sovereignly and in last resort, according to the laws and ordinances of Our Kingdom, and to proceed therein, as much as possible in the manner and form observed and practiced in the precinct of our Court of Parliament at Paris, reserving to ourselves, however, to change, reform and amplify, according to our Sovereign Power the said Laws and ordinances, to derogate from and abolish them, to make new or such Regulations, Statutes and constitutions as We shall consider most useful for Our service and for the good of Our subjects of the said Country; and inasmuch as there will be need of a Greffier or Secretary for the preservation of the Minutes of arrêts, judgments and other acts and orders of Council, We, in like manner, will that the said Governor, Bishop and Intendant shall appoint such person as they think proper to perform the functions of Greffier and Secretary who, likewise, shall be annually changed or continued according as the said Sieurs shall think fit: We, moreover, will that the four Councillors chosen by the said Governor, Bishop and Intendant be empowered to decide suits and differences of minor consequence and to have an eye upon, and superintend the execution of matters decided by said Council, in order that the said Commissioners obtain a more intimate knowledge of the affairs which shall be proposed therein, reporting thither what they may be instructed by the Syndics of the settlements in said Country, by the inhabitants thereof, strangers, sojourners and others, to whom We will and expect that prompt justice shall be rendered: And in order that those who shall be promoted to the honors, powers, authorities, pre-eminences, privileges and freedoms to said offices appertaining, and to the salaries which shall be thereunto affixed by the schedule We shall cause to be dispatched, shall enjoy said appointments, the officers of said Sovereign Council being unable without Our permission to exercise any other office, have salaries, or receive presents or pensions from whomsoever they may come, other than those which shall be granted them by Us, We give it in command to Sieur de Mezi, Governor, de Laval, Bishop of Petrée, and Robert, Intendant, that this Our present Edict which they have to execute and cause to be executed for the selection by them of said

[1] Chevalier de Mezy, Major of the Citadel of Caen, in Normandy, was originally a Calvinist. His brilliant conversion and extreme humility recommended him to the Bishop of Petrée, through whose influence he was appointed in March, 1663, Governor of Canada; he sailed for that country in May following. His administration was one of discord and troubles, from which death relieved him at Quebec, on the 5th of May, 1665. — Ed.

Councillors, Our Attorney and Greffier, these being assembled, shall by them be published and enregistered, point by point, according to its form and tenor, and have the contents thereof observed and obeyed, notwithstanding all obstacles, oppositions or appeals whatsoever if any intervene, We reserve unto Ourselves the cognizance thereof, and have referred and refer the same to the said Councillors of New France, and for this purpose interdict and forbid all Our ancient Courts and Judges, And whereas the present Edict may be required in divers parts of said Country, We will that the same credit be attached to the Copies collated by the Greffier of said Council as to the Original, sealed, however, with the Seal of our Arms, as well as all other the orders decreed by the said Council. We, moreover, command all judges, officers, inhabitants of said Country, sojourners and others to defer to and obey the Arrêts which shall be rendered by Our Sovereign Council, for such is Our pleasure: And in order that it be a matter firm and established forever, We have caused Our Seal to be affixed to these presents, saving in all things in a word Our right and that of others.

Given at Paris in the month of March in the year of Grace 1663, and of our reign the 20th.

Signed, Louis, and lower down By the King, de Lominie. Visa, Seguier. To serve for Letters establishing a Sovereign Council in New France, and sealed with the Great Seal in Green Wax.

Instructions for Sieur Gaudais sent by the King to Canada.

The first thing said Sieur Guadais must consider is, that intending to return with the same vessels by which he will proceed to Canada, and which will probably remain there not longer than a month or six weeks from the time of disembarking to that of setting sail to return to France, it is necessary that he particularly and constantly apply himself to collect in that space of time information on all matters contained in the present Instruction.

Firstly, he must obtain exact information of the situation of the country; how many degrees distant it is from the pole; the length of the days and nights; their greatest difference; the good and bad quality of the air; the regularity or irregularity of the seasons and how that country is exposed.

After these first particulars, he will do well carefully to inform himself as to the fertility of the soil; for what it is adapted; what grain, seed or vegetables grow there with the greatest facility; the quantity of arable land; what quantity can be cleared within a given time and what manures are required.

And as the establishment which the King proposes for that country depends in some sort on what has been accomplished by the Company which was organized for that purpose by permission of the late King, it will be well to describe the three settlements of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, the number of families which compose them, and how many souls there may be as well of the one as of the other sex; to what particularly do the inhabitants apply themselves, what does their commerce consist of, and their means of supporting themselves and bringing up their children.

The said Sieur Gaudais is to understand that the principal thing to be examined for the maintenance and augmentation of the Colonies of said country is, the clearing the greatest

possible quantity of land and inducing all the French settlers to live together in Villages and not at a great distance the one from the other, because not only they cannot assist each other in the several matters which regard the cultivation of their lands, but they are even exposed to the insults of the savages, especially to those of the Iroquois, who by means of this segregation are enabled to come almost under cover of the woods up to the settlements of the French, easily surprising them, and as they cannot be assisted, massacring them and thus laying waste the settlements scattered here and there. There is nothing, therefore, so important as to endeavor to reunite said inhabitants into parishes or hamlets, and to oblige them to clear their lands contiguous to each other, in order to afford one another mutual assistance.

And though these means be the most certain, he will assuredly find, when on the spot, that the little care and knowledge the Company had of the country they formerly possessed, and the cupidity of those who wished to settle there, who always craved extensive grants of land on which they established themselves, have given rise to this dispersion of settlements. These being at a great distance the one from the other, individuals who obtained those grants not only have not been in circumstances to clear them, but have afforded great facilities to the Iroquois to cut the throats, massacre the settlers and lay waste all the said settlements. This has obliged the King to issue the Law (*arrêt*), copy of which is furnished to said Sieur Guadais, and to have the Bishop of Petrée, at the same time written to, to place in his hands the original of said *arrêt* that it be published and posted every where, immediately after his arrival.

And as it is evident, from the reasons above enumerated, that it is impossible ever to secure that country and to make considerable settlements there, until those who have had those grants be obliged to surrender them, and to unite in hamlets and parishes as numerous as possible, in order to clear all the contiguous lands in the neighborhood, which must in that case be divided anew and distributed to each hamlet or parish according to the number of families composing it; he will endeavor to inculcate this truth, by every sort of means on the said Bishop, Governor and principal men of said Country, in order that they may unanimously concur in effecting the success of this design, which, he will give them to understand, is not only absolutely necessary for their preservation, but that his Majesty will cause it to be executed by a general revocation of all the Grants, unless those to whom the grants are made, set about clearing them altogether, and have begun to clear a large portion before the expiration of six months indicated in said *arrêt;* the intention of his Majesty being, that the Sovereign Council may, on petition, grant a further delay of six months only, which being terminated, it is His will that all the said grants be declared null.

He will bring back, if possible, a roll of all the inhabitants as well men, women, boys, girls as little children.

He will carefully inquire into the extent of country occupied by the French; by each settlement in particular, the number of families and of persons composing them, and their situation, of which it will be necessary to sketch as exact a Map as possible.

He will mention the number of acres (*arpens*) enclosed and under tillage in each settlement and the quality of those not cleared between the said settlements.

He will likewise inform himself of the quantity of grain the country raises on an average year; if it produce more than is required for the support of the Inhabitants, and if there be any sort of prospect that it will increase or not, it being of an extreme consequence for the people of said Country to cultivate the land so that it may furnish more grain than is necessary

for their food in order that they may not be exposed for the future to the same inconvenience that they have experienced up to the present time: an inability to feed the persons who yearly emigrate thither unless flour be carried out at the same time for their subsistance.

The said Sieur Gaudais will observe if women and girls are needed in said Country, so that the requisite number may be sent thither next year.

The Iroquois being the principal drawback experienced by the Inhabitants of the Country, as they every moment unexpectedly attack the French and cruelly massacre them, there being no means of preventing their surprisals except by invading them in their fastnesses, and exterminating them in their own country, the King has resolved, should it be deemed necessary, to send thither next year some regular troops to undertake this war, and to secure his subjects in that quarter, once for all, from the violence and inhumanity of those barbarians. Sieur Gaudais will, therefore, most carefully and sedulously inquire into the number of men necessary to be sent thither, the munitions of war and provisions required, and the amount of force the country will be able to furnish of itself, whereunto it will be well to prepare them beforehand, in order that, when his Majesty's troops shall arrive on the spot, they will find matters ready for vigorous action, and that no time be lost in making preparations necessary for this war.

It being admitted that the quantity of timber existing in that Country is the cause of the difficulty of clearing the land, and of the facility with which the Iroquois attack the French settlements, it would be well to examine whether a large portion cannot be burnt in winter by setting fire to windward. This is frequently done with great facility in the Royal forests, and perhaps if this means be practicable, as it would seem, it will be easy, by laying bare a large tract, to clear the land and prevent the ravages and surprisals of the Iroquois.

The King desires that the said Sieur Gaudais examine and inspect the state of all the expenses to which the country is subject; such as the salaries of the governors, the pay of officers and soldiers, the incomes of the Bishop, Priests and Jesuits, and other general expenses, and the funds the said country possesses to defray them.

He will take cognizance of all the debts of said country; their nature; when, by whom, for what cause and by what authority they have been incurred.

And whereas the principal revenue possessed by the Company arose from the purchase and sale of peltries, which it held exclusively and ceded to the Colonists by a special treaty, with the exception of one thousand Beavers yearly; and as this cession is found very injurious to the said Country inasmuch as the Inhabitants have turned the best part of their attention to this trade, instead of applying it exclusively, as heretofore, to the clearing and cultivation of the soil; and the said peltry-trade being free to all the Inhabitants, and being carried on only through Savages, they increase prices the one on the other as they please, so that all the profit has passed to the Savages and all the loss to the French; the King wills that the said Sieur Gaudais inform himself particularly of the means of retaining the said Trade for his Majesty's profit, by acquainting the people that it is for their good and that he does not propose deriving any benefit from the said country; on the contrary, he will disburse a very large sum there yearly, to maintain, support and people it.

Sieur Gaudais will observe all that can and ought to be done for the establishment of the Rights of Sovereignty and Seigniory, direct and manorial, throughout the whole extent of said country, however without grinding the said Inhabitants whom his Majesty wishes to comfort in all things.

Sieur Gaudais will inform himself if any Iron mine can be opened in that country as is reported here, and what advantage may be derived from it, either to the King in undertaking the work, or to Individuals to whom his Majesty would give the privilege. But what should be still more clearly verified is, whether there be found in that country a prodigious quantity of trees, of an extraordinary height, whereof Masts can be made for ships of the greatest Tonnage that the King has afloat, and whether others abound fit for all the parts of a ship; so that it would be easy to construct some in said country at a small expense, provided it had good carpenters and people experienced in the selection of said trees.

It having been represented to the King that, the property of the country having belonged to the Company of his subjects which since surrendered its rights to his Majesty, there has not been, up to the present time, any regular course of Justice in that Colony so that its authority was not universally recognized; and through lack of character in those appointed to administer it, Judgment pronounced remained most frequently unexecuted, his Majesty resolved, some time ago, to create a Sovereign Council in said Country, to be composed of the Governor, Bishop, and five other persons whose Commissions have been, already, delivered here to the said Bishop. It is, therefore, very important that said Sieur Gaudais, carefully observe during his sojourn in those parts, how the establishment of said Council will be made, the selection of persons to perform its duties, the approval it will meet from the Inhabitants, and whether the majority of the honest people among them, will be of opinion that, by means of said Council, they shall be assured against the machinations of the wicked, the latter punished pursuant to the severity of the laws, and wholesome justice be generally established and maintained there amongst them.

As regards Religion, the Bishop of Petrée being come here to render an account to the King of what might be effected for the propagation of the Faith among the Indians of those countries, for the good government of that new church, and for the cultivation of the favorable disposition the French feel to conform themselves altogether to the maxims of Christianity, it would be superfluous in Sieur Gaudais to trouble himself about that matter, because it is particularly the sphere of said Bishop to whom his Majesty has given, and will hereafter give, all the assistance he will require for the management of his flock, and for the advancement of his pious designs.

Finally, as the said Sieur Gaudais will see more distinctly, on the spot, all the matters which merit observation, as well for the advantage of the King's service as for that of his Majesty's subjects in that country, he relies on his activity and vigilance to advise him thereupon; on his prudence and discernment not to make any observations which do not appear to him important, and on his zeal and exactitude not to omit any of those which he will consider useful.

Done at Paris, the first of May, 1663.

Instruction to Sieur Gaudais, proceeding to Canada on behalf of the King, relative to certain points upon which his Majesty desires he will take secret information.

The King wishing correct information regarding the conduct of Sieur Avaugour, to whom his Majesty had entrusted the Government of Canada, expressly orders said Sieur Gaudais to take information in a spirit of disinterestedness as to the manner said Sieur Avaugour

comported himself in that employment, so as, when he returns, to render a faithful report thereof, and of the opinions entertained of him by the Bishop of Petrée, the Jesuits, the principal inhabitants of the country and the entire people of the Colony generally, examining the different motives on which their opinions are founded.

His Majesty wishes also that he inform himself of the conduct of the Bishop of Petrée,[1] as well in the spiritual government of his church as in the affairs of the country and of the families to which he is called, but it is necessary that this be with that prudence and discretion requisite in like cases, so that it may, in no wise, appear that this order has been given him.

He will take the same information on that of the Jesuits, and especially endeavor to find out the true reasons which have obliged them to complain of said Sieur d'Avaugour, and if it be with justice or not.

He will observe also how the said Sieur de Mezy, the new Governor, will be received by the inhabitants; in what manner he will apply himself to the duties of his office and if there be ground for concluding, from his apparent application to business, that he will acquit himself worthily and to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants of said country.

He will particularly observe what manner of justice has been administered hitherto in that country; if those who have been appointed for that purpose have acquitted themselves honestly without yielding to corruption; if manifest injustice hath not been committed, and, in fine, if the people complain of it or not.

Done at Paris, the first day of May, 1663.

Baron d'Avaugour to the Minister.

Memoir on the Colony of Quebec, Placentia, Gaspé and Cape Breton.

My Lord,

In my first dispatch I described the beauty and fertility of the River Saint Lawrence.

In the second, I demonstrated the importance of the post of Quebec; and in Sieur Dumont's memoirs I confirmed both these things and caused him to perceive their truth.

Through him I spoke of three places, Placentia, Gaspé and Cape Breton; and in his Instruction I noted that it was politic to exaggerate more than ever the cruelties of the Iroquois, in order the better to conceal the designs that might be adopted in this country; fearing lest English ignorance and Dutch weakness might be alarmed and have their jealousy excited; and, moreover, that very little consequence should be made of the settlement there,

[1] François Xavier de Laval Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, was born on the 30th April, 1623, at Laval, Department of Mayenne, France, and ordained priest at Paris on the 23d September, 1645. The Society for the Conversion of the Indians of Canada being desirous that the religious interests of that colony should be superintended by a resident bishop, the Abbé Montigny was selected for that high office. He was consecrated by the Pope's Nuncio on the 8th December, 1658, having been previously nominated by Alexander VII., Bishop of Petrée, *in partibus infidelium*, and Vicar Apostolic of New France, and arrived in Canada on the 16th June, 1659. When Quebec was erected into a diocese, M. de Laval became its first bishop, 1st October, 1674. He was succeeded in January, 1688, by M. de St. Valier. It was during his administration that parish priests were rendered immovable in Canada, and the tythe was fixed at the 26th part of the grain. He erected the Quebec Seminary, in 1663, and had the misfortune of witnessing the destruction of that edifice twice by fire. His death occurred at Quebec on the 6th May, 1708, in the 86th year of his age, and the fiftieth of his episcopacy.— Ed.

which, properly speaking, is but a fishing Coast of small consideration compared with the Great State of America, of which the River Saint Lawrence is, as it were, the centre, traversing it from one end to the other.

Since his departure, having considered the hope the King excites of taking care of the country, I observed every thing more closely, in order that, with God's grace, the confidence his Majesty reposes in the fidelity of my services may not be vain for his glory nor useless for the advantage of his State.

I shall inform you, my Lord, accordingly, that the three posts above mentioned, Placentia, Gaspé and Cape Breton ought not, at present, to be of any consideration, from the circumstance that they are arid districts, incapable of subsisting of themselves, and it must be expected that they will be supported from this, where efforts then will be made, in earnest, as well for the preservation as for the usefulness of the mouth of the River.

There is no danger that other nations will settle there; for if they come in numbers they will eat themselves up, and if they come but few they will not remain there long. I reassert the beauty and fertility both of the waters and of the banks of this Great river, as well as the importance, likewise, of the post of Quebec, which I have heretofore named the mouth of the finest and greatest State in the world. But I again repeat that it is of importance to preserve henceforward the secret of the designs of this country, because of the heretics who are already established there, and who, without doubt, will apprehend being one day driven therefrom. Therefore, it will be expedient to make public in every way the extreme cruelty of the Iroquois, in order that we may, by that truth, succeed more easily in establishing the Gospel in the most healthy and favourable climate in the world.

And finally, in order to plant effectually the *fleur de lys*, there, I see nothing better than to fortify Quebec; erect one fort at its right, on the opposite bank of the river, and another on its left, at the River Saint Charles, and support these by a reinforcement of three thousand men, as I have already communicated by Chevalier Du Cochet. Thus, this post would be thoroughly secured, and thereby a very important matter commenced.

To effect it, two things are necessary; the first, one hundred thousand *ecus* for the fortifications, and one hundred thousand *francs* for munitions of war and provisions. Secondly, it will be requisite that the three thousand soldiers be selected not only for war, but also for labor; so that, on coming to this country, they may calculate on opening trenches at one place and intrenching a camp, all which will appear very light to them when they shall understand that it is for the making of their fortunes.

For the success of the undertaking calculations must be made to support them three years, and to furnish them seed grain the first year, from the crop of which they will save some for the second, and from the surplus of the second, they will keep and place some in the public store; and, finally, from the fruits of the third, they will be able to live at their ease and then be sufficiently established so as to be no longer a burthen to the King, except for some presents, which it will please his Majesty to make to the principal officers.

The whole thus executed, I assert for the third time, that no power on earth can drive the French from Quebec.

With the abovementioned sum I will be able, within six months, to put the three posts in a good state of defence; and I pledge myself to do more in that time than ordinary theory can effect in four years for four times as much money, provided master masons with a great number of workmen of that craft are sent me. And not only that, but if occasion require, I

shall sustain those posts with half less men than other more usual and more expensive works demand.

Quebec, thus fortified and thus sustained, must be regarded as the keystone of ten provinces, as will be remarked from the rough draft of a map transmitted herewith, which embraces an extent of three hundred leagues along the river. And these ten provinces, established in the same manner as Quebec, may be considered the security of one hundred others.

In a word, should the King conclude to establish these ten provinces, he may consider himself master of America, and all the Heretics will remain there only so long as shall please him.

In case his Majesty will not yet prosecute this design, there will be no urgency for it should Quebec be established. But without this, the settlement of the French must be counted as nothing. It has been commenced too slightly for its maintenance and security without expense.

Finally, after mature reflection and earnest consideration on this country, you must be firmly convinced that the three posts of Placentia, Gaspé and Cape Breton, those of the English, Dutch and Swedes are not the main affair, no more than the defeat of the Iroquois. All that is but a feeble accessory, and the time employed in it, is not only lost, but even does harm to the chief matter.

In my opinion, the first step to be taken is, what I have stated above regarding Quebec; to which I add a post at Bic, to receive more easily whatever comes from France, and to station there the number of vessels the King may please, in order not only to be masters of the River, but also to proceed towards the North to seek divers advantages which it is asserted can be found there.

The second consideration is, to send, as soon as can be, three thousand effective men to the Iroquois settlement not only to disperse that rabble (*canaille*) but to thwart, also, the progress of the heretics, and to open, moreover, in that direction a communication with the sea, which is not subject to be frozen as in these regions.

This can be easily accomplished in divers places, and particularly by constructing a fort on the same River that the Dutch have built a miserable wooden Redoubt on, which they call Fort Orange. This they ought not, nor cannot prevent, on the just grounds of the war which the Iroquois have waged, without cause, against us.

The third outlay will be along the River Richelieu as far as Lake Champlain; and this third post being between the other two, will serve as a very useful and very advantageous means of communication.

Should his Majesty think proper to go further, let him, with all diligence, garrison the whole ten provinces with the same care as the first, and he will, doubtless, be master of the finest and greatest Empire in the World. In this truth every man of experience must concur. But as the affair is of great importance, I resume it for the third time, and give it three aspects.

The first will be, that if the King does not think favorably of it and will not be pleased with it, he need only leave the management of it to the Bishop and the Missionaries who, little by little, will extricate themselves from their misery as they will best be able.

The second; if the King meditate on it at all, he cannot exhibit his care unless by incurring the first expense, as early as possible, on Quebec, which will assuredly support itself.

Thirdly; if he desire to proceed further, he must not hesitate. He must calculate on four hundred thousand francs yearly, for ten years, and three thousand infantry, with their support, for three years.

I doubt not there are people who wish, first, to see the profits of things before they take the trouble to reason on these plans in their low minds, but to listen to them is nothing save a decoy, as good sense will never believe that all that is found on earth is not met with in the vastest and finest of its parts; that, if the outlay be considerable, 'tis certain that the usefulness, like the glory, will in future be incomparably greater.

As to the former I shall leave it to laborers, carpenters and explorers after mines to speak of it; and for the latter I shall make use of one instance.

The city of Geneva which would, otherwise, have been but an intrenchment for a force of twelve thousand men, has become very considerable by reason of its situation on a Lake of twenty-six leagues circumference, surrounded by its allies who can easily succor it. If this, then, be the case with so mediocre a post, what will it be with several on divers lakes of the vastest magnitude. And, moreover, what will it be with those provinces settled entirely on the Great River Saint Lawrence, whose waters with all those lakes make but one; which hath no other entrance than Quebec, unless in simple bark canoes.

The King, who, by the grace of God, was born at the most important crisis and who overcame it at an age unexampled in history, will perceive the difference and discern the advantages better than any one else in his kingdom; and I doubt not, but He, who has conferred on him the merit, preserves him also for this great work.

When I reflect on the object of the wars of Europe for fifty years, and the progress to be made here in ten, my duty not only obliges, but impels, me to speak boldly. After which nothing more remains for me than to beg of God the grace of His spirit, to adore eternally with praises His will [as manifested] in his Majesty's thoughts and in those of all who have the honor of approaching him, in order to gather fruits abandoned for so many ages in a place where, every day, the samples show us that they are more abundant than elsewhere.

The summary description of the River Saint Lawrence is, to wit—that from Gaspé to Quebec is one hundred and twenty leagues; from Quebec to Montreal, more than sixty; seven or eight leagues above Montreal it divides into two branches, one of which meets, at forty leagues, a lake called Ontario—which signifies, in Indian, "The beautiful Lake"—two hundred leagues in circumference; which spreads its waters Southwardly towards New Netherland and New Sweden.

The other branch goes to the Huron Country, two hundred leagues from which it discharges itself into a Lake called, on account of its extreme vastness, the Fresh Sea (*la Mer douce*) whose circumference is estimated at over five hundred leagues.

One hundred leagues beyond that, is met another, called Lake Superior, the waters of which it is believed flow into New Spain; and this according to general opinion, ought to be the centre of the country.

Thus, this River could not be less than eight hundred leagues long—to wit, from Gaspé, to the centre of Lake Superior to which no other important Power has any entrance except through here.

I am much mistaken if that does not suffice to establish a vast design, and to doubt it I must have forgotten all the idle expenditure that I have seen at divers points.

On the fifth of February we had an Earthquake, which continued during half a quarter of an hour, sufficiently strong to extort from us a good act of contrition. It was repeated from time to time during nine days, and was perceptible until the last of the month, but always diminishing. And as these extraordinary events bring Christians completely to their duty, it is probable that they carry terror and fear powerfully into the hearts of others,

particularly among that scum of Americans who, to discover the future, are accustomed to sacrifice to the Devil.

After the above was written, a vessel arrived here on the 7th July, informing me, by some letters from my friends, that the King's orders relative to this country were changed, and, instead of an aid of two thousand soldiers, that some women and servants only were coming.

Five days after, four deputies from our enemies came to me suing for Peace and asking assistance from me against their foes, and had that from his Majesty arrived, I dare say I might have been able in three months time to free the country from the bondage under which it has groaned for more than sixty years. But nothing save time has been lost, as there is nothing in the world easier, provided his Majesty will please to meet the expense. And that is so true, that, to render a more exact account thereof and to obey the orders which are coming to me for my retirement, I have not thought proper to wait any longer for them, leaving at Quebec some very good officers and orders necessary to maintain and give a good account of things to all those who bring them.

As for the rest, my Lord, you will learn that it is entirely contrary to my orders that my Secretary importuned you for a justification against people who are too ignorant of my profession, to be judges of it. When I permitted them to repair to court, I in no wise doubted but they would have composed verses in my praise, but the interest of the King's service, and forty years experience acquired under the bravest men that ever commanded, appeared to me a strong protection against such base spirits. To terminate this bickering, I shall content myself, through the respect I owe their cloth, by assuring you, my Lord, that I have served, by God's grace, not only well and faithfully but right honestly, according to my means, and that my acts, when better understood, will never excite the King's wrath, nor that of the Queen Mother. With the most profound respect, My Lord

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant

Gaspé 4. August 1663. Dubois d'auaugour.[1]

Commission of the Marquis de Tracy to be Lieutenant-General in America.

Commission for Sieur de Prouville Tracy as Lieutenant General in America, pending the absence of the Vice Roy.

Louis by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those who shall see these Presents, Greeting. Having considered that whilst Sieur Count d'Estrades, Viceroy and Our

[1] Baron Dubois d'Avaugour succeeded Viscount Argenson, as Governor of Canada, in 1661. He had already distinguished himself in the wars of Hungary, and brought to the government of Canada that strictness and inflexibility of character which he originally acquired in the camp. In 1662 he concluded a Treaty with delegates from the Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca Nations. His administration is, however, particularly noted for the serious and unfortunate misunderstanding which existed between him and the Ecclesiastical authorities of the country on the question of the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, which finally led to his recall. On returning to Europe, he entered into the service of the Emperor of Germany against the Turks, and was killed in the course of the following year whilst bravely defending Serin, or Zrin, a fortress in Croatia, on the Unna, or Sunna, a tributary of the river Save. Charlevoix adds that he had been over forty years in the public service. — Ed.

Lieutenant General in America is in Holland, occupied as Our Ambassador with Our affairs, it becomes necessary, in order for the satisfaction of the desire we feel not only to watch over the preservation of the places in America under our obedience, but to make new discoveries and new colonies there, to appoint some person of authority to rule, enlarge and preserve those places in the absence of said Count d'Estrades, and by extending our dominion in the country, aid materially in the spread of Christianity and the amelioration of Commerce there; and satisfied that Sieur de Prouville Tracy, Councillor in our State and Privy Councils, formerly Commissary General of Our army in Germany, and Lieutenant General in Our armies, possesses all the qualities adapted for acquitting himself worthily of this employment, and having every reason to believe, after the proofs he has given of his bravery in the commands he has held in Our troops in Germany and elsewhere, and of his prudence in the negotiation confided to him, that We cannot make a better selection than of his person to command in said Country: These and other considerations Us moving, We have constituted, ordained and established, and by these Presents signed by our hands, do constitute, ordain and establish the said Sieur de Prouville Tracy Our Lieutenant General in the entire extent of territory under Our obedience situate in South and North America, the continent and islands, rivers, ports, harbors and coasts discovered and to be discovered by Our subjects, for, and in the absence of, said Count D'Estrades, Viceroy, to have command over all the Governors, Lieutenant Generals by Us established, in all the said Islands, Continent of Canada, Acadie, Newfoundland, the Antilles etc. likewise, over all the Officers and Sovereign Councils established in all the said Islands and over the French Vessels which will sail to the said Country, whether of War to Us belonging, or of Merchants, to tender a new oath of fidelity as well to the Governors and Sovereign Councils as to the three orders of the said Islands; enjoining said Governors, Officers and Sovereign Councils and others to recognize the said Sieur de Prouville Tracy and to obey him in all that he shall order them; to assemble the commonalty when necessary; cause them to take up arms; to take cognizance of, settle and arrange all differences which have arisen or may arise in the said Country, either between Seigniors and their Superiors, or between private inhabitants; to besiege and capture places and castles according to the necessity of the case; to cause pieces of artillery to be dispatched and discharged against them; to establish garrisons where the importance of the place shall demand them; to conclude peace or truces according to circumstances either with other Nations of Europe established in said Country, or with the barbarians; to invade either the continent or the Islands for the purpose of seizing New Countries or establishing New Colonies, and for this purpose to give battle and make use of other means he shall deem proper for such undertaking; to command the people of said Country as well as all our other Subjects, Ecclesiastics, Nobles, Military and others of what condition soever there residing; to cause our boundaries and our name to be extended as far as he can, with full power to establish our authority there, to subdue, subject and exact obedience from all the people of said Countries, inviting them by all the most lenient means possible to the knowledge of God, and the light of the Faith and of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, and to establish its exercise to the exclusion of all others; to defend the said Countries with all his power; to maintain and preserve the said people in peace, repose and tranquillity, and to command both on sea and land; to order and cause to be executed all that he, or those he will appoint, shall judge fit and proper to be done, to extend and preserve said places under Our authority and obedience; and generally that he do, and order in the absence of said Count d'Estrades, Viceroy, all that appertains to the office of our Lieutenant

General in said Country; to hold and exercise the same; to enjoy and make use of the honors, powers, authorities, pre-eminences, prerogatives, franchises, liberties, rights, fruits, profits, revenues and emoluments thereunto belonging, and of the wages and salaries which shall be assigned him. Therefore We charge all Our Governors and Lieutenant Generals in all the said Islands and Continent of Canada, Acadie, Newfoundland, Antilles and elsewhere, the officers of the Sovereign Councils established in all those Islands and all others Our Justices and Officers each as far as it shall him concern, that they shall acknowledge the said Sieur de Prouville Tracy, whose oath we have received, in such case required and accustomed, him obey, suffer and permit to enjoy and make use of the said State and office. We will that he be paid in cash by the Treasurers of Our Treasury or other proper officers to whom it shall belong, the said wages and salaries every year, at the times and in the manner accustomed, according to the orders and statements thereof, by Us expedited and signed; the same producing, with these presents or copy thereof duly collated, only once, and receipt thereupon sufficing: We will, that all which shall have been paid him on that occasion be passed and allowed in the accounts of those who shall have made the payment, by Our trusty and well beloved Our accountants at Paris, whom We enjoin so to do without difficulty, terminating and putting an end to all troubles and obstructions to the contrary. We command and order Our very dear and well beloved Uncle the Duke de Vendosme, Peer, Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent General of the Navigation and Commerce of France, his Lieutenants and others to whom it will appertain, to give the said Sieur de Prouville Tracy, or those by him commissioned or sent to America, all congés and passports that sea-going ships and vessels are obliged to take, going and coming from the said Countries, Coasts and Islands, with the merchandise with which they shall be freighted, and the men and women to be conveyed thither in them, without any trouble or obstruction being offered, made or given them. We command and enjoin, moreover, on all others Our officers and subjects whom it may concern, being in the said countries of America, to acknowledge the said Sieur de Prouville Tracy in the said quality of Our Lieutenant General in said Country and him to obey and hear in all things the said office concerning, on pain of disobedience; For such is Our pleasure. We request and require all Kings, Potentates, Princes, States and other Our good friends, allies and confederates, their Ministers and Officers, and all others not Our subjects, to afford him and all those by him commissioned and delegated, all aid, favor and assistance required of them for the execution of what precedes, offering to do the same in like case for those who shall be recommended to Us on their part. In Witness whereof, We have caused Our Seal to be affixed to these Presents. Given at Paris the 19th day of November, in the year of Grace 1663, and of our reign the 21st.

Signed LOUIS

and in the fold,

By the King

DE LIONNE.

MEM. A nearly similar Commission to the foregoing issued to Sieur de Courcelles, as Governor, &c., of Canada (in place of Sieur de Mezi, who is recalled) dated at Paris, 23d March, 1665. Sieur de Mezi was probably appointed Governor of Canada at the same time that Tracy was commissioned Vice Roy, though no record of the Commission appears in the Marine.

J. R. B.

Chevalier de Mezi was commissioned Governor of Canada in March, 1663. See Edict establishing the Council, *supra*, p. 8. — ED.

Report of Baron d'Avaugour on the Forts required in Canada. 1663.

Memoir regarding the fortifications required in Canada against the Iroquois.

First. A fort is required on the bank of the Great River, opposite Quebec; but one of the smallest would suffice in that quarter, even a redoubt, provided it were strong and well palisaded.

Two are required twelve leagues above Quebec, one on each side of the river which may be a quarter of a league wide at this point; to wit, one at la Roche brûlée and the other at Cape Lauzon. It would be necessary to furnish these two forts with some artillery. As for the rest, they could be erected without much expense. However they ought to be stronger than the first.

Opposite Three Rivers, thirty leagues from Quebec, another fort would be necessary on the other or South side of the river, similar to that opposite Quebec.

Three leagues above Three Rivers where Lake Saint Peter is situate, the land is very good, and is all allotted to the inhabitants of the country, but they cannot till it, on account of the Iroquois who pounce on this district more than on any other. Two forts ought to be erected here on both sides of the River; one at the Point of Lake Saint Peter; the other opposite at the mouth of the River Nicolet, half a league across the river, the one from the other. These ought to be furnished with artillery, and both of them ought to be good and much stronger than the preceding. However, they would no more require to be regular than those before mentioned, but only demi-bastions facing the river and lake, and the remainder in form of redoubt.

There had been formerly, twelve leagues from Three Rivers, a fort called Fort Richelieu, having four good bastions very regular and well faced. This was a prodigious annoyance to the Iroquois, as it was well supplied with artillery, and the river being at that point narrower than at any other, the Iroquois were absolutely unable to pass by way of the River, and were obliged to make a detour of three or four leagues through the woods, in order to get down into the country. They, consequently, came seldom there and left us more at peace. Now, if said fort were rebuilt, they would be still less troublesome than heretofore, in consequence of the other forts; on the supposition of building these lower down as I proposed above. The Country having been considerably abandoned for many years, and the Iroquois undertaking the surprise of said fort, on account of the inconvenience it was to them, they very easily effected their purpose in consequence of the slender garrison stationed there of late, so that they captured it, burned the houses and completely razed the fortifications. Now it would be necessary to rebuild a fort there, of four good and regular bastions, and to furnish it with artillery; this point being of more importance than any other. But with a view to economy, I think it would be sufficient to construct the fortifications of earth with good palisades, without facing them with stone.

From thence to Montreal, eighteen leagues, no fortifications would be necessary, and as for the little district *(petit pays)* of Montreal, there are already several redoubts which would suffice, provided a trifle were expended on them, to put them in order and garrison them.

Not wishing, or not being able to invade the country of the Iroquois, this is the only means to protect us from their insults, for all the said forts being well garrisoned, constant detachments would be sent out from them to guard the banks of the river from one fort to the other.

As for cutting trees and laying them athwart, or setting up palisades for the protection of our country, that would be apparently useless, considering that the tract of country necessary to be palisaded, or traversed by trees is of prodigious extent. With the fifteen hundred men the King proposes to send hither, it would be impossible to defend it so completely as to prevent the Iroquois easily cutting an entrance for themselves, at such point as they please, for each of them carries an axe as his principal weapon.

As for starting from Quebec to go and fight them in their own country, the thing appears almost impossible, as it is two hundred leagues from one place to the other, and numerous water-falls or rapids in the Great River intervene, which render it totally unnavigable for the transport thither of the necessary equipments of war; the savages being constrained at those points to land, and carry their Canoes beyond the *Saut;* and as for going thither by land, the entire country being nothing but forests and mountains, sufficient must be first cleared for a road. This would be a matter requiring stout lungs and a very considerable outlay, or rather it would be impossible as the country is not sufficiently peopled to furnish in a short time a suitable force for the execution of so vast a work.

If the Dutch would give a passage to the King's troops, the thing would be very easy by disembarking the troops in the Dutch country, which is only twelve leagues distant from that of the Iroquois, and where there is running directly into the said Iroquois country, a large and very navigable river on which the said troops with all their equipments could be easily transported.

The Major of Boston, the Capital city of the English in that country, who is called Major Québin, formerly proposed for the sum of only twenty thousand francs, to undertake the total destruction of the Iroquois. Inquiry might be made as to whether the English are still in the same mind, and were the King to give the English a much larger sum than that, to destroy the Iroquois, he would still be assuredly a great gainer, and would place the country, in a short time, in a condition to be extensively cultivated and much increased in value.

If it were deemed desirable to calculate the expense of constructing the forts of which I have spoken above, it must not be forgotten that it will be necessary to build in each a number of houses sufficient to lodge the officers and soldiers.

It would, moreover, be necessary to oblige the inhabitants of the country to clear, within one year, all the land granted to each, in default whereof, the remainder at the end of that time ought to be given to be cleared to those, who will be sent anew into the country; so that by this means, settlers would be nigher each other, and the country being cleared would become more open, which would be a very great advantage against the Iroquois.

The Gentlemen of the Company have warehouses on the River side *(sur le bord de la Marine)*. In the arrangement which the King will make with the said Company, it will be necessary that these warehouses return to his Majesty, as they would be particularly necessary for us, and on their leaving here we ought to have an order from the King, to obviate all difficulty on the part of their commissaries placing them in my hands.

Again, in the plan entertained to send families hither this year, it must be noted to send as many casks *(poinçons)* of flour as there will be mouths, for their support, until the lands they may clear shall furnish crops, inasmuch as the country produces but just enough for those who are already in it.

When troops shall be sent, the same measures must be adopted regarding their stores, not to depend on the country.

M. de Lyonne (Hugues), Minister of Marine, to M. de Tracy.

Extracts of a Memoir dated 15 Novr 1664.

1st Extract. "The first thing to advise you of is, that as the King takes, himself, "cognizance of all affairs, it will be necessary to address him directly; to report to him "and receive his orders. It will be well for you to observe this, if you please, in future, for "though I inform him of all things written to me, those who, like you, have posts of "confidence, are interested in establishing for themselves the maxim, to have their chief "communication with his Majesty; the correspondence they hold with the persons who "have the honor of entering into his Councils, being but a consequence and a dependence "on the first."

After having complimented M. de Tracy on the direction he is giving the affairs of the Colony, the Minister instructs him as to the rights of the West India Company established by an Edict this year; then invites him to see that, for the security of the inhabitants, houses be not built so far apart; recommends him again to endeavor to avoid quarreling with the Jesuit fathers, which has caused the recall of Messrs d'Avaugour and de Mezy from the Government. But whilst managing those, he must take care not to suffer them to encroach on the authority confided to him by the King, against his Majesty's interests.—Here follows the second Extract:

"Before going farther it is well that I observe to you, that Mr de Petrée and the Jesuit "fathers have forbidden, on pain of Excommunication, all the Inhabitants of Canada giving "liquor to the Indians, because, becoming intoxicated to excess and thus depriving themselves "of the use of reason, they fell into mortal sin. This prohibition is so strictly observed that "no Frenchman dared give a glass of Brandy to an Algonquin or a Huron. This is doubtless "a good principle, but one which is very ruinous to trade, because the Indians being "passionately fond of these liquors, instead of coming to trade their peltries with us, go trade "them among the Dutch who supply them with brandy. This also is disadvantageous to "Religion. Having wherewith to gratify their appetites, they allow themselves to be catechised "by the Dutch Ministers, who instruct them in Heresy. The said Bishop of Petrée and the "Jesuit Fathers persist in their first opinions, without reflecting that prudence, and even "Christian charity inculcate closing the eyes to one evil to avoid a greater, or to reap a good "more important than the evil."

The memoir closes with some points of rivalry between the French and the English regarding the Islands of America.

Commission of Sieur Talon to be Intendant of Canada.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our trusty and beloved Councillor in our Councils, Sieur Talon, Greeting. Considering it expedient for the good of Our people, and the regulation of Justice, Police and Finances in Our Country of Canada, to

establish in the office of Intendant on the spot, a person capable of worthily serving Us, We have to this end laid eyes on you by reason of the special confidence We repose in your experience, good conduct and integrity, qualities of which you have given proofs on all occasions in which you were called to manifest your affection for Our service. For these and other reasons Us moving, We have commissioned, ordered and deputed, and by these presents signed by Our hand, commission, order and depute you Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in Our Country of Canada, Acadie and the Island of Newfoundland and other Countries of Northern France; to assist in that quality at the Councils of War which shall be holden by Our L^t General in America, and by the Governor and our L^t General in said Country of Canada, to hear the complaints which shall be made to you by Our people of said Country, by the military and all others of excesses, wrongs and violences; render them good and quick justice; take information touching all enterprises, practices and intrigues committed against Our Service; proceed against those guilty of any crime of what quality or condition soever they may be; prosecute and perfect the trial unto definitive Judgment and execution thereon inclusive; to call to you the number of Judges and Graduates fixed by the ordinances; and take cognizance generally of all crimes and delicts, abuses and malversations that may be committed by whomsoever he may be, in Our said countries; to preside in the Sovereign Council in the absence of Sieur de Tracy, Our Lieutenant General in America, and of Courcelles Governor and Our Lieutenant General in Our said countries of Canada; to judge sovereignly alone in Civil matters and to order every thing as you shall see just and fit, confirming from this present time as well as then the judgments which shall be rendered thus by you, in the same manner as if they had issued from our Sovereign Courts, all exceptions, citations *(prise à partie)* Edicts, ordinances and other things to the contrary notwithstanding. We will likewise that you superintend the direction, management and distribution of Our funds destined, and hereafter intended for the support of the military; also of the provisions, ammunition, repairs, fortifications, contingencies, loans and contributions which may have been, or may be, made for the expenses therein and other disbursements which will be made there for our service; to verify and adjust *(arreter)* the statements and ordinances thereof which shall be expedited by Our Lieutenant General in chief, and in his absence by Our other Lieutenant Generals, to the payers whom it shall concern; to cause to be reported to you the rolls and musters, to check and register them; and in all the above circumstances and appurtenances, to do and order what you shall deem necessary and expedient for the good and advantage of Our service, and what will relate to the duty and exercise of the Office of Intendant of Justice, Police and Finances in Our said Country, the honors, powers, authorities, prerogatives, pre-eminences appertaining thereunto, We intend that you enjoy, with the appointments which shall be ordered you by Us; to do which We give you power, authority, commission and special order; We command the said Sieurs de Tracy and de Courcelles to place you in the enjoyment of the effect and contents of these Presents; We order the Officers of the Sovereign Council and all others Our officers, justices, subjects to acknowledge, hear and obey you in said quality; to assist you and lend you efficient aid and prisons if necessary, for the execution of these presents: For such is our pleasure. Given at Paris, the 23^d day of March in the year of Grace 1665, and of our Reign the 22^d

Signed Louis.

and lower down:—

By the King D'Lionne

and sealed with the Great Seal in yellow wax.

Instructions to M. Talon.

Memoir of the King to serve as Instruction to Sieur Talon proceeding to New France as Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance.

His Majesty having made choice of the said Sieur Talon to fill that office, has considered that he had all the qualities necessary to take complete cognizance of the state of said Country; of the manner Justice, police and the finances have been administered there to the present time; to reform their abuses and in so doing, to maintain the people composing that great Colony, in the legitimate possession of their properties, and in a perfect union among themselves, which will produce in time a considerable augmentation of the said Colony, which is the principal object his Majesty desires to accomplish.

For that purpose, the said Sieur Talon will be informed, those who have made the most faithful and disinterested Reports on the said Country, have always stated that the Jesuits, whose piety and zeal have considerably contributed to attract thither the people who are at present there, have assumed an authority there that transcends the bounds of their true profession, which must regard only consciences; To maintain themselves therein, they were very glad to nominate the Bishop of Petrée, who was entirely dependent on them, to discharge the Episcopal functions, and they have nominated, even up to the present time, the King's Governors in that Country, where they have made use of all appliances possible to have those recalled who had been chosen for that office without their participation; so that it being absolutely necessary to preserve in a just equilibrium the temporal authority resident in the person of the King and in those who represent him, and the Spiritual, which resides in the person of the said Bishop and Jesuits, in such a manner always as that the latter be subordinate to the former, the first thing the said Sieur Talon shall well observe, and on which it is proper that he have correct ideas on leaving here, is, to understand perfectly the actual position of these two authorities in the country, and that which they ought naturally occupy. To obtain this, he will have to see the Jesuit Fathers here, who have been in said country, and who have all its correspondence; also the Attorney General and Sieur Villerey,[1] who are the two principal members of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, who, it is said, are entirely devoted to the said Jesuits; from whom he will learn what they may know, without, however, letting his object be discovered.

It is important that he be aware that the said country had been granted to a Company, formed in the time of the late Cardinal de Richelieu's Ministry in 1628; that that Company not having strength enough to sustain the country, resigned, in 1664, to the Inhabitants the trade in Peltry, the sole advantage it derived from it, on condition only of receiving one thousand Beavers yearly as Seigniorage; and the said Company being composed, in 1662, of no more than 45 out of the 100 shares of which it consisted at its commencement, the interested in those 45 parts surrendered them wholly to the King, being unable to meet the great expense which it was necessary to incur, without deriving any profit there from it. Since the year 1662

[1] Sieur Bourdon, one of the principal inhabitants of Quebec, accompanied Father Jogues in his mission to the Mohawks, and was sent ten years afterwards overland to Hudson's bay to take possession of that country for France, in 1646; he became Attorney-General under De Mezy, who summarily dismissed him and sent him to France, where he became one of that Governor's accusers. He returned to Canada and acted subsequently as an agent of De la Barre. Villerey was a member of De Mezy's Council, and was dismissed and sent to France along with Bourdon, where they aided considerably in effecting the Governor's overthrow. — Ed.

aforesaid, his Majesty has included said country in the Grant he made to the West India Company, whose patent it is necessary Sieur Talon should see, whereby the Company is empowered to name the Governor and all the other officers; And as the Company was well aware that they could not find persons of sufficient merit and authority to occupy these posts and worthily fill them, it was well pleased that the King made these nominations, until that Colony increasing considerably through the continuation of his Majesty's goodness and protection, the company might, then, itself find persons proper to be sent thither.

It is well that Sieur Talon should know all these things in order to understand that it is the King's intention and will, that he protect, support and endeavor as much as possible to establish firmly the Company's authority in the said country; to afford him the greatest amount of information thereon, he can see the Instructions given to Sieur de Tracy; the Edict establishing the Sovereign Council; the order of Council issued on the subject of granting and clearing lands, and all the letters written since a year by Sieur de Mezy, Governor, the Bishop of Petrée and the officers of the Sovereign Council, by which he will be amply informed of the misunderstandings that have arisen among them.

To give him a succinct account thereof, he will learn that the Jesuits made so many complaints two years ago against Baron du Bois d'Auvaugour, then Governor of the country, and since killed whilst defending with great valor Fort Serin on the confines of Croatia against the Turks, that the King, to satisfy them, resolved not only to recall him, but even to leave them the choice of another Governor. They then set eyes on Sieur de Mezy, Major of the town of Caën, who made profession of a devotee and whom they doubtless believed would be guided by their opinions. But they found themselves mistaken in their calculations when he was in possession of the government; for not only divers passions of anger and of avarice, which he had concealed in the beginning, burst forth, as they represent, to the injury of the King's service and of the Colony, so that he several times suspended and reinstalled, according to his pleasure, the officers of the Sovereign Council, but what seems important in this dispute is, that within 24 hours time, he caused Sieurs Bourdon, Attorney-General, and Villerey, Councillor, to embark and depart, so that it being impossible for the King to approve this violent conduct, his Majesty ordered commissions to be issued to the said Sieur de Tracy, and Sieur de Courcelles, whom he sends in place of said de Mezy, and to Talon to take information, by persons not suspected of partiality, of the truth of the complaints made against him, and in case they be well founded, to arrest him, to prosecute and complete his trial unto definitive judgment exclusively, and to send him afterwards a prisoner to France, being a satisfaction the King deems due to his Justice and to the peace of his people in those quarters.

The Iroquois, who are divided into divers nations, and who are all perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of the Colony, having by the massacre of a number of French, and the inhumanity which they exercise towards those who fall into their power, prevented the country being more peopled than it is at present, and by their surprisals and unexpected forays always keeping the country in check, the King has resolved, with a view of applying a suitable remedy thereto, to carry war even to their firesides in order totally to exterminate them, having no guarantee in their words, for they violate their faith as often as they find the inhabitants of the Colony at their mercy. With this view he has ordered Sieur de Tracy to repair thither from the Antilles, with four companies of Infantry of the regular Troops, to command the expedition, and in addition to that, sends one thousand good men under the orders of Sieur de Salière, ancient *M^t de Camp* of Infantry, with all the munitions of war and

provisions considered necessary for that enterprise, an ample Report whereon he hath handed to Sieur Talon, together with funds collected as well for this purpose as for the other expenses to be incurred in the country, which also will furnish 3 or 400 soldiers conversant with the mode of fighting those savage people.

As it is the King's intention that he assist in all the Councils of war to be held in the course of this expedition, and he will thus become exactly informed of the resolutions which will be adopted, his chief attention ought then to be directed to provide against the failure of any of the necessaries for the service and comfort of the troops, and to supply by his vigilance and his industry for unforeseen incidents: And this expedition terminating to the glory of his Majesty's arms and the safety of the Colony, the said Sieurs de Tracy, de Courcelles, de Salière and the other Chiefs will perhaps deem it expedient to construct some forts for the preservation of the places which shall be occupied; he shall in that case turn, in like manner, all his attention to supplying them with provisions and munitions necessary for their defence and the subsistence of the soldiers who may be left there.

Before quitting Quebec on this expedition it will be well that he acquire, as far as time will allow, all the knowledge possible regarding both the administration of Justice and the number of families, in order, if there be anything to be redressed in the first department, and it were posssible for him to work usefully in the second, he may do it before setting out on that journey. As he will be more at liberty on his return, being released from the principal business of the war, and as pursuant to the power given him, and the said Sieurs de Tracy and de Courcelles, they will either have dissolved the Sovereign Council, to compose it of other persons, in case they remark them not to have done their duty; or will be content to remove some of them, or in fine have confirmed all of them, if in effect, they shall have perceived that they are well disposed and meditate only the good of Justice. It is important that he continually bear in mind that this same Justice constituting the happiness of the people, and fulfilling the first intention of the King, his first object ought to be to establish it without any distinction whatsoever, by taking care that the Sovereign Council administer it always with integrity, without any cabal or expense: And though the power of judging civil cases, alone sovereignly and in the last resort, be conferred on him, it will be well notwithstanding that he do not exercise it except in case of absolute necessity, it being of consequence to dispose of business in its natural order, and not to abandon that except on indispensable occasions.

As the Colony will derive another very considerable advantage from the establishment of a good police, regarding as well the administration of the public funds, the cultivation of lands, as the manufactures which can be established there, the said Sieur Talon will contrive, with the Officers who shall compose said Sovereign Council and the principal Inhabitants of the country, the means of forming some fixed regulations on that subject, to have them inviolably observed, founding them, if possible, on the example of those in force in the cities of the Kingdom, where order is best established. A statement of the Revenue of the country and of its application to the present time, is furnished him; also of the debts which have been contracted and of the interest paid annually thereon. But as he may be able to acquire still further information respecting it, being on the spot, the King's pleasure is, that he endeavor to investigate this subject so far as to know with certainty, to the last *sous*, the actual amount of this revenue; and also if any abuse be committed, that he inform himself thereof in order that the guilty be punished if found to have committed serious malversations.

One of the causes which have retarded the peopling of Canada has been that the Inhabitants, who have gone thither, have settled down wherever they pleased, and without using the precaution of uniting together and making their clearances contiguous, in order to afford each other help when necessary. They have taken grants for an amount of land they have never been able to cultivate in consequence of its vast extent; and being thus scattered, they become exposed to the ambuscades of the Iroquois, who by their fleetness have always committed their massacres before those whom they surprized had been able to obtain assistance from their neighbors. For this reason, therefore, the King had an order of Council issued two years ago, copy of which will be delivered to said Sieur Talon, whereby His Majesty ordained as a remedy for these, that no clearances should be made thereafter except contiguous the one to the other, and that the settlements should be reduced as much as possible to the form of our Parishes and towns *(bourgs)*. This, however, has remained without effect, inasmuch as, to bring the inhabitants within the bounds of villages, would obligate them to make new clearances and to abandon their own. However, as this is an evil for which some remedy must be found to guarantee the King's subjects against the incursions of the savages who are not their allies, his Majesty leaves it to Sieur Talon's prudence to consult with Sieur de Courcelles and the Officers of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, on whatever will be practicable to accomplish so necessary a good.

The difficulty experienced, as above stated, in the execution of this Edict for the reunion of the settlements in form of parishes, having prevented the execution of a matter the most salutary for the country, and which can best contribute to render that Colony flourishing, it will be important that Sieur Talon, without stopping to put that Edict rigorously in force, act in concert with the inhabitants to execute it partially, if it cannot be fully carried out; and the condition possibly to be agreed upon may be, for example, that an inhabitant with a grant of 500 *arpens*[1] of land, who has cleared only 50 *arpens*, abandon one hundred *arpens* of it to the Frenchmen who shall newly come to settle in the country, which if he object, he may be threatened with the loss of all he has not yet cultivated; and in fact, a declaration will, if required, be sent to be enregistered at the said Sovereign Council of Quebec to the effect, that the said inhabitants shall be obliged to clear all the lands that have been granted them, if not, and in default of so doing, the 10th or 15th shall be retrenched annually therefrom to be given to new Colonists. By these means it is to be hoped that, in a few years, all the granted lands will be generally put under cultivation.

One thing more remains to be done in the same matter, which will greatly promote the augmentation of the Colony. This is, that the King desires that the said Sieur Talon cause to be prepared, in the course of each year, 30 or 40 settlements for the reception of as many new families, by felling the timber and sowing the ground which will have been cleared at his Majesty's expense.

The King considering all his Canadian subjects, from the highest to the lowest, in the light almost of his own children, and wishing to satisfy the obligation he is under to make them sensible, equally with those in the heart of France, of the mildness and happiness of his reign, Sieur Talon will study solely to solace them in all things, and to encourage them to industry and commerce which alone can attract abundance into the country, and render families of easy circumstances. And inasmuch as nothing can better contribute thereunto than entering into the details of their little affairs and of their household, it will not be mal-a-propos if, after

[1] An arpent of land contains 100 square perches, of eighteen feet long each. — Ed.

being established, he visit all their settlements, the one after the other, to understand their true state, and afterwards provide as much as possible for the necessities he will have noticed there, so that in performing the duty of a good master of a household, he may expedite for them the means of realizing some profits and of undertaking the cultivation of the wild lands lying nearest those already placed under tillage.

He will observe that the establishment of manufactures and the attraction thither of fabricators of articles essential to purposes of life, constitute one of the greatest wants of Canada; for either through the necessity of cultivating the land for the support of themselves and their families, they made this their sole and most important occupation; or in consequence of the want of zeal and industry in those who have hitherto governed them, it has been found necessary, up to the present time, to export to that country the cloth to cover the people and the very shoes for their feet. He will therefore inquire into all the means that can be adopted for the introduction of a matter so useful to the country, to which his Majesty will contribute by opening his coffers, being well persuaded that he cannot employ a large sum of money to a better purpose.

The education of Children being the first duty of fathers in their regard, the said Sieur Talon will encourage these to inspire the former with piety and a great veneration for things relating to our Religion (notwithstanding the Bishop of Petrée and the Jesuits apply themselves thereto with great fruit); and afterwards with profound love and respect for the Royal person of his Majesty, and then to accustom them early to industry; for experience has always unerringly demonstrated, that the idleness of early life is the true source of all the disorders that mar it, whilst industry produces a contrary effect among those who avoid sloth at this early season.

The expedition against the Iroquois being finished, the King desires Sieur Talon to invite the soldiers as well of the Carignan Regiment as of the four companies of Infantry who have already gone to America under command of Sieur de Tracy, to remain in the country, by presenting each a slight gratuity in his Majesty's name, to enable them the better to establish themselves there, and to procure for themselves from the old settlers some cleared land, in addition to what he shall grant them for purposes of cultivation.

The Bishop of Petrée, who labors with much zeal and fervor for the propagation and perfection of Christianity in New France, carried with him, at the last voyage he made to Court, an Edict of Council by which the King established Tythes on the fruits of the earth, and permitted him and his clergy to take the 20th for the support of the Seminary and of the Ecclesiastics who perform the parish duties *(fonctions curiales)* at Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers and other settlements of the Colony. The King then deemed this burthen not too heavy on the said Inhabitants, inasmuch as the Church takes the Eleventh for the tythe in most parts of the Kingdom; his intention, nevertheless, is, that the said Sieur Talon examine with Sieurs de Tracy and de Courcelles if this establishment be, in fact, too burthensome on the country; for in that case it would be necessary to look to the modification requisite to be made therein, as his Majesty would rather contribute from another source to the support of said Seminary and of the Priests who compose it.

From all the reports sent from Canada 'tis certain that a vast quantity of timber is found there fit for all sorts of purposes, and even for the construction of all the parts of a ship, and that there are trees of the thickness and height necessary for masts. As this is a treasure most carefully to be preserved, in order to erect in time some yards for building King's ships,

it will be well when new clearances are made, to prevent the felling of timber of superior growth fit to be employed as aforesaid. Nevertheless, Sieur Talon will render a service to the King which will be most acceptable to him, and contribute at the same time to the establishment of trade in the Colony, if he can induce the inhabitants, in the most easy circumstances, to undertake some vessels on their own account; for which they will find even the more facility in the opening of the copper, lead and iron mines that have been proved, by explorations that have been made, to be very abundant.

Sieur Talon will moreover report if the land by its fertility produces much grain, and if having in that way in the country more than is required for the food of all the settlers in the Colony and their families, it would not be more advantageous for the inhabitants to sow hemp and vegetables; and, if he should deem it necessary, he will be able, with the participation of the Governor and Sovereign Council, to draft a law to be afterwards enforced. And as the foddering cattle, for which the country is well adapted by the salubrity of the waters and the vast extent of the prairies, will contribute greatly to the advantage of the Colony, it will be well if the said Sieur Talon examine with the assistance, also, of said Governor and Council, whether it may not be proper to prohibit the slaughtering of Oxen, Cows, Calves, Sheep, Hogs and generally all sorts of Cattle for a time to be agreed on.

Moreover, Sieur Talon ought to be very particular to inform the King of everything that may occur in said Country, and send his Majesty the observations he shall have made on the present Instruction.

Done at Paris the 27th day of March 1665.

(signed) Louis.

and lower down

de Lionne

M. Talon to the Minister.

Sir,

If you please to review, one after the other, the answers I have given to each article of the Instruction you furnished me, you will make closer application of this despatch and see that, explaining myself on the first answer, I say, that if the Jesuits in times past balanced the temporal, by the spiritual authority, they have greatly reformed their conduct, and there will be no need of being guarded against them, provided they always comport themselves as they now do. I shall watch them however, and prevent as much as in me lies, their proceedings being prejudicial to his Majesty's interest, and I believe that in so doing I shall not have any trouble.

The second answer would require that I should, indeed, draw out an exact plan of the whole country, and amplify in this despatch on all its productions. But as the King's ships, which return to Rochelle, are on the point of sailing, and as M. de Tracy proposes to ascend the River within a couple of days to inspect the forts, and put the troops in winter quarters, I must attend principally to loading twelve sloops and thirty or forty bateaus with every thing necessary for their wintering, as the preservation of the troops and the expedition against the Iroquois depend thereon. I therefore, postpone to the return of the Dieppe vessel,

informing you fully of all the advantages that God for his glory, and the King for his state may expect from this country. Nevertheless, in order to furnish you with a rough sketch, I shall have the honor to inform you:—

That Canada is of a very vast extent; that I know not its limits on the North, they are so great a distance from us, and on the South there is nothing to prevent his Majesty's name and arms being carried as far as Florida, New Sweden, New Netherland and New England; and that through the first of these Countries access is had even to Mexico.

That the whole of this country, diversely watered by the river Saint Lawrence and by beautiful rivers, which, at its sides, discharge into its bed, communicates by these same rivers with several Indian Nations, rich in furs, particularly those who inhabit the North; that if the Southern Nations, to whom we can ascend by Lake Ontario, if the portages, with which we are not yet acquainted, are not very difficult, a thing however not irremediable; if they do not abound in peltries as much as the North, they may have more precious commodities; and if we are not acquainted with these, it is because our enemies the Iroquois intervene between us and the countries that produce them.

That the Climate, which causes a residence in the country to be feared on account of the excessive cold, is nevertheless so salubrious that people are seldom sick here, and live here very long; that the land, very unequal on account of its mountains and valleys, is covered with trees which form but one forest, stifling in my opinion, rich and beautiful products. Its fertility in grain is evident to us by the abundant harvests furnished every year by cleared and cultivated lands; more especially as receiving the seed only from the close of the month of April up to the 15th May, they produce their fruits at the end of August and beginning of September. Thus as regards the necessaries of life, they can be looked for in abundance from this country alone if cultivated. I say more, that when it will once be supplied with all sorts of animals, agricultural and domestic, for the raising of which it is well adapted, it will have in 15 years a sufficient surplus as well in grain, vegetables, meat as in fish, to furnish the Antillas of America, even the places on the continent of this vast quarter of the globe. I do not advance this lightly, and do not state it until after having well examined the strength of the soil in a state of nature, and before it receives the aid and help which manure affords that of France. A minot[1] of wheat here most commonly produces fifteen, twenty, and reaches as far as thirty; even more than this in favorable places.

I pass from the fertility of the soil to its fecundity, and from its fruits to its minerals, and say that if the Founder sent us by the gentlemen of the Company, by your orders, is as skilful an artisan, as he represents himself to be, in the knowledge and discrimination of the true from the apparent minerals, you ought to expect great advantages from this country for his Majesty. I have had several private conferences with this Founder on all that I had collected going up the river Saint Lawrence and landing at places at which I expected to find particular productions either of the soil or climate; showed him specimens of mines, marcassites and something purer that I took from several places, which the river detaches from rocks, or produces in and washes along its bed. If the judgment he pronounces on what he has seen is that of an experienced man, gold and silver exist in the places which produce those marcassites. In exploring for those, I intend to labor with assiduity; making the discovery of minerals, whether of rich or poor materials, part of the King's affairs and the Canadian establishment. I do not ask you to approve my incurring the expense necessary for that purpose, as I cannot

[1] A measure containing three bushels. — Ed.

receive your orders on every matter for this current year. I shall act, as much as possible, for the good of his Majesty's service, and, as I believe, for your satisfaction; nevertheless with all possible economy, as I shall assume to myself all the ill success for this year; and as regards the future, should you be of opinion, after testing the marcassites I send you, and those I have placed for greater safety in the hands of this Founder, which he considers the best specimens, that in the resolution I adopt, I push my zeal too far, you will arrest it if you please, by limiting it, and indicating to me how far it may go, both in this regard and in all the undertakings I shall consider useful to the state, none of which I shall enter upon without the advice of Mess^{rs} de Tracy and de Courcelle.

This Founder will depart to-morrow with the Company's General Agent, in a sloop I had equipped for Gaspé, where he expects to find silver, not from what he has seen in France, but from a view of a rock I showed him, which I broke off myself when passing said Gaspé. His expectation appears plausible. The important point is to know, such being the case, whether there will be metal enough to render men's labor profitable, and if the hardness of the rock which contains the mine, will not render its opening very difficult and expensive. My opinion is, that it will require powerful machines to make a good opening, unless there be some particular secret, or that working it in the woods which cover it, render it more moist and ductile.

The ease with which the Founder pretends to work in a deep rock, and the great advantages he promises from his labour, united to the expectations of mines of gold and silver with which he flatters us, especially from what I showed him, induce me to say, it is well to test him, and find out if he will realize the hopes he creates, particularly as to mines of gold and silver, which he is almost certain must be found in this country.

Though you can well understand from my answer to the 4th article of my Instruction, if it be for the King's advantage to surrender to the Company the property of this vast country with the right of government, or to reserve the one and the other to his Majesty, I explain myself as to the motive that might have led him to make this surrender to the Company and say,—that if it were to increase the profits by furnishing him large means to meet his first expenses; to augment the number of his vessels, and to carry on an extensive commerce, useful to his state, without having in view the extending settlements and the multiplying colonists in this country, it is, in my opinion, more advantageous to the King to leave this property to the Company without any reserve. But if he have regarded this country as a fine field on which to establish a great Kingdom, or to found a Monarchy, or at least a very considerable State, I cannot persuade myself he will succeed in his design, if he leave in other hands than his own, the Seigniorage, the property of the soil, the nominations to parishes and dependencies *(adjoints)*, and even the trade which constitutes the soul of the establishment. What I have seen from the time of my arrival to this moment, has convinced me fully of what I advance; for, since the Company's agents have given it to be understood that it would not suffer any freedom of trade,—neither to the French who were in the habit of coming to this country with merchandise from France, nor to the proper inhabitants of Canada,—even so far as to deny them the right of importing on their own account the products of the Kingdom which they make use of, as well for their own support, as in trade with the Indians, which alone will ruin the most considerable of the Inhabitants, to whom agriculture does not afford sufficient inducements to make them remain here with their families, I clearly perceive that the Company, by pushing its power to the extreme it pretends, will doubtless profit by

impoverishing the country; and will not only deprive it of the means of self-support, but will become a serious obstacle to its settlement, and that Canada will in ten years be less populous than it is to-day.

The Company has been put in possession not only of honorary and seigniorial rights, but also of all those of any utility. As for trade, I apprehend it will push that to too great an extent. For that purpose, it will take advantage of its terms of the charter, which confers on it that privilege to the exclusion of all others; and I fear it will, thereby, discourage the most numerous and considerable portion of the inhabitants of Canada. As its pretension and the orders the King has given me by my instruction, wherein his Majesty commands me to stimulate the said inhabitants to trade, do not harmonize too well, I shall hold things, as much as possible, in an equilibrium, to encourage in minds I find beaten down, some hope of gain and profit, until his Majesty next year, explain his intentions more fully on this subject, on which I shall further enlarge in my next despatches.

It has not been deemed proper to proceed against M^r^ de Mezy after his death; the Bishop and other individuals whom he offended by his behavior, taking no further steps therein. We were of opinion, Mess^rs^ de Tracy, de Courcelle and I, that his Majesty would not be sorry were his fault buried with his memory. However, as regards civil suits, satisfaction will be given to those who claim to have suffered damage by the conduct he pursued, and if his Majesty wish any thing further, when it will be communicated to me by your letters, which I hope to receive next year, I shall on my part, do as you on behalf of his Majesty order me.

I will not enlarge either on the war, nor on the troops referred to in the 7^th^ Article of my Instruction, because I am persuaded that Mess^rs^ de Tracy and de Courcelle render you an exact report thereon. I shall only observe in this place, that though our voyage was very tedious, some vessels, among others, those on board of which we were, having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, reckoning from the time of embarkation, the troops arrived here in pretty good condition; and in the whole passage we did not lose one officer, and only about eight soldiers died. Yet, several ships, especially ours which was very small, much incumbered and considerably crowded with people, were filled with sick, of whom I saw as many as 80; so that had we not gone to the North, the heat of the South would have engendered a plague on board of our vessel. It is important that more room be furnished the troops which his Majesty may please to send out in future.

The companies composing the Carignan Regiment[1] are, with the exception of four which came from America, as yet almost more than complete. There are, among others, some of 66 men. All will be distributed for the winter among the forts which have been commenced, and the three settlements, this, Three Rivers and Montreal. I shall give my best attention to their preservation, and for this purpose shall send them, if the river does not freeze soon, in addition to what is necessary for their subsistence, some luxuries to charm away the rigors of the winter, so that Mess^rs^ de Tracy and de Courcelle may find them ready to act against the enemy.

[1] The Carignan regiment participated in the war of the Fronde and in the bloody affairs of Etampes and of the Faubourg St. Antoine, Paris, on the side of the Royalists, and served under Turenne at Auxerre. It formed part of the 4,000 men sent by France under Counts de Coligni and de la Feuillade, in 1664, to the aid of the Emperor Leopold against the Turks. At the decisive battle of St. Godart, they drove the latter from the banks of the Raab, and afforded effectual support to the German army, who were very nearly overwhelmed. On the return of the regiment from Hungary it embarked for Canada, where most of the soldiers settled, with their officers, as Colonists. *Garneau's Histoire du Canada*, 2d ed., I., 203. — Ed.

I say nothing of the provisions consumed by the supernumeraries, besides the volunteers of the country, the sailors and other people employed in the transportation of munitions of war and supplies, nor of the expenses which of necessity must be greater than you expected, inasmuch as my industry as well as my obligation, binds me to supply all deficiencies. You have the service at heart, and I am persuaded you will not have us spare what is necessary for its advancement.

As considerable of the munitions of war and provisions destined for us are missing, as appears by the memoir M. de Terron has placed in my hands; and as many of the things we have received are damaged and good for nothing, either on account of the little care taken by those who have had charge of them, or because the sea has caused the loss in the number and weight, as well as the damage in the quality, I send back to the said M^r^ de Terron, copy of the said statement, verified, article by article, by the Storekeeper General whom he sent hither on his behalf; as he requires it of me in order that he may take fuller information as to what has caused the losses I mention.

I think I have explained myself sufficiently as to what regards the administration of Justice in this country; and I do not suppose that you will be less informed by M. de Tracy's despatches as to the causes which have prevented the arrangement of the Council to the present time. It will doubtless be composed much more judiciously on returning from the journey M. de Tracy is about to make, than it could have been before we had collected information of the capability, talent and merit of persons who ought to enter this Body. You may, however, rest assured that, as far as it is in my power to administer justice consularly and summarily, I shall do it with care, for the reasons given in my answers to the Instruction I have received from his Majesty.

I do not see any further answer requisite to the article of my Instruction which speaks of the administration of the public moneys of the establishment, of the police and of manufactures. I postpone 'till my next despatches sending you a memoir as to what I shall have received, possible to be manufactured and fabricated here usefully for the State; and I insist now only on the item of the fourth of the peltries claimed by the Company's General Agent as a thing ceded without any reserve for forty years, the limits of the charter granted by his Majesty. This *droit* constituting, as I observed, the whole of the public revenue from which are defrayed the indispensable charges of the country, and the aids essential to its safety in urgent occasions, I have thought it necessary to demand of you, as regards the future, an explanation of his Majesty's intentions in this regard, and I shall ask of M. de Tracy that at least a Comptroller be appointed to keep a register of the receipts of said duties, so that if his Majesty think proper to retain them, on demanding an account of the charges of the country, such may be faithfully rendered him. If, however, his Majesty wishes to surrender them absolutely, he will at least have a more complete knowledge of the Company's profits, and I say not this without reason; for I have before remarked, that this fourth has already appeared to Mess^rs^ de Tracy, de Courcelle and me to have been very productive. The Company's Agent does not willingly admit that it is very profitable; and he even makes a difficulty in paying certain charges, which, he says, are not included in the statement of those to be defrayed by this fund.

You have truly remarked that whilst settlements are not made contiguous, the country will not be in a state to sustain itself against the attacks of its irreconcilable enemies the Iroquois. A remedy will be applied as effectually as possible to the past evil, and the same

inconvenience will be avoided for the future. I am devising a plan of a clearance for the erection of the first hamlet. When finally determined on, I shall send you the design.

I hope you will consider the declaration I request of you in my answer to the King's Instruction; if it be not necessary, it will be at least useful to the establishment of the country, inasmuch as it cannot but stimulate the inhabitants to industry. I therefore expect you will order it to be sent me.

Arrangements can be always made in good season to send families to this country next year, on the assurance I give that settlements will be provided for them; and if the King will please to have a greater number in readiness for the next, instead of the forty you order me to prepare the current year, I shall have as many arranged as his Majesty pleases, if I be furnished on his part with the necessary help.

I say nothing further on the article ordering me to encourage the inhabitants to commerce, as I have already stated that I shall feed their minds with the hope of the gain to be realized by them in this way, in opposition to the dread created by the Company, who wish to deprive them of the means to acquire it. And I have already begun to collect some people to work at the fishery; to prepare timber necessary to construct some small vessels, and in default of the commodities which were not to be had in the Company's stores before the arrival of the ship from Dieppe, I even sent to Montreal a portion of goods I purchased to trade here on my own account, because specie does not go as far as commodities for the subsistence of people; and I added, by the advice of M. de Tracy, some supplies drawn from the King's stores, to be distributed at Montreal for the comfort of the Inhabitants, though for the advantage of his Majesty, as I expect in return to receive grain and vegetables for the subsistence of the soldiers, and even Moose Skins *(Peaux d' Orignaux)* with which to construct large canoes, better adapted to navigation than those of bark. I shall see by this and other experiments that I shall cause to be made with the savages, what benefit may accrue from barter, so as to be able to give you fuller information.

I postpone, until the return of the Dieppe vessel, communicating to you the memoir I intend drawing up on all the manufactures that can be introduced into this country; on the means to be proposed and the aid necessary to be demanded for putting them into practice.

You may rely, Sir, on the assurance I give you that for carrying out the King's pious intentions and seconding yours, I shall direct my main efforts to lead not only the children, but even the heads of families, to Divine worship; to inculcate the veneration they owe the Ministers of our Religion, and the respectful love they are obliged to preserve for his Majesty's sacred person.

I think, without pledging myself too much, that I can answer for it, if I do but a very little more for the soldiers of the Carignan Regiment, that many of them will remain in this country, should his Majesty resolve to recall that corps.

Although I remark in the answer I make to the article of the Instruction relating to Tythes, that I shall send you a memoir, you will not find it here, as I defer forwarding it to you until the sailing of the Dieppe ship. I calculate that vessels adapted to navigation can be built some day here, especially when we shall have settled farther to the South, where the trees are of finer growth, and the oaks are less scarce than here; especially as the Founder, of whom I have spoken, assures me that he will bloom the iron sand *(sable de fer)* discovered here in considerable abundance. Herewith is a small bag of it for the purpose of an experiment, at which this same Founder can work if you order him. He could have done it here, had he the

tools which he says are required for that purpose. Besides, as respects rigging, you will learn by the last answer given to the Instruction that at least as much hemp can be expected from these lands as is procured from those of France, inasmuch as they are as well qualified to produce it. And if I discover the means to make tar and resin, which I dare not as yet hope, you will find every thing in this country necessary for a ship, without drawing from without for any of its parts.

I notice such feeble health in M. de Tracy that I justly fear we shall lose him, either by death or by the retirement he meditates in the hope that the King will give him his *congé;* if his Majesty consider his age, and the inconveniences a long and fatiguing voyage has caused him, and which I believe two climates, very opposite, in which he lives and has lived, will seriously aggravate, I fear his loss, the rather, as in the midst of the attacks he suffers from his disease, he relaxes in no wise his labors, so as not to detract any thing from his zeal; triumphing over his age and infirmity, he acts just as if he enjoyed perfect health and was only thirty years of age. I assure you, Sir, he astonishes me, and though I should mar the design he entertains of returning to France next summer, I cannot but tell you that, with his genius singularly adapted to the establishment of a new country, as to its reformation when badly managed, and the energy with which he embraces every thing that can reflect glory on the King or advantage to his state, I doubt much if his Majesty grant him the retirement I know he desires, if he reflect on the advantage of M. de Tracy's sojourn in this country and the need in which we shall still be of his presence to sustain the vast work the King has commenced. Should his Majesty, however, incline to grant it, so as not to offend him by an absolute refusal, I believe he might be induced honorably to continue his application and attention, if, leaving him at liberty to return, he should be ordered not to avail himself of such permission until he should have satisfactorily perceived that his retirement will not cause any prejudice to his Majesty's service throughout the whole extent of the country.

Should the frigate which brings M. de Tracy's supplies be lost, as it is supposed, I greatly pity him. He has indeed already sold a portion of his stores to purchase necessaries; and I believe that however resolved he may have been not to borrow from any person, he will be obliged to accept aid from those who are more at ease, in order to defray his expenses. From his known character, I doubt much if he will inform you of his wants.

Chevalier de Chaumont, Captain of M. de Tracy's guards, who serves assiduously and very usefully near his person, has been favored by his Majesty with a commission of Aid-de-camp, for the allowances of which he has applied to me. You know, Sir, I have no fund for that. He expects payment thereof from his Majesty through your intervention.

You will find annexed a memoir of observations I made on the voyage. As I am aware of the great danger in navigating the river Saint Lawrence, I reflected considerably, in order to ascertain the measures to be adopted to improve it, so as to diminish the difficulty Captains of ships experience in steering securely there, when they undertake to do so without a thorough knowledge of the river. I send a duplicate of this Memoir to M. du Terron, so that he may confer with the most experienced pilots, in order, if it be found useful, that each of the vessels leaving Rochelle may bring a copy of it along. I believe it would not be mal-a-propos to send as many to Normandy for the ships leaving there.

I must not close this despatch without bearing testimony to the attention M. de Courcelle gives to every thing relating to the King's service. I can assure you, Sir, that he powerfully

seconds M. de Tracy, and I trust he will greatly comfort him in the expedition against the Iroquois.

I am, with all due respect,

Your most humble, most obedient

and most obliged Servant

Quebec 4th 8ber 1665. TALON.

Prices of European Goods in Canada.

Prices of the Goods brought by the India Company's ships to be delivered to the Inhabitants of Quebeck.

14th November, 1665.

At a meeting of the Council, where M. de Tracy presided—at which Messrs de Silly, d'Amours, Denis, de la Chesnaye and de Mazé Councillors; the King's Attorney General were present—was arranged the tariff and prices of the goods arrived in the West India Company's ships and in others of the Merchants of Rochelle, which are to be delivered to the inhabitants by the Commissary of the general warehouse

AT QUEBEC:

	liv
Wine, per barrel, @	51.
Brandy, per barrel, @	140.
Vinegar, per ton, @	180.
Salt, per barrel, @	14.
Poitou Serge, the ell, @	4. 5.10.
Linen de Meslis, the ell, @	1. 9. 9.
Coarse ditto, the ell @	1. 8. 1.
Large Biscay axes, each,	1.11. 5.
Small axes @ 19. 10. 0. each,	19.10.

FOR THREE RIVERS.

The barrel of Wine,	56.
The barrel of Brandy,	154.
The barrel of Vinegar,	49.10.
The barrel of Salt,	15. 8.
Poitou Serge, the ell,	4.14.6.
Linen de Meslis, the ell,	1.11.
Large Biscay axes, each,	1.14.2.
Small axes, each,	1. 2.

FOR MONTREAL.

The barrel of Wine,	61.
The barrel of Brandy,	168.
The barrel of Vinegar,	54.

	liv
The barrel of Salt,	5. 3.
Fine Meslis linen, the ell,	1.16.
Coarse Meslis linen, the ell,	1.14.2.
Large Biscay axes, each,	1.17.9.
Small axes, each,	1. 4.

Done and enacted in said Council the day and year aforesaid.

The present Tariff will serve for Liquors, until the arrival of the next vessels in the year 1666, and the salt which will be delivered at Three Rivers and Montreal will be sold as usual.

Explanation of the Eleven Presents of the Iroquois Ambassadors.

1st December, 1665.

The First present is made to reply to the three that the said Ambassadors received from M. de Tracy at their first audience. (The *first* of which was to wipe their eyes, so that they may see the features of *Onnontio*[1] (i. e., M. de Tracy) full of honor and humanity; the *second*, to open their mouths and cleanse their throats, so that they may speak with more ease, mildness and agreeableness; the *third*, to strengthen their hearts, so that they might express their sentiments and discover their thoughts sincerely and without disguise.)

The Second to congratulate us upon the return of Sieur Le Moyne, whom they had a prisoner, and whom they restore in health, without even one of his nails being torn off or any part of his body being burnt; and explaining, by the same present, all the kindnesses they had shown, particularly by Captain Garagonsie to Sieur Lemoyne, and to all the French who have been prisoners in the Iroquois villages.

The Third, to testify that with the Dead of their Nation they have interred the memory of the injuries and wrongs perpetrated against them by the French, in killing them, or allowing the Algonquins and the Hurons to massacre them; and generally, all the wrongs they have received either by the violation of the Treaty or bad treatment experienced by their Ambassadors, or by the retention of their presents without replying to them; in a word, forgetting generally the whole of the past, so as not to retain any resentment about it.

The Fourth indicates that they remember right well that there have been frequent Treaties of peace between them and the French; that they come not to demand a new, but to confirm the old treaty, and testify the passion or desire they of the three Upper Nations feel to preserve it inviolably.

The Fifth invites the French to grant them two Black-gowns—they mean by this term, Jesuits—an Armorer to repair their broken guns, and a Surgeon, whom they require to dress their wounded, recollecting that they often received charitable and useful aid from the French physicians, who often restored them again to life: 'Tis thus they designate their cures.

[1] Literally, *Great Mountain;* an epithet originally applied by the Indians to M. de Montmagny, Governor of Canada, of whose name, it will be seen, it is a translation. *Relation* of 1640, 1, p. 77.—Ed.

The Sixth: having learned with great grief the bad news of Father Le Moyne's death, they wish to resuscitate him; and with this present invite the appointment of a successor, who would have the same disposition as the said Father for their instruction in Christianity and in the principles and mysteries of our Religion.

The Seventh demands an Iroquois squaw, a prisoner, and a child captured by the Mohegans *(Loups*[1]*)* to be restored to Captain Garagonqui, so that returning with this mark of the consideration entertained for him by the French, he may be able, when occasion presents, to convince his nation of the good faith of the said French, and of the gratitude they evince for the care he has taken to preserve their brothers; the said Garagonki earnestly desiring that this favor be granted him, the rather as being frequently employed to procure the liberty of French prisoners by redemption and a multitude of presents, he has been always reproached that the French had no gratitude, and that he should lose his influence if he returned without bringing back this squaw and this little child, who are prisoners; assuring, moreover, that he should always preserve a warm friendship for the French, and a like inclination to assist them in all their necessities.

The Eighth, to obtain the liberty of a Huron Squaw belonging to a family of the same Nation domiciled with the Iroquois, who was captured by the Algonquins, and who is at present in the Huron fort; in order to make manifest his influence in like manner, and to show that he experiences as favorable treatment as those Frenchmen experienced at his hands, whose freedom he procured when they fell into the power of the Iroquois.

The Ninth, to testify that he no longer proposes peace like that of times past, which he says held the French only by the fringe of the coat; but that he clasps them around the waist, promising the observance of this peace, not only in the names of the old men but also of the young, who often disturb it mal-a-propos, contrary to the opinion of the Ancients; therefore he demands, in the name of those same young men, that the Algonquins and the Hurons do not trouble them on their side, nor get up any war parties against them, nor obstruct their hunting.

The Tenth, to give assurance that though the Oneidas have not given them presents to demand peace, not having been aware of the coming of the three Upper nations, he of that tribe who is present with this Embassy being here only by accident, yet they warrant that they will do nothing to disturb the peace, and that they will not form any war party. Therefore he demands that they be treated in the same manner as the three Upper Nations.

The Eleventh, to suspend hostilities against the Mohawks, who not being advised of the arrival of the French and of the design they formed to destroy the five Iroquois Nations, have not sent an Embassy, promising that, as soon as they shall have notice of it, they will not fail to do so; and to demand time necessary for Captain Garagonki to repair with advice to the said Mohawks, which is promised to be done immediately, with assurance that if they do not concur in the same Treaty of Peace when he will have spoken to them, those Upper Nations will abandon them.

[1] "This nation was formerly settled on the River *Manhatte*, in New-York, and it seems they are originally from there." *Charlevoix*, III., 121. They were hence known as the River Indians. The French name is a mere translation of that of the tribe; *Mahigan* meaning "Wolf," in Algonquin. — Ed.

Treaty of Peace between the Iroquois and Governor de Tracy.

[Already printed in Vol. III., 121–125.]

M. Colbert to M. Talon.

Sir,

I received your despatches of the 4th October and 12th November of last year, with all the Memoirs annexed thereunto and the answers to your Instructions; and after having submitted the whole of them to the King, and his Majesty having made the necessary observations on all your arguments, he has commended me to explain to you his intentions on all the affairs of Canada in the manner following:

The King cannot concur with you in the whole of your reasoning as to the means of rendering Canada a great and powerful State, perceiving many obstacles thereto which cannot be overcome except by a long lapse of time; because, even though he should have no other business and could direct both his application and his power to that object, it would not be prudent to depopulate his Kingdom, which he should do to people Canada. Besides this consideration, which will appear important to you, there remains yet another, namely, that if his Majesty removed thither a greater number of men than what the land, now cleared, could feed, 'tis certain that if they did not all perish at once they would at least suffer great privations, which, reducing them to continual langor, would weaken them little by little; and besides the inconveniences they would themselves endure, they would increase those of the old inhabitants, who, without this augmentation of Colonists, would live by their labor and the cultivation of the soil. You will understand sufficiently, by this observation, that the true means of strengthening that Colony is to cause justice to reign there, to establish a good police, to preserve the inhabitants in safety, to procure them peace, repose and plenty, and to discipline them against all sorts of enemies; because all these things, which constitute the basis and foundation of all settlements, being well attended to, the country will get filled up insensibly, and in the course of a reasonable time may become very considerable, especially as his Majesty will afford it all the assistance in his power according as he shall have more or less occupation within his Kingdom.

You ought always bear in mind and never depart from the plan I trace for you in a few words, which agrees with that laid down more at length in your Instructions and in the conversation I had with you here; because it is notoriously impossible that all these ideas of forming vast and powerful states could succeed if useless people are to be conveyed to places where they are to be settled.

The other argument you use respecting the King's abandoning the country to the West India Company, and the inconveniences you apprehend from it, may also be combated by a reason capable, by itself, of destroying all the others you advance to the contrary. That is, that we have seen, by experience, that this Colony fell into the languishing condition in which it has been up to the present time, only because the old Company was too feeble, and because

that Company had abandoned it afterwards to the inhabitants; and if you study well what has occurred on that point, you will concur that these two causes have produced the desertion of the old colonists and prevented others establishing themselves there, which they would assuredly have done had they been supported by a powerful Company like this.

It is unquestionable that you will experience great difficulties in the beginning, in consequence both of the inexperience and perhaps of the cupidity of the Company's Agents and Commissaries. But you will soon be rid of them through the remedies which the Company itself will have applied and by the care it will take to recall those of their agents and clerks who will be in any way insolent, to substitute, in their stead, others of more moderation.

It is not by these precautions only that the King wishes to limit the means of sustaining the inhabitants of Canada. His Majesty has induced the Company to divest itself, in their favor, of the trade with the Indians, though entitled to it by the terms of its Charter, and though it might perhaps be more advantageous to leave it to it, as 'tis to be feared that in consequence of trading the inhabitants may remain a great part of the year in idleness, whilst, had they not the privilege to pursue it, they would be under the necessity of cultivating their farms.

What you allege in order to prove that it would be more advantageous to leave commerce to the disposal of all the inhabitants than to confine it within the hands of the Company alone, being founded particularly on the bad administration of Agents and Commissaries, it would seem that the precautions to be hereafter used in making good selections would suffice to convince you of the contrary. But to give you an opportunity to form an opinion thereupon with more accuracy, the Company, on my representation, has granted liberty of trade to all sorts of persons indifferently for this year, though it is much to be feared that those private traders will send from France only goods and commodities from which they will derive profit, and leave the country in want of those which perhaps it will most need; besides, the Beaver being in several hands, sales, it is certain, will be effected at a miserable price.

As to the receipt of the fourth of the Beavers, and of the tenth of the Moose Skins made over to the Company, the King having granted it Canada and all the other Countries in its Charter, in full seigniory and property, reserving only the sovereignty thereof, his Majesty has no ground to claim these two duties; neither the mines which concern only the Company or the commonalty (*communauté*) of the country, having assigned them to it to satisfy the charges for which it was responsible in virtue of the agreement entered into with the old Company of New France.

You will further observe that the said Company of New France, to the rights of which that of the West Indies has been substituted, had the monopoly of the fur trade, by means whereof it paid the expenses of the country as it pleased; and that the inhabitants, being unable to abstain from trading, the commonalty of said inhabitants negotiated therefor, and it was ceded to them on condition that they should be obliged to pay all the public expenses, and a thousand Beavers annually, to be delivered in France, or a sum to be agreed upon; for the payment of which charges and of this annual rent the Commonalty imposed the duty of one-quarter on the Beavers and two *sols* per pound *(pour livre)* on the Moose Skins, *(Orignaux)* payable in kind, so that the West India Company, having the rights of the old Company of New France, can legitimately claim the exclusive trade in peltries, or, when executing its surrender to the inhabitants, demand at least the annual rent of one thousand beavers.

Whereupon it is, nevertheless, proper to consider that as the (fur) trade will increase also in value by the formation of new settlements and the augmentation in the number of Colonists,

it is just that it should not only regularly bear the ordinary charges, but supply something for the extraordinary; covenanting, already, to form an annual fund of two thousand *livres* to defray incidental items, and even to contribute to whatever expenses may be necessary to be incurred should the King conclude on any enterprise by which his own interest and that of the country might equally be promoted:

The same reason that justifies the Company reserving the duty of one-fourth of the Beavers—that is, having surrendered to the inhabitants the [Indian] trade which was the seigniorage *(le droit seigneurial)*, that trade duty must now supply its place—will oblige you to determine, in your incertitude, to make out all deeds *(inféodations)* in the Company's name, and to proceed to the completion of the Grand Roll *(Papier Terrier)* at its General Agent's request.

The various experiments made at the desire of the Directors of the same Company on the Marcassites extracted from the mines, which you forwarded, having produced nothing certain, and the experiment with the sand having been also unsuccessful, in consequence of its very small quantity, they send you back the German smelter, who had returned to France, with the implements necessary to make all sorts of experiments on the spot, and particularly at the Gaspé mine.

The King has approved your having erected his arms at the extremity of the territory of Canada, and your having prepared at the same time the Records *(procès verbaux)* of the taking possession, as his sovereignty is thus always extended; doubting not but you have on this occasion concluded with Mr. de Tracy and the other officers that it would be much better to restrict yourselves to a tract of country that the colony will, of itself, be able to maintain, than to embrace too vast a quantity, a portion of which we may perhaps be obliged one day to abandon, to the decrease of his Majesty's reputation and that of his crown.

As all the necessaries of life are produced in Canada with the same ease as in France, and as some of them, such as wheat, give much greater returns, it is desirable that the inhabitants of the country profit by a circumstance so fortunate for their subsistence, by cultivating all their farms and increasing their clearances, confining them within the neighborhood of the settlements, and making them only contiguous one to the other. The means of establishing manufactures there consist rather in their industry and labor than in the aid which the King is able to furnish. In the present conjuncture, when his Majesty is obliged to maintain a heavy war against the English, whom none of his predecessors had ever before attacked on the sea, the forces of that Nation having always appeared formidable to all others on that element, that assistance would not be as considerable as if he were in profound peace as well abroad as at home. Therefore, you must use economy and calculate principally on what you can effect with articles and commodities the country furnishes in pretty considerable abundance; also by prohibiting, either by an Edict of the Sovereign Council, or by your own special ordinance, the slaughter of lambs, and even of the females of each species of animal, so that they may be multiplied in less time, as it is certain that when Canada will be stocked with a large quantity of sheep and horned cattle, from their fleeces and skins can be manufactured cloths and other stuffs and leather capable of being converted to divers purposes for the convenience and advantage of the inhabitants.

Grain being often at a low price in Canada, a portion of the new clearances can be sown with hemp, and at the end of some years a linen manufactory can be established there, which from the quality of the hemp will become perhaps as flourishing as that of Lower Brittany.

And as this is a point to which the King in your Instructions has recommended you to diligently apply yourself, I doubt not but you have already disposed the inhabitants to prepare some of their lands for that purpose.

The hope you have given me, that timber will be found in large quantities suitable for the construction of ships, has highly gratified the King; and in order to secure a certain supply, his Majesty has ordered Mr. Colbert de Terron to have two or three carpenters sent to Canada to examine closely the quality of the timber and to see if enough can be found there for each piece and part of a vessel; for on their report, his Majesty may either build in that country on his own account, or at least cause to be dressed and prepared the greatest number possible of those parts and pieces to remove them to his shipyards in France, to be made use of in the construction of his ships. I shall say to you further on this head, that it appears to me the inhabitants of Canada might find it much to their advantage to make a large quantity of staves. For the King reserving all the timber in his kingdom fit for shipbuilding, and not permitting the manufacture of staves, parties are obliged to go for these to Norway and every part of the North; whence the conveyance is at least as long and as difficult as it would be from Canada, and where, doubtless, they purchase them dearer than they could in that Colony.

From the manufacturing of Staves the country will derive a double advantage. In the first place, clearances will be increased, and in the other, a profit will be derived from an article the preservation of which had not been thought of up to the present time. Thus I am persuaded that you cannot direct your attention more to the advantage of the inhabitants than by exciting and encouraging them to this work, the profit on which being certain and near, must be much more acceptable than others of which they have immediately but a tardy and distant hope.

You understand that freedom of Guilds *(lettres de Maîtrise)* was introduced with a view to exclude inferior manufactures and to give circulation only to those that were good; and on that principle, I believe, it is of more importance to attract to a growing Colony like Canada all sorts of Mechanics indifferently, than to think of receiving in the beginning only those who succeed in each art. It is not but your proposition is good in one sense, that is, when you have, hereafter, a sufficient number of each trade, you should confer these freedoms with the consent of the officers of the sovereign Council and the principal inhabitants of the country; for it is of importance that these sort of things be always done, as much as possible, with the agreement and consent of the whole country.

It would be impossible to send you as large a number of sheep as you mention, because, in addition to the difficulty of the voyage, several vessels would have to be freighted for their conveyance alone; and you will appreciate what I tell you on this head—the Spaniards, in their conquest of Mexico, Peru and other countries which they hold in America, contented themselves with carrying, in the different fleets they sent from Europe, a few animals of the species which multiply with most facility. By the great care they took to preserve these, and by the succession of a few seasons, they became as common as in the places from whence they had been conveyed. Therefore, the true means to promote the multiplicity of sheep, horned cattle and other domestic animals, is to prohibit the slaughter of the females, and even of a good portion of the males, until the frequent multiplication of each species may permit it.

Every precaution possible will be observed in the selection of new colonists, particularly of girls, to be hereafter sent you. But it can scarcely be expected that any can be got from Normandy during the war with England, because the Channel being occupied by the naval force of the King of that nation and by that of the Dutch, there would not apparently be much safety in the voyage.

I shall expect the procès-verbal which you make me hope for, concerning the individuals who claim to be creditors of the commonalty of Canada, in order to make my report thereon to the King; I shall, however, advise the Committee of the Council that has been named to make that settlement, not to trouble itself about any petition on their part except by his Majesty's order, doubting not, but in sending it to me, you will annex an exact census of all the Inhabitants of the Colony, which is essential to enable the King to understand clearly the strength of the country and give him the means of forming a better opinion of the resistance it is capable of making in case of necessity, or what it might undertake when necessary.

In order to strengthen the Colony in the manner you propose, by bringing the isolated settlements into parishes, it appears to me, without waiting to depend on the new colonists who may be sent from France, nothing would contribute more to it than to endeavor to civilize the Algonquins, the Hurons and other Indians who have embraced Christianity, and to induce them to come and settle in common with the French, to live with them and raise their children according to our manners and customs.

I am astonished at the error which has been discovered in the munitions of war, supplies and provisions sent through the care of Mr. Colbert de Terron, knowing the exactness he applies to all things. But as there is scarcely any remedy in matters of this sort, I content myself to write to him to inquire who sent them on board, and whether they acted in good faith, and to take better care regarding what will be sent you hereafter.

I have ordered Sieur de Lamotte to be paid the sum of Thirteen thousand five hundred livres, according to a private letter of which he was bearer, out of the fund created for the support of the troops in Canada up to the end of the current year, an account of which you will find hereunto annexed for your fuller information.

The King has been very glad to see by your and Mr. de Tracy's dispatches that the greater number of the soldiers composing the four companies, who already went to America under the command of Sieur de Tracy, and the regiment of Carignan-Salières, are much inclined to settle in the Country if they be somewhat aided in establishing themselves there; for his Majesty deems it so important to the good of his service and of that Colony, that he wishes they should all remain in Canada.

The King has formed a fund for Mr. de Tracy's allowances for rations and those of Mr. de Courcelles till the end of the year; and moreover, he has granted twelve hundred *écus* to Chevalier de Chaumont, who acts as Aid-de-Camp; twelve hundred *livres* to Sieur Berthier, Captain in L'Allier's regiment, and as much to your Secretary, and has in addition made a considerable present to Sieur de Tracy, in consideration of the loss he experienced of a bark freighted with supplies and provisions which he was importing from France, and which was shipwrecked in the river Saint Lawrence.

His Majesty writes to Mr. de Tracy in the terms you suggested, in order to oblige him to remain in Canada until next year, unless his health forbid it; and is moreover very happy to

learn both from him and from you that the Bishop of Petrée and the Jesuit Fathers have only in view the advancement of Christianity in the country, the maintenance of the inhabitants in the purity of the faith and of morals, and to raise their children in the fear of God, by inculcating among them a love of work and a dislike of idleness. He is also of opinion that you have acted prudently in burying the late Sieur de Mézy's fault with his memory; in reserving to yourself to have justice done to the parties to whom he is justly indebted, out of the effects he may have left at his death; and I must assure you that the trouble you take to inform me that you will not trade at all on your own account is entirely useless, as he is well persuaded that you study in your department only the improvement of the Colony and the means of pleasing him, and that you did not go to Canada with a view and idea of profiting by the opportunities in your power, for the purpose of forwarding some trivial interests there which might be personal to you.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and

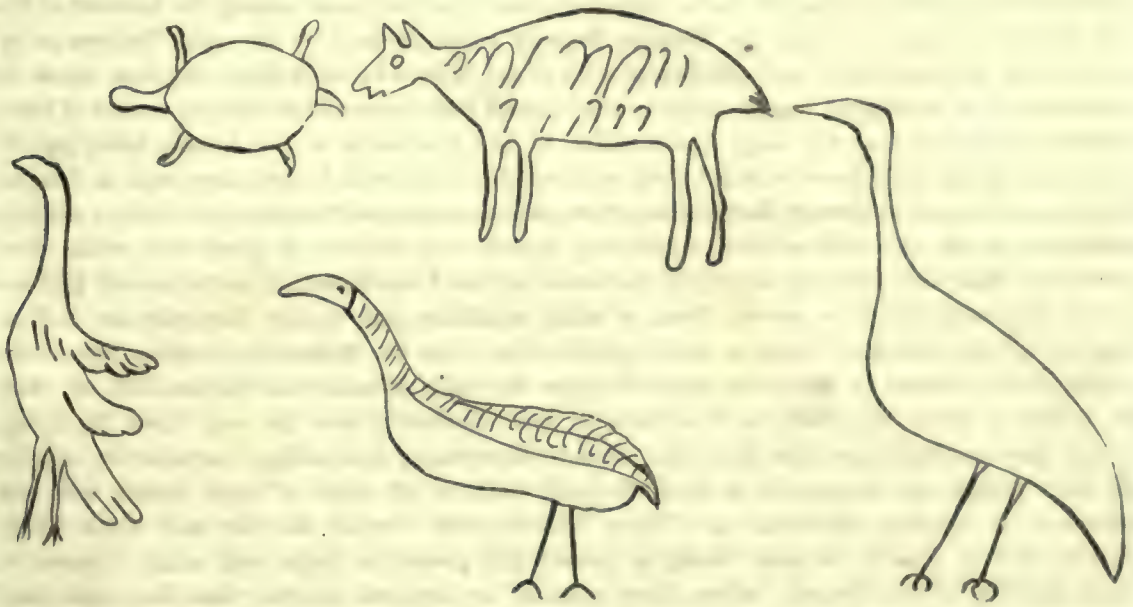
most affectionate servant

Versailles, 5th April, 1666. COLBERT.

Treaty between the Senecas and the French.

On the 22d of the month of May, of the year 1666, the Iroquois of the Seneca Nations above Onontaé being come down to Quebec to sue for peace by ten of its Ambassadors, named Garonheaguerha, Sagaȣechiȣtonk, Osendȣt, Gachioguentiaxa, Hotiguerion, Ondegȣaronton-Soȣendaȣen, Tehaougȣechaȣenion, Honagȣestȣi, Tehonneritague, Tsohaïen, after having communicated by the mouth of their Orator Garonhiaguerha, their chief, the subject of their embassy by thirty-four words, expressed by as many presents, have unanimously demanded that, being always under the protection of the most high, most puissant and most excellent Prince Louis the Fourteenth, by the Grace of God, Most Christian King of France and Navarre, since the French discovered their country, it may please his Majesty to continue it to them, and to receive them among the number of his faithful subjects, praying that the Treaty, made as well for the Onnontae Nation as for theirs, have for them full force and entire effect, ratifying it on their part in all its points and articles, which were read to them in the Iroquois tongue by Joseph Marie Chaummont, Priest and Member of the Society of Jesus, named in the Huron language Tchechon; adding, moreover, to all the said articles, which they protest to execute in good faith, what they proposed by their said presents, especially to cause to be sent to Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal some of their families, to serve as a closer bond by their persons and wills to the orders of those who shall have, in this country, the authority of the said Lord the King, whom they acknowledge from this present time as their Sovereign; demanding reciprocally, among other things, that some French families be sent among them and some Black-gowns, that is to say, Jesuits, to preach the Gospel and make known to them the God of the French, whom they promise to love and adore; with assurance that they will not only

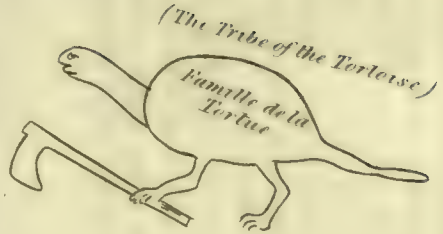
prepare cabins to lodge them, but will labor to construct forts for them to shelter them from the incursions of the common enemy, the Andastaes and others; and, that the present Treaty concluded by them in ratification of the preceding, may be stable and manifest to all, they have signed with the different and distinctive mark of their Tribes, after what they had asked of the said Lord the King had been accorded them in his name by Messire Alexander de Prouville, Knight, Lord de Tracy, King's Councillor in his Councils, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Armies both in the Island and on the Continent of South and North America, as well on sea as on land, in virtue of authority to him given, mention whereof is made at the present Treaty, in the presence and assisted by Messire Daniel de Remy, Seigneur de Courcelle, King's Councillor in his Councils, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Armies, and Governor of Acadie, the Island of Newfoundland and Canada, and of Messire Jean Talon, also King's Councillor and Intendant of Justice, Police and the Finances of New France, who have signed with the said Lord de Tracy, and as Witnesses François Le Mercier, Priest, Superior of the Society of Jesus, and Joseph Marie Chaumonnot, also Priest of the same Society, Interpreters of the Iroquois and Huron Languages. Done at Quebec, the 25 May, 1666.

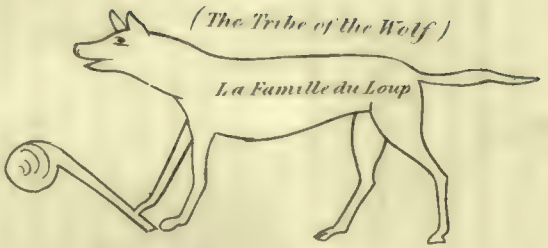


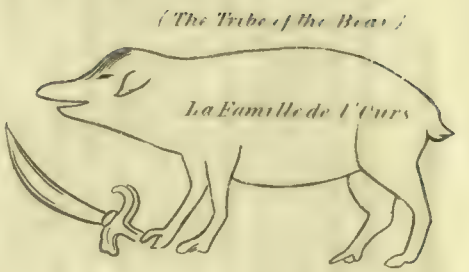
Treaty between the Oneidas and the French.

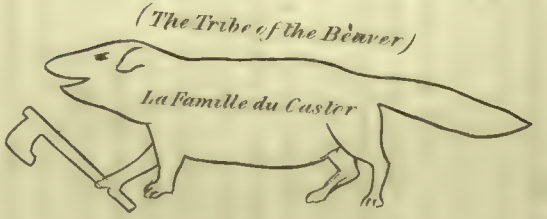
On the seventh of the month of July, of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-six, the Iroquois of the Oneida Nation, having learned from the Mohawks, their neighbors and allies, and from the Dutch of Fort Orange, that the troops of Louis the Fourteenth, by the grace of God, Most Christian King of France and Navarre, had, in the month of February of the said

year, carried his Majesty's arms, over the snow and ice, near unto Fort Orange in New Netherland, under the command of Messire Daniel De Courcelle, Lieutenant General of his armies, pursuant to orders received from Messire Alexandre de Prouville, Knight, Lord de Tracy, member of his Majesty's councils, and Lieutenant General of his armies, both in the Islands and main land of South and North America, as well by sea as by land, to fight and destroy the Mohawks, which probably they would have accomplished, had not the mistake of their guides caused them to take one road for the other, came down to Quebec to solicit peace, as well in their own name, as in that of the Mohawks, by ten of their Ambassadors, by name Soenres, Tsoensersanne, Gannonksenioton, Asaregsanne, Tsendiagon, Achinnhara, Togonksaras, Oskaraguets, Aksehen, and after having communicated by the mouth of their Orator and Chief, Soenres, the object of their Embassy by ten talks, expressed by as many presents, and having handed to us the letters from the officers of New Netherland, have unanimously requested, acknowledging the force of his Majesty's arms and their weakness and the condition of the forts advanced towards them, and moreover aware that the three upper Iroquois Nations have always experienced great benefit from the protection which they formerly received from the said Lord the King, that his Majesty would be pleased to extend to them the same favor by granting them the same protection, and receiving them among the number of his true subjects, demanding that the Treaties fomerly made, as well by the said Nations as by theirs, have the same force and validity as that of the Mohawks, who have required them to solicit this of us, with great importunity, as they should have themselves done by means of their Ambassadors, had they not been apprehensive of bad treatment at our hands, ratifying, on their part, all the said Treaties in all their points and articles, which have been read to them in the Iroquois tongue by Joseph Marie Chaumonot, priest, member of the Society of Jesus; adding, moreover, to all the said articles, which they protest they execute in good faith, what they offered by their said presents, especially to restore all the Frenchmen, Algonquins and Hurons whom they hold prisoners among them, of what condition and quality they may be, and as long as any are detained there, to send families even from the Mohawks, to serve, like those of the other nations, as the most strict hostages for their persons and dispositions to obey the orders of those who shall, in this Country, have authority from the said Lord the King, whom they acknowledge from this time as their Sovereign; demanding, reciprocally, among all other things, the restoration to them, in good faith, of all those of their Nation who are prisoners at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers; that French families and some Black gowns, that is, Jesuits, be sent them, to preach the gospel to them, and make known to them the God of the French, whom they promise to love and adore; also that trade and commerce with New France be open to them, by Lake *Saint Sacrement*, with the assurance, on their part, that they will provide in their country a sure retreat, as well to the said families as to the Traders, not only by preparing cabins to lodge them in, but also by assisting to erect forts to shelter them from their common enemies, the Andastracronnons and others. And that the present Treaty, made on their part in ratification of the preceding, may be stable and known unto all, they have signed it with the separate and distinctive marks of their tribes, after which, what they solicited from the said Lord the King has been granted to them in his name by Messire Alexander de Prouville, Knight, Lord de Tracy, Member of the King's Councils, &c (as above) in the presence and assisted by M^re^ Daniel De Remy Seigneur de Courcelles, King's Councillor, &c., &c., and of M^re^ Jean Talon, also Councillor, &c., who have signed with the said Lord de Tracy, and as Witnesses, François le Mercier,

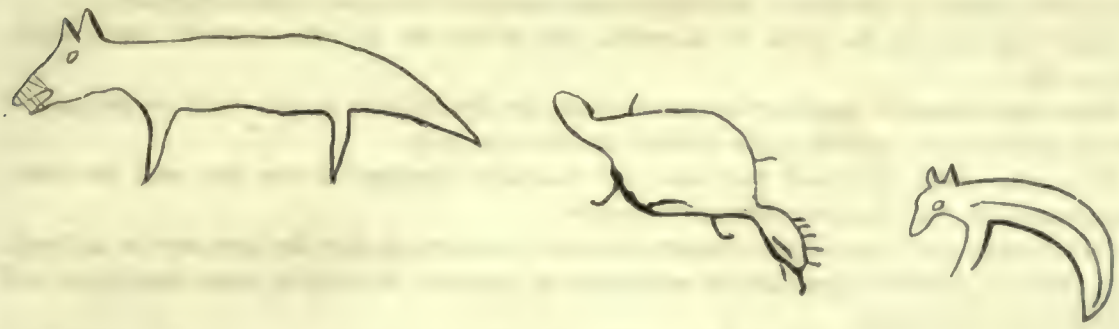

(The Tribe of the Tortoise)
Famille de la Tortue


(The Tribe of the Wolf)
La Famille du Loup


(The Tribe of the Bear)
La Famille de l'Ours


(The Tribe of the Beaver)
La Famille du Castor

Priest, &c., &c., and Joseph Marie Chaumonot, likewise Priest and Member of the said Society, Interpreters of the Iroquois and Huron languages. Done at Quebec the 12 July 1666.



The Nine Iroquois Tribes. 1666.

The Iroquois Nation consists of Nine tribes, which form two divisions; one of four tribes and the other of five.

They call the first division Guéyniotiteshesgué, which means the four tribes; and the second division they call it Ouiche niotiteshesgué, which means the five tribes.

The first is that of the Tortoise, which calls itself Atiniathin. It is the first, because they pretend when the Master of Life made the Earth, that he placed it on a Tortoise, and that when there are earthquakes, it is the Tortoise that stirs.

The Second tribe is that of the Wolf, and calls itself Enanthayonni, or Cahenhisenhonon, and is brother of the Tortoise tribe. When there is question of War they deliberate together, and if the affair is of great moment they communicate it to the other tribes, to deliberate together thereupon; so of all the other tribes. They assemble in the hut of a War-chief when the question is of war, and in the hut of a Council-chief when it is for ordinary matters of state.

The Third tribe is that of the Bear, which they call Atinionguin.

The Fourth tribe is that of the Beaver, and brother to that of the Bear. These four tribes compose the first division, which they call Guéy niotiteshesgué.

Second Division.

The Fifth tribe is that of the Deer, which they name Canendeshé.

The Sixth is that of the Potatoe, which they call Schoneschioronon.

The Seventh is that of the Great Plover, which they call Otinanchahé.

The Eighth is that of the Little Plover, which they call Asco, or Nicohès.

The Ninth is that of the Kiliou,[1] which they call Canonchahonronon. They call these five tribes Ouicheniotiteshesgué.

These nine tribes formerly occupied nine villages, which were finally collected together in order to sustain war more easily.

[1] Signifies a Hawk, in some of the Iroquois dialects. — Ed.

The ninth tribe derives its origin from a cabin that was in the interior *(dans les terres)*, and composed of several fires or households. In the middle of the cabin was a partition which divided it in two.

Weary of knowing no one, and consequently unable to marry, they all married among themselves, which is the reason that their name signifies Two cabins united together.

Each tribe has, in the gable of its cabin, the animal of its tribe painted; some black, others red.

When they assemble together for consultation, the first division ranges itself on one side of the fire in the cabin, and the other division on the other side.

When the matter on which they have met has been discussed on one side and the other, they accompany the decision with much ceremony.

The division which decides the matter gives two opinions, so that the best may be adopted, and offers all possible opposition in proposing its opinions, in order to show that it has well considered what it says.

They adopt, usually, the first opinion, unless there be some strong motive to the contrary.

When they do go to war, and wish to inform those of the party who might pass their path, they make a representation of the animal of their tribe with a hatchet in his dexter paw; sometimes a sabre or a club; and if the same party is made up from several tribes, each draws the animal of his tribe, and their number, all on a tree, from which the bark is removed. The animal of the tribe which heads the expedition is always foremost.

They generally have a rendezvous when they propose to strike a blow, where, in case of pursuit, they leave a part of their clothes and ammunition. When they fight they are highly painted, and have merely the breechcloth on, with a pair of Mocassins on the feet.

When the expedition is numerous, they often leave a party a hundred or a hundred and fifty leagues[1] from the village which they are about to attack. When they have finished, if they have casse-tetes or clubs, they plant them against the corpse, inclining a little towards the village of the slain.

On their return, if they have prisoners or scalps, they paint the animal of the tribe to which they belong, rampant *(debout)*, with a pole on the shoulder, along which are strung the scalps they may have, and in the same number. After the animal are the prisoners they have made, with a Chicicois[2] in the right hand. If they be women, they represent them with a Cadenet or Queue and a waistcloth.

If there be several tribes in the war party, each paints the animal of his tribe with the scalps and prisoners they have made, as before, but always after that which is head of the party.

When they have scalps they give them to one or two men, who suspend them behind to their girdle.

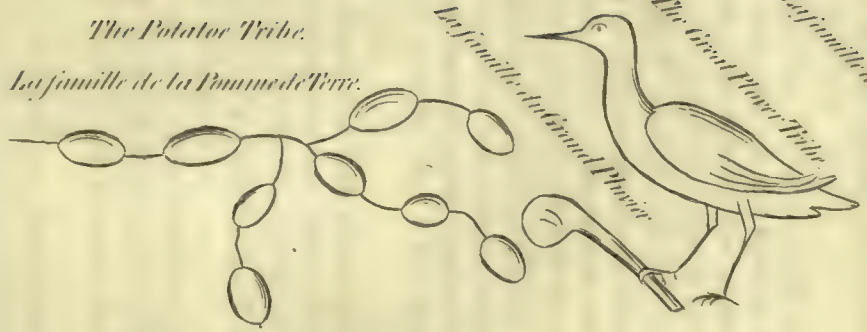
The men who carry these scalps follow the others at a distance; that is to say, at a quarter of a league, because they pretend that when they have taken and retain scalps, if these precede the others they cannot march any further, because they are seized with terror at the sight of the dripping blood. But this is only the first day; sometimes the second and third when they are pursued.

When they come again together, they proceed to notify the others, and then each one takes his station or awaits the enemy. When night falls they make a hole in the earth where they kindle a fire with bark to cook their meat, if they have any, and that during three or four days.

[1] *lieues*, qy. paces?

[2] i. e., a gourd filled with beans to rattle. — Ed.

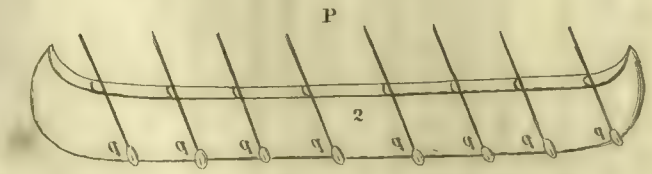

The Deer Tribe.
La famille du Chevreuil.

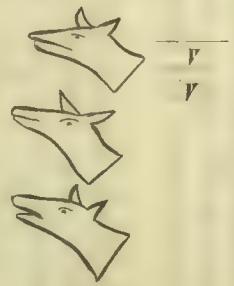

The Potatoe Tribe.
La famille de la Pomme de Terre.

La famille du Grand Plovier
The Great Plover Tribe

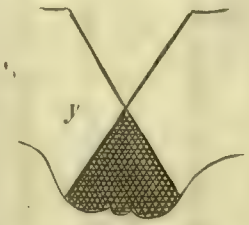

La famille du Petit Plovier
The Little Plover Tribe

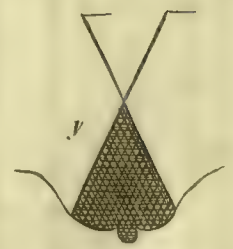

La famille du Brûlant.
The Eagle Tribe.

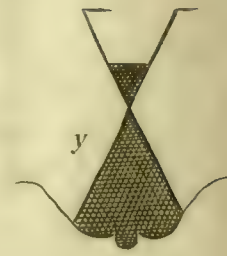

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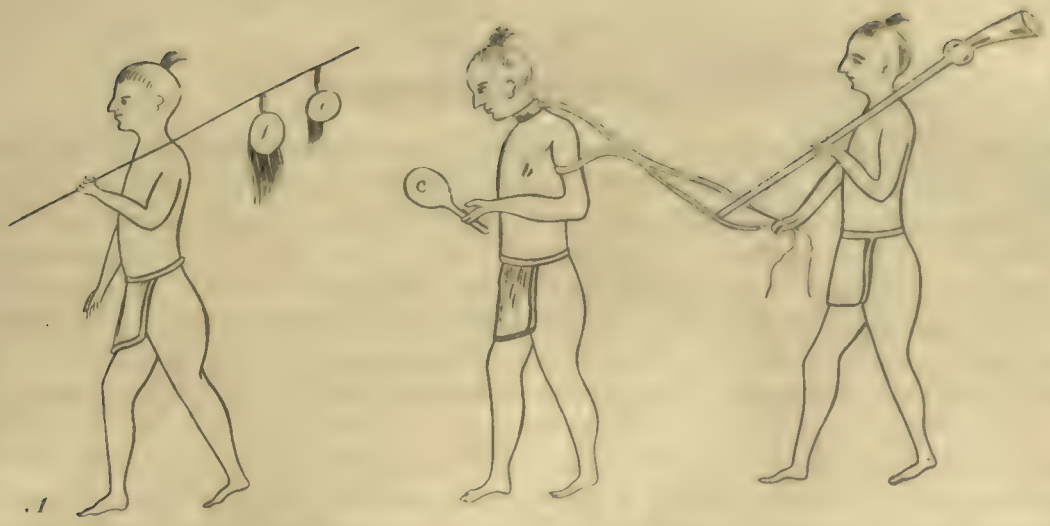

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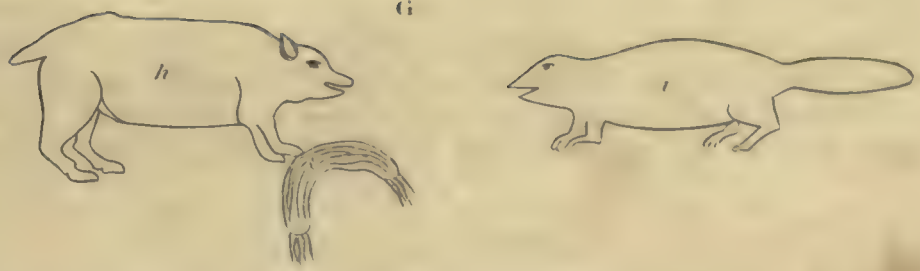

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They tie the prisoners to stakes set in the ground, into which they fix the leg, or rather foot, and this stake is closed by another; these are tied together at a man's height. They place a man at each side, who sleeps near and is careful to visit the prisoners from time to time during the night.

When they have lost any of their party on the field of battle, they sketch men with the legs in the air, and without heads, and in the same number as they have lost; and to denote the tribe to which they belonged, they paint the animal of the tribe of the deceased on its back, the paws in the air; and if it be the chief of the party that is dead, the animal is without the head.

If there be only wounded, they paint a broken gun, which, however, is connected with the stock, or even an arrow; and to denote where they have been wounded, they paint the animal of the tribe to which the wounded belong with an arrow piercing the part in which the wound is located; and if it be a gunshot, they make the mark of the ball on the body of a different color.

If they have sick and are obliged to carry them, they paint litters,[1] of the same number as the sick, because they carry only one on each.

When they are thirty or forty leagues[2] from their village, they send notice of their approach and of what has happened them. Then every one prepares to receive the prisoners, when there are any, and to torment each as they deem proper.

Those who are condemned to be burnt are conveyed to the cabin which has been appropriated to them. All the warriors assemble in a war cabin, and afterwards send for them to make them sing, dance, and to torture them until they are carried to the stake.

During this time two or three young men are preparing the stake, placing the fuel near, who keep their guns loaded.

When every thing is ready, the prisoner is brought out and tied to the stake and finally burnt. When he is burnt up to the stomach, they detach him, break all his fingers, raise the scalp which was left hanging behind by a small tongue of skin to the head. They put him to death in these agonies, after which each takes his morsel and proceeds to make merry.

Explanation of the Designs.

A. This is a person returning from war who has taken a prisoner, killed a man and a woman, whose scalps hang from the end of a stick that he carries.

B. The prisoner.

C. Chichicois (or gourd), which he holds in his hand.

D. These are cords attached to his neck, arms and girdle.

E. This is the scalp of a man; what is joined on one side is the scalp lock.

F. This is the scalp of a woman; they paint it with the hair thin.

G. Council of war between the tribe of the Bear and that of the Beaver; they are brothers.

H. A Bear.

I. A Beaver.

[1] *Boyards*—hand-barrows, used at cod-fisheries. — Ed.

[2] Three or four miles. *Colden.*

L. Is a belt, which he holds in his paws to avenge the death of some one, and he is conferring about it with his brother, the Beaver.

K. Council for affairs of state.

M. The Bear.

N. The Council fire.

O. The Tortoise; so of the other tribes, each ranges at its own side.

P. Canoe going to war.

Q. Paddles. They know hereby how many men there are in the Canoe, because they place as many paddles as there are men. Above these is painted the animal of the tribe to which they belong.

R. The Canoe.

S. This is a man returning from hunting, who has slept two nights on the hunting ground and killed three does; for when they are bucks, they add the antlers.

What is on his back is his bundle.

T. Deer's head. This is the way they paint them.

V. This is the manner they mark the time they have been hunting. Each mark, or rather each bar, is a day.

Y. Fashion of painting the dead; the two first are men and the third is a woman, who is distinguished only by the waistcloth.

As regards the dead, they inter them with all they have. When it is a man they paint some red calumets, peace calumets on the tomb; sometimes they plant a stake on which they paint how often he has been in battle; how many prisoners he has taken; the post ordinarily is only four or five feet high and much embellished.

a. These are punctures on his body.

b. This is the way they mark when they have been to war; and when there is a bar extending from one mark to the other, it signifies that after having been in battle he did not come back to his village, and that he returned with other parties whom he met or formed.

c. This arrow, which is broken, denotes that they were wounded in this expedition.

d. Thus they denote that the belts which they gave to raise a war party and to avenge the death of some one, belong to them or to some of the same tribe.

e. He has gone back to fight without having entered his village.

f. A man whom he killed on the field of battle who had a bow and arrows.

g. These are the two men whom he took prisoners, one of whom had a hatchet and the other a gun in his hand.

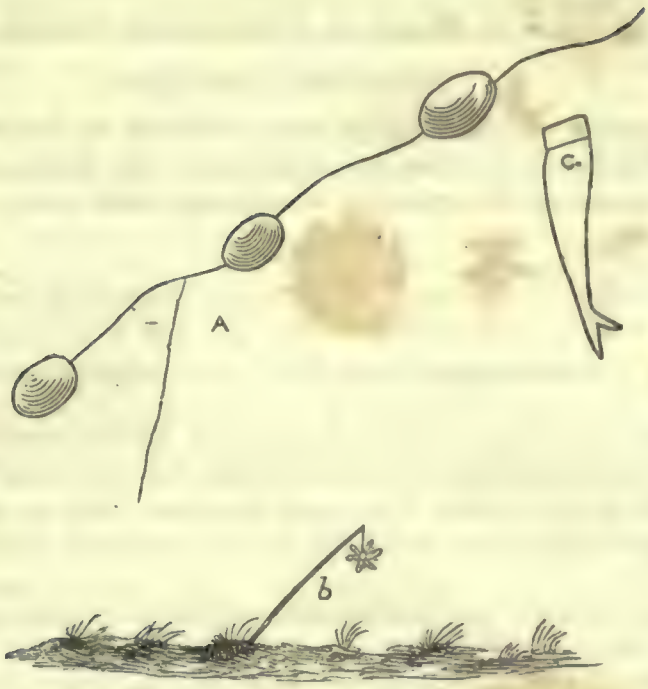
gg. This is a woman, who is distinguished only by a species of waistcloth.

h. This is the way they distinguish her from the men.

Such is the mode in which they draw their portraits.

The Portrait of a Savage on a board in their cabin, on which they ordinarily paint how often he has been to war, how many men he has taken and killed.





A. This is the manner the tribe of the Potatoe must be designated, and not as it is on the other plate.

b. Is a stick set in the ground, to the extremity of which two or three pieces of wood are attached, to denote the direction in which they went hunting; and on the nearest tree they paint the animal of the tribe to which they belong, with the number of guns they have; that is to say, if they are three men they paint three guns, if they are more and there are some who have a bow and no gun, they put down a bow.

When they return from hunting and are near the village they do the same thing, and add the number of beasts they have killed; that is to say, they paint the deer and the stag from the head to the neck; if some are male they add antlers; they paint the other animals entire; if they are some days at the chase they mark the number as you see on the other plate.

c. Club which they use to break the skull when they are at war.



Stake to tie the prisoners. They place his leg between these two posts, in the hollow of the larger; that is, the two posts catch the leg above the ankle, and they afterwards join one to the other and tie them at a man's height, sometimes higher, so that it is impossible to withdraw the foot without untying the cords.

M. Talon to Messrs. de Tracy and de Courcelles.

[Dépôt du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.]

Propositions submitted by Mr Talon to Messrs de Tracy and de Courcelles, whether it be more advantageous for the King's service to wage War against the Mohawks than to make peace with them.

For War.

Suppose, what is universally conceded in Canada, that a permanent Peace can never be made with that nation, which respects it only so long as it finds it its interest, or fears that its violation may cause it some damage, I think War is more advantageous than Peace, for the following reasons:

First. The King having sent to Canada a Regiment of Twelve hundred men, and regular troops commanded by brave Officers, with orders to fight that barbarous Nation, by which the establishment of the French Colony is so much retarded, 'twill be more glorious for his Majesty and more profitable to the Country that an effort be made to destroy them than to live at peace with them.

Second. That repeated experience inculcates the conviction, that the treaties of Peace made with those Infidels are broken on the first opportunity that presents itself to them to obtain an advantage over the French. The death of Messrs de Chazy and Travery and of Sieurs Chamot and Morin furnish evidence thereof as disastrous as it is recent, inasmuch as they have been attacked and killed at a time when Ambassadors of the Oneida Nation were at Quebec treating for that of the Mohawks.

Third. That though that Nation may not be always meditating or attempting to violate peace as often as it is disposed and believes it for its advantage, whether on account of its aversion to the French, Algonquins and Hurons, or as a consequence of its inhuman and barbarous nature, the proximity of the English, who stimulate their designs, must make us apprehend that sooner or later that European Nation will, when at war with the French, excite the said Mohawks and Oneidas to come to a rupture with us at the Upper part of the river, in order to divide our strength, whilst it will attack us at the mouth, or in the course of the river Saint Lawrence.

Fourth. That the present conjuncture appears the most favorable of all those that can be hereafter expected; because there is no other season for the destruction of that Nation except this, or the winter, or next spring.

Winter, in the opinion and according to the representation of those who, in the last season, had accompanied the expedition of Mr. de Courcelles, is too rigorous and too destructive to the troops.

Spring is much less adapted than Autumn; for in addition to the extraordinary heats, the bites of the Musquitoes create such severe inflammations as sometimes incapacitate a soldier for fighting; and besides, the waters are ordinarily so high in that season, that the rivers separating us from the Mohawk Nation are impassable, expect by constructing bridges of trees or bateaux.

Moreover, M. de Saurel having been, with three hundred troops, within a day's journey of the Mohawk village, with the design of sacking it, and having returned without committing any act of hostility, on meeting the Dutch Bastard who was sent on a mission of peace, it is to

be presumed with reason that the said Mohawks are not on their guard and do not expect danger, as an Indian of the Mohegan tribe *(Loups)* sent back by the said Sieur Saurel, was to have told them that he should retire, assuring them of a firm peace just concluded at Quebec with the said Dutch Bastard. Thus it is to be hoped that these barbarians will be found divided, and those discovered in the Wigwams be either in a profound sleep or off their guard.

Fifth. As to the conclusion of Peace between England and France, inasmuch as we shall not be able to have any news of it next Spring, we ought always calculate on war, which the King in his letters says he has declared. On this account, prudence suggests the distribution of the troops and their withdrawal from the Forts adjoining the Iroquois, in the Spring, when the English are more to be feared than now, so as to preserve Quebec and the interior of the Colony of Canada.

Sixth. That the Winter, always severe in this Country, will certainly take off some of the soldiers and weaken the Troops in point of numbers, besides rendering them, by its inconveniences, less adapted to the fatigues of war.

Seventh. That at present we have all the munitions of War and supplies necessary for this expedition, and it is not certain that we shall have them in spring, as we have, as yet, received but a small part of what will be required for the subsistence of His Majesty's troops; and the remainder, on board three ships, is still at the mercy of the winds and sea.

Eighth. That on occasions of war where more is to be hoped for than feared, the policy of attack is the best. That it must be granted that this expedition promises more success than mischance, inasmuch as we can attack the enemy with such a force as cannot be resisted by the whole of theirs together.

The Ninth and last. That the success of the expedition against the Mohawks opens the door for the seizure of Orange, the rather as the Dutch may be found inclined to unite with the King's arms in aiding the attack and capture of that fort. We may at least expect that when his Majesty's troops will have accomplished an action so bold as that proposed, within view of the English Colonies, that nation, more numerous in these Countries than the French, and capable of undertaking the ruin of Canada by an invasion, may be diverted therefrom, were it made sensible, by seeing us at it's gate and in the centre of its settlements, that we are in a position to carry the war into its midst.

Reasons for Peace.

First. It is to be feared that the English may be in the River, and have already captured some of the three vessels which are due, and have not arrived, though the season is advanced; therefore Quebec and its environs cannot be stripped without exposing the Colony.

(Answer to this Article.) Though it were true that the English were in the River, there is no reason for believing they would hazard an invasion of a country which, they are convinced, has twelve hundred soldiers, independent of the settlers who, they know well, are more than twice as many; and it is well established that Boston has but very few regular troops, and that its militia are not capable of an action of that nature. Moreover, in the present season and that of the ice, the time is short.

Second. To carry on the war, the militia must be called out, which cannot be done during the season of the harvest, except by postponing the cutting of the crops, or injuring them.

(Answer to the Objection.) This evil, how serious soever it may be, is always much less than that caused by the forays of the Iroquois when they pass from peace to war. And though the country should suffer the loss of the grain that the militia *(guerriers)* will not reap, it will be

better for it that the said militia attend to the war rather than to the harvest, which, however, will be saved by all the other Inhabitants, and for this purpose a police ordinance shall be issued.

Third. That the Algonquins and other savages will not, perhaps, feel disposed to return to this war, as they appeared dissatisfied because they had not the disposal of the prisoners demanded by the Ambassadors.[1]

Answer. That the Algonquins and other savages can be ordered to the war by authority, or prevailed on by argument and presents, which will indemnify them for the advantages they would have reaped from the prisoners they had made, had these been left to them.

Fourth. That the Mohawks who seem to demand peace with a sincere intention to maintain it faithfully, will never listen to it again if they perceive that war was designed whilst they were bearers of the Message of peace.

Answer. That it is better to have open war with the Mohawks, than an uncertain peace, dependent for its continuance on the pleasure of the most capricious among them; satisfied that it is more desirable that the French soldiers and all others regard them as avowed enemies, than to suppose them friends, since between them and us there is no more good faith than between the most ferocious of animals.

Fifth. That the English and Dutch, who, up to this time, have committed no act of hostility, will possibly declare war against us if they see us destroy an Indian tribe which appears to be under their protection.

Answer. So far from fearing that the Dutch would be jealous of the success of the King's arms, we may be persuaded, from all the steps they have taken to the present time, that they will joyfully receive them; and possibly, they await an occasion such as this, to avenge the usurpation unjustly committed upon them; weary as they, moreover, are of the insupportable domination of the English, [War] being declared between France and England, it is not reasonable to believe that the English will require new pretexts to obtain over us all the advantages possible by force of arms or otherwise. Therefore the attack on the Iroquois will not render them any more inimical to us than they now are.

Sixth. That to proceed in a secure manner in the destruction of the Mohawks, it will be necessary to select the best officers and soldiers in the forts, which will greatly retard the conveyance of provisions.

Answer. If the expedition against the Mohawks be successful, the forts will require one-half less supplies, because one-half less troops will be necessary, and though it should not, the posts can be resumed next spring. In a decisive move, a part is risked without risking the whole.

Answers, as annexed, may be given to each of these reasons.

I doubt not but the peace party may advance, also, other reasons than these. It is, therefore, well to adduce them, in order to balance the one by the other, so as to adhere to those of most weight.

This is what Talon most humbly craves Mess^{rs} de Tracy and de Courcelles, to examine.

Done at Quebec, the 1st September, 1666.

[1] The text is unintelligible. It is, "Ils ont paru malcontents de ce qu' on ne leur a pas laissé la disposition des Ambassadeurs faits par les prisonniers." The translation approaches somewhat nearer to common sense. — Ed.

M. Talon to M. Colbert.

Extracts of a Memoir on the Condition of Canada, addressed by M. Talon to M. de Colbert.

I. I ought to furnish you, in this place, with a detail of the expenses to which this country is subject, but in truth I dare not, what I have done is in such confusion, and I am so much afraid that I shall not appear a good steward of the King's property. Since my arrival I have been obliged to furnish Mr. de Tracy and Mr. de Courcelle, for the war, with one hundred and fifty-two bateaux capable of carrying fifteen men with their stores, and the freight alone of the munitions of war and provisions, which must be sent up by the lakes and rapids to all the frontier posts, costs nearly twelve thousand livres a year. You can conclude from this, My Lord, what the other expenses of Canada may amount to, for which I have not received, this year, a sou. I shall, nevertheless, do my best to maintain the success of the King's arms, and to dispose the country to produce something useful, in the hope, I entertain, that you will have the goodness not to abandon us. I find by Mr. Terron's return of provisions that there might have been an excess in some. I shall husband them to meet the most urgent demands, however solicitous the officers of the troops may be that I should give the whole to the soldiers. I have sold and turned some Brandy into wheat, with which I am well pleased.

II. Police regulations applied to the Christian Indians.

Some time after my arrival here I proposed to make police regulations for the Algonquin and Huron Indians, to regulate their manners according to those of the French in the view you pointed out to me, and to have the right to punish them when they will contravene the ordinances; giving them the enjoyment, in other respects, of the advantages which the French here possess; among the rest the use of liquor, which has been prohibited them up to this time. But I have experienced some difficulty, which I shall endeavor to remove this winter. 'Tis true, they ought to have been taught our language long ago, and not oblige the King's subjects to study theirs, in order to be able to communicate with them.

III. I believe I have already sufficiently explained myself respecting the supply of timber the King may derive from Canada for his French Navy. Notwithstanding, I add, that all the information I receive convinces me that it can be greater in amount than I have noted. I shall verify what I have stated only on the reports of others, when I shall have examined for myself, in the voyage I intend making.

I confirm what I have noted regarding hemp; and I assert, that if it be sown as abundantly, and cultivated with the same care, as in Low Brittany, this country may be expected to produce, some day, nearly as much of it as old France.

As there is here a quantity of pine and fir *(sapin)*, pitch, resin and incense may be got from these, and from those, tar. I shall commence next spring some experiments on the one and the other, and I shall have the honor of communicating to you the result.

'Tis quite certain that there are very fine masts here, but the greater portion are not on the banks of the river; nevertheless, as the whole of this country is penetrated with very fine streams, which disembogue into the said River (Saint Lawrence), it is to be expected that the said streams will facilitate the conveyance of the masts into it. The want of industry displayed hitherto in developing the country is the reason we are now ignorant of its

productiveness. It will not be for lack of care on my part that you will not become acquainted therewith. May God grant that it be satisfactory to you.

IV. One of the great advantages I remark in this country is, that it will be able to furnish hereafter a large number of seamen if it become populous, the inhabitants being greatly and much inclined to navigation.

V. I have sent back to Mr. Colbert de Terron all the muskets and cross-belts I could withdraw from the Troops here and at Three Rivers, to be returned to the Navy Store, as he advised me it would be for the King's advantage to do so. I should have sent all that the Carignan regiment has of them, if the remainder were not in the forts, where a portion may be of considerable use.

I cannot omit acquainting you that the frequent and numerous Iroquois embassies, some of which number one hundred and twenty and more, with the support of prisoners of that nation, twenty-two of whom are still under guard, have caused almost as much expense as three companies of the King's troops.

I say nothing of the extraordinary expenses of two war expeditions, in which, especially the latter, it was necessary to feed French settlers, Algonquins, Montagnez and Hurons in great numbers. The King will make such allowance as he pleases for these extras, which I must meet, and I shall be content with whatever His Majesty will order.

Mr. de Tracy and Mr. de Courcelles have returned from their expedition. The Iroquois having concluded to withdraw and abandon their settlements, Mr. de Tracy has not been able to effect more than to burn their forts and lay every thing waste. It is for these two gentlemen to inform you of all that occurred throughout the journey, which occupied fifty-three days' march. What I learn from the public voice is, that nothing that was possible to be done could have been added to what has been effected, and that the King's orders would have been executed and his wishes completely realized, had these Savages kept their ground. Indeed, it were desirable that a portion had been defeated and some others taken prisoners.

Mr. de Tracy's advanced age must greatly enhance the merit of the service he has rendered the King, by undertaking, in a broken frame like his, a fatigue of which no correct idea can be formed. I am assured that throughout the entire march of three hundred leagues, including the return, he suffered himself to be carried only during two days; and then he was forced to do so by gout. Mr. de Courcelles, though stronger than he, could not dispense with being carried in the same manner, having been attacked by a contraction of the nerves. Both, indeed, endured all the fatigue human nature is capable of.

Mr. de Tracy incurred some expenses on his march for the carriage of the cannon and other extraordinary services rendered by the Troops; I wished to repay him, but his modesty would not suffer it.

Not having been a witness of what was done in this enterprise against the Iroquois, I cannot note the merit of each of the officers employed in that expedition. It is for Mr. de Tracy and Mr. de Courcelles to advise you thereof. What I know by a public account is, that all have acquitted themselves therein in the manner his Majesty may expect from the most zealous of his subjects.

If his Majesty, effecting an arrangement between Holland and England, should stipulate for the restitution of New Netherland, and find it convenient previously to bargain with Messrs the States General for it, I think he could do so on reasonable terms; and that country, which

is not of much importance to them, would be of considerable to the King, who would have two entrances into Canada, and would thereby give the French all the peltries of the North, of which the English have now partly the advantage, by means of the communication with the Iroquois, which they possess by Manatte and Orange, and would place these barbarous tribes at his Majesty's discretion, who could, moreover, approach (New) Sweden when he pleased, and hold New England confined within its limits. I thought it my duty to submit this idea here.

VI. When the King ordered me to Canada, his Majesty did me the honor to tell me that he should leave me there only two years. My discharge cannot come before that time. I pray you most humbly, Sir, to have the goodness to obtain it for me. I should not ask it, had I sufficient genius and talent to acquit myself efficiently in the employment you did me the favor to procure for me, and to mould a rising state without such aid as that of Mr. de Tracy. Should his Majesty, nevertheless, believe that I can be useful to him, I have no other will than his and yours. Command, and though infirm, I shall obey, sacrificing entirely my person to his service and to your satisfaction.

I know well I am not here with the consent of the whole world; and it is this, coupled with my own indisposition, that induces me to ask the King for my discharge. Should you wish to know who these are who may be dissatisfied with my conduct and wherefore, Chevalier de Chaumont and the Company's general Agent will be able to acquaint you, and to inform you that if I would leave the Church on the footing of authority I found it, I should experience less trouble and more approbation.

TALON.

xiij November, 1666.

Census of Canada. 1666.

Abstract of the Roll of Families in the Colony of New France.

QUEBEC.	
Five hundred and fifty-five polls,	555
BEAUPRÉ.	
Six hundred and seventy-eight,	678
BEAUPORT.	
One hundred and seventy-two,	172
ISLAND OF ORLEANS.	
Four hundred and seventy-one,	471
ST. JEAN, ST. FRANCOIS AND ST. MICHAEL.	
One hundred and fifty-six,	156
SILLERY.	
Two hundred and seventeen,	217

NOTRE DAME DES ANGES AND RIVER ST. CHARLES.	
One hundred and eighteen,	118
COTE DE LAUZON.	
Six,	6
MONTREAL.	
Five hundred and eighty-four,	584
THREE RIVERS.	
Four hundred and sixty-one,	461
Total,	3418
Return of the number of men capable of bearing arms from 16 to 50 years of age,	1344.

There are, no doubt, some omissions in the Roll of families, which will be corrected during the winter of the present year, 1666.

(signed) TALON.

M. Colbert to M. Talon.

(Extracts.) Saint Germain en Laye, 6 April, 1667.

I. The King orders a new war against the Iroquois, to frighten them if they cannot be destroyed.

The King is entirely satisfied with the care you have taken to supply the troops with necessaries, in order to their efficient action in their different expeditions against the Iroquois, of the success of which his Majesty is very glad to be informed. But as the effect of the King's arms on them, however considerable, is not sufficient to guarantee the Colony against their invasions, they not being destroyed; and as it is, moreover, to be feared that they will return with more ferocity than ever, to commit their usual massacres in the scattered settlements, which cannot be succored in consequence of their remoteness, his Majesty expects that you will, by your counsel and all other means at your disposal, induce M. de Courcelles to undertake a new expedition during the next summer against them, for the purpose of utterly destroying them, if possible, or at least of increasing the terror they entertain of his Majesty's forces, and placing them in a position not to trouble the Country, however desirous they may feel to do so.

II. Of the Treaty made with the Iroquois and the conduct to be observed towards them.

I have seen the Treaty which, with M. de Tracy and M. de Courcelles, you have entered into with some of those Iroquois Nations, who, having no connection, and being detached from those they had, with the Mohawks, have voluntarily come to demand peace and to submit to the King's obedience; well remarking that you had principally in view to acquire a possession adverse to the actual or future pretensions of the European nations. Therefore his Majesty

has given it his entire approbation. As the greater portion of those people are properly savages, having, *quasi*, nothing human but the figure, I believe that when they will determine hereafter to send Ambassadors, it will not be necessary to put the King or his principal Officers, nor the country, to any but a very trifling expense, being certain that, to keep them in check, they ought to be treated haughtily; the consideration in which they might have been held, having contributed to render them more insolent.

As to the produce of the farming of the duty levied on the Beaver, and of the tenth of the Moose *(Orignaux)*, I clearly understand that, in consequence of the operations of the troops, and the occasion of the war, which has been carried even to the Iroquois settlements, it has been impossible for you to avoid disbursing the whole of it. But as it is very just that the Company, which is at great expense to support New France, should derive some advantage from the grant the King made it, it is important, and it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you hereafter reduce all the expenditure, which has hitherto been charged against that Farming, to the sum of Thirty-six thousand *livres* annually, without paying attention to the Regulations made heretofore by Sieur du Pont Gaudais, except in urgent and indispensable necessity, such as undertaking a new expedition for the destruction of the Iroquois, it being well understood that you will take great care to have it employed with strict economy; the rather, as before that grant those expenses of the Country paid from the same fund, did not amount to Twenty thousand francs, and since the Grant to 29 thousand livres; being the sole advantage that Company can derive from the Colony to compensate for all the different outlays it is obliged to make.

III. Fortification of Quebec and the Colony.

It is of great importance for the security of the Colony to devise practicable means to place principally the fort of Quebec in a state of defence, by constructing a regular fortification there, and stocking it with an efficient artillery and all sorts of munitions of war, so that it might not only not be insulted, but be capable of a vigorous defence, even though the most experienced nations of Europe laid a regular seige to it. The same attention ought to be paid to the other forts recently erected, and it ought to be a constant study to improve them. And as it would tend very much to the preservation of the country if powder could be manufactured there, let inquiries be made if saltpetre is to be found there.

IV. Recommendation to mould the Indians, settled near us, after our manners and language.

I confess that I agreed with you that very little regard has been paid, up to the present time, in New France, to the police and civilization of the Algonquins and Hurons (who were a long time ago subjected to the King's domination,) through our neglect to detach them from their savage customs and to oblige them to adopt ours, especially to become acquainted with our language. On the contrary, to carry on some traffic with them, our French have been necessitated to attract those people, especially such as have embraced Christianity, to the vicinity of our settlements, if possible to mingle there with them, in order that through course of time, having only but one law and one master, they might likewise constitute only one people and one race.

Your most humble
and most affectionate servant,
COLBERT.

M. Talon to M. Colbert.

(Extracts.) 27 October, 1667.

I. As long as all the nations of Iroquois, enjoying the benefit of the Peace granted to them on behalf of his Majesty, will allow the French Colony to spread itself in this country and labor in profound tranquillity at the cultivation of the soil, we consider it inexpedient to wage war against them during the winter; we therefore wait the King's orders, should his Majesty desire for the reasons set forth in your despatch, that a second invasion be made on those of the Lower Nation, notwithstanding the treaty concluded with them.

The means, in my opinion, to secure the whole Colony more effectually against either the Europeans or the savages, would be to give Manatte and Orange to the King by conquest or acquisition, as I had the honor to propose to you on the grounds submitted in the annexed memoir.

II. Agreeably to your idea, I render the fee of the three villages which I caused to be formed in this vicinity, to strengthen this principal post by a greater number of Colonists, a dependency of Fort Saint Louis of Quebec;[1] and the King, or, at his Majesty's pleasure, the Company, will remain the Lord proprietor thereof, holding *domaine utile* and the rights which I stipulated in the contracts of settlement distributed to the soldiers, to the recently arrived families and to the volunteers of the country who have married the young women you sent me. I even caused the land, I had prepared at the King's expense, to be given to them on condition that the occupants will do as much in the space of three years for the benefit of the families sent from France, whom my successors shall have orders to establish, supposing that, at the expiration of that time, the country will have a certain and perpetual fund for the support of the majority of the families dependent on it. My principal object is hereby to people the neighborhood of Quebec with a good number of inhabitants capable of contributing to its defence, without the King having any of them in his pay. I shall, as much as possible, practice the same economy in all the places at which I shall form towns, villages and hamlets, mingling, thus, soldiers and farmers, so that they may mutually instruct one another in the cultivation of the soil and be aiding to each other when necessary.

III. The return realized by some Fishermen, who, by fishing at one place and another have given me some idea of the profit derivable from fixed fisheries, has favored the project I entertained of establishing some such; and already four of the principal inhabitants and I have agreed to put it into operation next spring. Should my Secretary demand of you some commissions for the execution of this design, I very respectfully request you, My Lord, to cause them to be granted him. I agree with you, My Lord, that we shall excite the envy of some now devoid of it, and that the profit I caused to be realized by nine of the Colonists, who were employed by me in fishing for Cod for the use of the troops and for the trade with the Islands of South America, will serve as a powerful attraction.

TALON.

[1] Conformement a votre sentiment, j'attache au fort de Saint Louis de Quebec la mouvance des trois villages, &c. — ED.

Census of Canada. 1667.

Abstract of the Roll of Families of New France.

Families,	749
Total of persons composing them,	4312
Men capable of bearing arms,	1566
Men of a marriageable age,	84
Girls above fourteen years,	55

Roll of cultivated Farms and of Cattle.

Farms under cultivation,	Arpens,	11,174
Horned Cattle,		2,136.

Census of Canada. 1668.

Abstract of the number of Families, of persons composing them, and of Men capable of bearing arms, of cleared lands, of the produce of the harvest, and of Cattle in Canada, in the year 1668.

Families,	1,139
Persons composing them,	5,870
Men capable of bearing arms,	2,000
Arpens of land cleared,	15,642
Horned Cattle,	3,400
Minots of grain saved,	130,978

It will be observed that neither the 412 soldiers who settled this year, nor the 300 of the four companies who remained in Canada, are included in the present Roll.

M. Colbert to M. de Courcelles.

15th May, 1669.

Sir,

* * * * * * *

You will learn by Sieur Talon's return that his Majesty has granted freedom of trade to the said country (Canada), so that it will now be able to import with more facility those provisions and commodities it will require. But you must at the same time excite the inhabitants to seek out merchandise which may induce the French to supply them in exchange with said provisions and commodities. And that is the more necessary, as the kingdom being

at present stocked with a vast quantity of peltries, the French would perhaps become soon disgusted with furnishing them supplies, should there be no other goods to give them in exchange.

I have nothing to say regarding M. Boutteroüe[1], as his Majesty has resolved to send back M. Talon, who himself is the bearer of this dispatch. But perhaps time would have enabled you to discover better qualities in him than you have already done, with so short an experience as you have had at the date of your letters. At least, I can assure you that he is a person much esteemed here, and who in time would have worthily performed the duties of his office; and though I am persuaded he would not in the end be so absolutely dependent on the Bishop and the Jesuit Fathers, yet I believe he is much to be esteemed on account of the deference and regard he has had for them. * * * * You will perceive that your resolution to appear occasionally at Montreal conforms to the King's intentions; but he desires that you extend this design further; that is to say, that you go, if possible, as far as the Iroquois country every two years, or oftener if you think it fit, with all the forces you can collect, it being certain that we must impress on the minds of these tribes a great opinion of our nation, in order to restrain them within their duty; and this high opinion can never be sufficiently impressed until they shall have had the whole of the French forces 3 or 4, and perhaps 5 or 6 times within their country. And when that reputation shall be once firmly established, not only the inhabitants of that Colony will derive from it the advantage of never again being disturbed in their labor and trade, but that advantage, being known within the kingdom, will induce a considerable number of French to repair thither annually, so that the country will be peopled and will augment without difficulty.

Though you will learn from M. Talon all that the King does this year for said Country, I shall not forbear telling you, in three words, that his Majesty has employed more than 200[m]lb. for all that he has considered necessary to do there; that he sends one hundred and fifty girls to be married there; six effective companies of fifty men each, with more than thirty officers or gentlemen, all to settle there, and more than 200 other persons who go over, also with like intentions. You clearly perceive that so considerable an effort indicates effectually the regard his Majesty entertains for that country, and that he will favorably consider the services which will be rendered him to advance it.

M. Talon has the King's order to testify to the Bishop of Petrée and the Abbé de Queilus[2] that they can do nothing more agreeable to him than to continue to labor as they have begun, by instructing the children of the Indians, and civilizing them so as to qualify them for uniting themselves to the French under the obedience of those who hold legitimate authority from his Majesty. And hereunto I think you can greatly contribute by your care.

Regarding the too great authority assumed, as you experience, by the Bishop of Petrée and the Jesuits, or, to speak more correctly, by the latter in the name of the former, I must inform you that you will have to act with great prudence and circumspection in that matter, especially as it is of such a nature that, when the country will increase in population,

[1] This gentleman acted as Intendant during Mr. Talon's brief absence in France.

[2] Rev. Gabriel de Quaylus, Abbé de Loc-Dieu, came to Canada, in 1657, as representative of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, Paris, which had become proprietor of the Island of Montreal, where he founded the Seminary of which he was the first Superior. Under pretended authority from the Archbishop of Rouen, he claimed certain jurisdiction over the Clergy, which, having been found to conflict with that of Bishop de Laval, Abbé de Quaylus withdrew to France in 1659, a few months after the Bishop's arrival in Canada. He returned, however, in 1668, to Montreal, where he labored for a few years and then retired to his native country. — Ed.

assuredly the Royal will predominate over the Ecclesiastical authority, and resume its true extent. Meanwhile, without either any rupture between you, or partiality on your part being perceptible, you will be always able adroitly to prevent the too vast undertakings they may attempt; whereupon you can always consult M. Talon and act in concert with him.

* * * * * * * * *

M. Colbert to M. de Courcelles.

S^{t} Germain, 9th April, 1670.

I received your letters of the 10 July, first September and 11th Nov^{r} of last year. * * *

His Majesty is very glad to learn from your letters that the Iroquois have continued to observe peace and trade with us, and to abandon all thoughts of war. Your zeal in encouraging the people to the practice and exercise of arms, and even in causing them to make journeys sometimes into the interior, will assuredly contribute a great deal to bring all those tribes into the King's obedience, and consequently to strengthen the Colony and give it the means of extending itself. This is what his Majesty desires you will direct all your attention to.

His Majesty orders me to say to you, in a few words, that you ought to occupy yourself continually to preserve the people in peace, and to guarantee them against all violences of their enemies; encourage them to industry and the cultivation of the soil, and still more to the commerce of the seas in every way you consider best; sedulously insist that justice be impartially administered to them, so that each preserve his property, and the weak be not oppressed by the powerful.

That you take great pains to encourage them all to early marriage, so that by the multiplication of children the Colony may have the means of increase within itself.

That you likewise carefully stimulate them to the fisheries and marine trade, and that you assist, with all the authority the King has committed to you, the exploration Sieur Talon is to make of the Iron and Copper mines, as well as for timber necessary for the construction of his Majesty's ships, and for all other establishments advantageous to the country, the detail of which I shall not explain any further to you, referring you to what Sieur Talon shall say to you.

M. Talon to the King.

Extracts of a Memoir addressed by M. Talon to the King on the affairs of Canada.

Demand for Troops in case of war against the Iroquois.

1st Part 10th 8ber 1670. If the Iroquois, rendered more insolent by the retirement of the Troops who were recalled when I went to France, do not become more pliable by the return

of those whom his Majesty has ordered hither next year, there is reason to suspect some violation of the peace on their part. This suggests the observation that as the three designs, the building ships, making tar and exploring the iron mines, appear important, as well as the establishment of the Colony, which grows beautiful in peace, it appears important also to send hither a further force of two hundred troops.

The fund his Majesty allowed for the subsistence and maintenance of the six companies which he sent out this year, from the first of July 1670, to the first of July 1671, not being sufficient to complete the establishment of the companies, his Majesty is very humbly supplicated to grant them a second and third year, in order that they may place themselves in a position to sustain the Country by their arms and their industry.

It will be necessary to see how much that year amounted to.

Another Extract. One of the sources of population in Canada.

Good. Of all the girls who arrived this year, numbering nearly one hundred and sixty-five, thirty do not remain unmarried.

Good. 150 girls. The soldiers who have come this year will incline to get married when they will have labored to make a home; wherefore it were well if his Majesty would please send out again one hundred and fifty to two hundred girls.

To M. Ballenzaui to speak of it to the Director of the General Hospital.

Another Extract. Dispatch of Adventurers for the discovery of New Countries.

Since my arrival I have dispatched persons of resolution, who promise to penetrate further than has ever been done; the one to the West and to the North West of Canada, and the others to the Southwest and South. These adventurers are to keep journals in all instances, and reply, on their return, to the written instructions I have given them; in all cases they are to take possession, display the King's arms and draw up *procès verbaux* to serve as titles. His Majesty will probably have no news of them before two years from this, and when I shall return to France.

Establishment on Lake Ontario.

In addition to my being informed, both verbally and in writing, that the Iroquois threaten a rupture, I perceive that they ruin the trade of the French; hunt for Beavers in the country of the Indians who have placed themselves under the King's protection, perpetrate robberies on them and despoil them of their peltries. I am strongly persuaded that if an Establishment be formed on Lake Ontario, which I designed to make before my departure for France, the Iroquois will more easily be kept, with one hundred men, in order, respect and dread. If his Majesty approve my having a small vessel built in form of a galley, which could move by sails and oars, and be seen in all parts of the Lake through which all those savages carry on their entire trade. I shall explain myself better by the last ship; yet should she not arrive in safety, it would only be necessary that his Majesty send me three blank commissions; one for the commandant of this little vessel, and the two others to authorize persons to command at the two posts which it will be well to occupy at the North and South of that Lake; and order M. de Courcelles to afford me all the assistance of which I shall stand in need to render this design successful.

Extracts from the Addition to the present Memoir. 10th November, 1670.

Coureurs de bois.[1]

The Edict enacted relative to marriages has been enregistered, and, proclaiming the intention of the King, I caused orders to be issued that the volunteers (whom on my return, I found in very great numbers, living, in reality, like banditti) should be excluded from the [Indian] trade and hunting; they are excluded by the law also from the honors of the Church, and from the Communities [*Communautés*] if they do not marry fifteen days after the arrival of the ships from France. I shall consider some other expedient to stop these vagabonds; they ruin, partially, the Christianity of the Indians and the commerce of the French who labor in their settlements to extend the Colony. It were well did his Majesty order me, by *lettre de Cachet*, to fix them in some place where they would participate in the labors of the *Communauté*.

Of the means of recovering the profit of the Beaver trade which passes to the English and Dutch.

If the observations that I have myself made and caused others to make, be correct, the English of Boston, and the Dutch of Manatte and of Orange who are subject to them, attract, by means of the Iroquois and other Indian tribes in their neighborhood, over twelve hundred thousand *livres* of Beaver,[2] almost all dry and in the best condition, part of which they use in their trade with the Muscovites, either themselves or through the Dutch. As all this Beaver is trapped by the Iroquois in countries subject to the King, we can more freely speak of those throughout which he alone can prescribe law, and Europeans cannot penetrate if the smallest precaution be taken to secure the most favorable posts. I find considerable occupation in diverting the greater part of this trade, naturally and without violence, to the benefit of his Majesty's subjects; and if he will please grant me the company of one hundred picked soldiers, which I ask for in my Memoirs, with one payment of fifteen hundred livres, as well for levying as for subsisting them; or the commission to empower me to raise fifty men at my own expense, and to have a sort of galley built for the security of Lake Ontario; there is reason to hope, not only that the duties derived from this commerce would indemnify his Majesty and benefit the Company, but also that he would, through this means, be assured of Lake Ontario by two settlements which I should make, one at the North and the other at the South of the Lake. These posts would favor the passage of the Outawas when descending with their fat Beavers, of which, otherwise, they will often be despoiled by the Iroquois; would keep in check the five Upper Nations, to the most of whom we ascend by the lake, and would make the first openings towards Florida across the interior. By means of those two posts which I propose establishing, and of the vessel I suggest, with whose expense I charge myself, I anticipate, through the Indian trade, a very large profit. This I do not solicit for myself; but when realized, I propose to employ it to lighten the expense the King is obliged to incur for the support of this Colony.

[1] Forest Rangers, so called from employing their whole life in the rough exercise of transporting merchandise to the Lakes of Canada, and to all the other countries of that continent, in order to trade with the Savages. *La Hontan*, I., 277. In New England they are called Swampiers. *Douglas' Summary*, II., 245. By the Dutch they were called Bos Loopers. — Ed.

[2] Pour plus de 1,200,000 livres de Castor.

In order to attain success in this design, I require an order to M. de Courcelles to furnish me, in the way of troops, with every assistance I need; and a general order to the officers to act in those establishments conformably to my instructions.

I say no more about Manatte and Orange, since these two posts cannot, by any arrangement, be the King's, though, in my opinion, they would be of very great utility to him; we must shut against them the Road to the River (S^{t} Lawrence), and secure for his Majesty all the outlets of the Lakes and of the Rivers communicating therewith, in order that the Europeans may lose all desire they may feel to share with his Majesty so beautiful and so vast a Country, could they easily effect it.

Another Extract. aliò.—Of a War against the Iroquois.

From all I have read and heard of the humor of the Iroquois, we may be persuaded that that Savage Nation, though humbled by the King's arms, has not forgotten its arrogance; and if it do not at present wage war against the French Colony, it is because it has on its hands the Andastogués, a tribe bordering on New Sweden, well adapted for war. In my opinion it would be prudent to anticipate them by attacking them in their own country, if things on this side could be placed in a situation to support this enterprise, or if the two posts I propose to establish, the one on the North, the other on the South side of Lake Ontario, with the galley I intend building, do not alarm these barbarians sufficiently to restrain them within bounds, which is what I hope, with good reason. Therefore, I incline much more to the commencement of the Establishments I propose, than to coming to an open rupture, for which complete arrangements will be necessary so as to be able to succeed with certainty; not but that his Majesty can afford such aid that nothing would be impossible. The thing depends on what he would be willing to do.

To sustain or wage this war, as well as for any other unforeseen enterprise, I think it would be well that his Majesty should order to be sent hither six iron twelve-pounders, one or two mortars, and fifty shells of a proportionate calibre; and at the same time a gunner capable of perfectly managing artillery, who especially would be thoroughly conversant with the effect of powder from the mortar and of shell, so admirable in attacking Indian Villages; also, fire-works for burning their palisades.

Two Indian Tribes, one called the Mohegans *(Loups)* and the other the Socoquis, inhabit the country adjoining the English, and live, in some respect, under their laws, in the same manner as the Algonquins and Hurons do under those of his Majesty. I perceive in these two tribes, by nature arrant and declared enemies of the Iroquois, a great inclination to reside among the French. I am of opinion that it would be well to encourage and strengthen this inclination, in order both to profit by the peltries they carry to the English, and to oppose them, when necessary, to the Iroquois, if these be disposed to an open rupture, the rather as the English may adopt the policy, which they have attempted, to reconcile those hostile tribes in order to bring them all down upon us.

Mess^{rs} Dolier and Galinée's Voyage to Lake Ontario.

I return to new discoveries, and I say that already Mess^{rs} Dolier and Galinée, priests of Saint Sulpice, Missionaries at Montreal, have traveled all over Lake Ontario and visited unknown tribes. The Map I annex hereunto, under the letter C., will show their route and how far they have penetrated. The small *procès verbal*, letter D., which they drew up somewhat hastily, and without giving all its form, will furnish evidence that they have taken possession of all

that dritrict. I shall correct, as far as possible, that Instrument, and shall cause to be planted in every quarter, where the King's subjects will go, his Majesty's arms, with the sign of his religion, under the impression, if these precautions be not at present of use, they may become so at another time. I am assured that it is the Iroquois practice to pull down the arms and written placards attached to trees in the places of which possession is taken, and convey them to the English, whereby that Nation may learn that we pretend to remain masters thereof. It is for his Majesty to determine if this practice of posting up notices is to be continued or interrupted, until he be perfectly assured of all the important posts in the Country.

Quebec, 10th 9ber 1670. TALON.

M. Talon to M. Colbert.

Extracts from the Memoir addressed by M. Talon to Monseigneur Colbert.

Good. I. You will understand, My Lord, by the Memoir I furnish the King, that some adventurers have set out to discover unknown countries and to seek out things which may be of use to his state. According as I have advices, I shall despatch others, with the precaution necessary to such enterprises.

I learn by the return of the Algonquins, who will winter this year at Tadoussac, that two Good. European vessels have been seen very near Hudson's bay, where they wigwam *(cabanent)* as the Indians express it. After reflecting on all the nations that might have penetrated as far North as that, I can light only on the English, who, under the guidance of a man named Des Grozeliers, formerly an inhabitant of Canada, might possibly have attempted that navigation, of itself not much known, and not less dangerous. I intend dispatching thither over land some man of resolution to invite the Kilistinons, who are in great numbers in the vicinity of that Bay, to come down to see us, as the Ottawas do, in order that we may have the first pick of what the latter savages bring us, who, acting as pedlers between those nations and us, make us pay for a round-about of three or four hundred leagues.

The proposal made to me by Captain Poullet of Dieppe ought to be mentioned here. This man, wise by long practice and experience acquired from an early age, and become a skilful navigator, offers to undertake the discovery, if not yet accomplished, of the passage between the two seas, the Southern and Northern, either by David's Strait or by that of Magellan, which he thinks more certain. After having doubled the opposite coast of America, as far as California, he will take the western winds, and, favored by these, re-enter by Hudson's bay or David's strait. I have given him a letter which he is to present to you, if he have not altered the plan, which would be to penetrate as far as China by one or the other of those passages. If you desire to hear him, my secretary will have him repair to you.

To examine this proposal.

Good. II. All the girls sent out this year are married, except about fifteen whom I caused to be distributed among families of character, until the soldiers, who solicit them, have formed some establishment and acquired wherewith to support them.

To promote the marriage of those girls I made them a present, as is my custom, of the sum
Good. of fifty livres, Canada currency, in necessaries suitable for their house keeping, in addition to some provisions.

Good. Miss Etienne, appointed their Matron by the Director of the General Hospital,
An extract of this article must be furnished to M Bellinzani. will return to France to take charge of those to be sent this year, should his Majesty have the goodness to let some come; in which case it will be well to recommend strongly that those destined for this country be in no wise naturally deformed; that they have nothing exteriorly repulsive; that they be hale and strong for country work, or at least that they have some aptness for hand-labor. I write in this sense to Messrs the Directors. Three or four young women of good family *(naissance)* and distinguished for their accomplishments, would tend, perhaps, usefully to attach by marriage some officers who are interested in the Country only by their allowances and the profit of their lands, and who do not become further attached in consequence of disproportion of rank.

The girls sent last year are married, and almost all pregnant or mothers; a proof of the fecundity of this country.

A slight present of one hundred and fifty or two hundred écus to Miss Etienne would be well employed.

Should the King send other young women or widows from Old to New France, it is well that they be provided with a certificate from their Parish Priest, or the Justice of their place of abode, to the effect that they are free and in condition to marry. Without this, the Clergy here object to confer this sacrament on them; indeed, not without reason, two or three marriages having been acknowledged here. The same precaution might be observed regarding widowers; and that ought to be the business of those who will be entrusted with the passengers.

To be noted in the extract. Speaking of girls, we ought not lose sight of the comfort of the hired laborers so very necessary in this country, both as assistants in their work to the farmers who are at their ease, and as new Colonists after the expiration of their ordinary term of three years.

Good. III. On this head I must observe that if all the money which the King orders for Canada were transported hither, and made use of in specie, this country would not only
Supplies must be sent without hesitation. not be accommodated, but expenses would be double. This practice of turning the King's money into commodities suitable for nourishment or clothing, for providing furniture for the establishments of soldiers and young women who marry, and of new families who come here, is not agreeable to the merchants, who would like every thing to be got from themselves, good or bad, and at so high a rate that it would require double the expense, were people reduced to what they wish.

Good. Goods are of use also to be exchanged for grain; and it is for this purpose I sent some into certain places to be distributed among the farmers at a distance from Quebec, in order that, by finding at home those articles which they need, they may not be obliged to come to Quebec in search of them, and abandon their families for three and sometimes four days; and in order, also, that the grain to be received in payment may be conveyed here in a single vessel.

I dwell on and explain this article, because I have been informed that a Rochelle Merchant has complained to M. de Terron that I busied myself too much with trade, and that I had Magazines established in Canada. I add that had I not had them, several of the

settlements, either commenced or completed, would be entirely ruined; and some people would desire nothing better.

Good. IV. I must not forget to acquaint you, that the Abbé de Queylus applies himself zealously to the reorganizing of his Clergy, to the increase of the Montreal Colony, and to providing subjects for the Missions, who, by the discoveries they make, acquit themselves worthily and usefully for the King. He pushes his zeal further, by the care he takes to recover the Indian Children who fall into the hands of the Iroquois, in order to bring them up—the boys in his Seminary, the girls among persons of the same sex who form at Montreal a sort of Congregation to instruct youth in reading, writing and little handiwork *(ouvrages de main)*. The Princess de Conty is the principal promoter of this pious action. She made me the depository last April, in Paris, of her intentions, which she backed by a first donation of twelve hundred livres. Other persons of a like disposition, feeling themselves urged by charity, gave me to understand that they would willingly participate in this pious work; if you approve my engaging in it I shall do so, and I have reason to hope with some success, without my application thereto detracting in any way from what I owe the affairs you place in my charge. Four lines, indicating to M. de Queylus and his community the pleasure with which the King learns from my despatches the zeal they evince for Christianity and his Majesty's service, would have a very good effect. He will perhaps have need of your authority to draw his income from France; he hopes you will grant him your protection in such cases as justice shall be on his side.

Good. This establishment must be encouraged.

To write to the Abbé de Queylus.

I found greatly diminished, on my return, the number of little savages brought up by the Bishop and the Fathers; but I must say their zeal for this charity revives, and that they are about looking up new subjects to rear them according to our manners, language and maxims. It would be well to encourage the disposition they evince for this work by two or three approbatory lines.

Good.

V. M. de Courcelles, to whom I communicated the King's desire that he should exercise the inhabitants from time to time, collecting them together for the management and carrying of arms, has promised to do so, and assures me that he will not fail therein; I think it will be well to distribute some standards to them after they shall have been enrolled under a chief in form of a company. On the supposition that his Majesty would approve it, I told my secretary to meet the expense thereof, as well as of what would be necessary for the purchase of some swords, of moderate value, to be offered to them as prizes, in order to encourage them in manœuvring and firing correctly on Sundays and holidays.

Good.

Good.

Here I must say, that if it do not render the Royal medals too common to distribute some of them to those who will undertake great enterprizes or useful discoveries, either of new countries or of mines, or of forests, I would ask a dozen to serve as an incentive to induce persons to accomplish difficult undertakings to whom money would not be so strong an inducement. This description of reward is more economical, and often times more powerful than any other.

Good. Some must be sent.

VI. In order to contribute in fact, as well as by counsel, to the settlement of Canada, I have, myself, afforded an example by the purchase of a tract of land covered with timber, except two arpens which were found cleared. I have had it cultivated and improved in such a manner that I can say it is the most considerable in the country. I still propose to enlarge it; it is of sufficient extent to admit of some hamlets; it is in the vicinity

Good.

of Quebec and may be of use to that town. It could receive a title if his Majesty pleased to give it one; and to render it more susceptible of a mark of honor, which I expect from his Majesty, he can annex to it, under such names as he shall please, the three Villages which I have caused to be erected. He will not, perhaps, be displeased with beginning by me to create emulation among the officers and wealthy colonists, who will labor zealously to extend their lands in the hope of receiving some title.

Good. You know, My Lord, that M. Berthelot has directed me to expend, in his behalf, ten thousand *livres* in clearing a farm for him; other persons in France solicit me to do the same for them, at a small expense, 'tis true. These Titles which I propose, and to which the lands should be proportionate, would be a very useful means to advance the Colony.

VII. When I was in France the King did me the honor to say to me that he wished a coin to be struck here suitable for the country and which should remain here in circulation,

Good. and you inform me such would be your sentiment. When you will please to issue the necessary orders, that work shall be prosecuted. It will be of the highest utility to the Colony.

Done at Quebec, this tenth of Nov^{ber}, 1670. TALON.

M. Colbert to M. Talon.

The King has entirely approved the proposition you have made to enter into a good and intimate correspondence with the English of Boston, and even to carry on some trade with them in commodities which you will mutually require. But as regards the fisheries, which they will prosecute in view of the country under the King's obedience, his Majesty desires that they shall experience the same treatment as his subjects receive from them on like occasions, and this conduct must be observed as well in the trade they may pursue with the savages around Pentagouet as in that which the King's subjects shall prosecute with the Indians around Boston; that is to say, that you should establish reciprocity between the two Nations.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The resolution you have taken to send Sieur de la Salle towards the South and Sieur de S^t Luisson to the North, to discover the South Sea passage, is very good; but the principal thing to which you ought to apply yourself, in discoveries of this nature, is to look for the copper mine. Were this mine once discovered, and its utility evident, it would be an assured means to attract several Frenchmen from Old to New France.

February, 1671.

M. Colbert to M. de Courcelles.

Paris, 11th March, 1671.

Sir.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Since you do not find it convenient to undertake the journey into the Iroquois country which the King referred to you, and which was in no manner compulsory, you may dispense

therewith. But his Majesty thinks that nothing is so essential to the quiet of his subjects of New France as to keep always in a state of alarm the several Savage tribes that may trouble them, being certain that nothing but the apprehension of a severe punishment can prevent them violating the peace his Majesty has granted them.

As for your proposal to send some companies hence to repair to the outlet of Lake Ontario and prevent the incursions which the Iroquois may make on the other Indian Nations under the King's protection, his Majesty does not consider it necessary for the good of his service; yet he refers, notwithstanding, to you and to M. Talon what will be most convenient, being well persuaded that you will execute, with your ordinary firmness, whatever resolution you may jointly adopt.

Nothing can better promote the good of that Colony than to take care that the inhabitants shall exercise themselves in the management of arms at such time as will be most convenient for them; and his Majesty has instructed me to say to you, on this head, that it is of no less importance to his service to review said inhabitants from time to time, and to encourage them to such training by some prizes, than to excite them to the clearing and cultivation of the land, and to the undertaking the construction of Vessels to reap the advantages of maritime commerce.

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M. Talon to the King.

Extracts from the Memoir addressed by M. Talon to the King On the State of Canada.

Peace prevails both within and without this Colony. The Iroquois, after having grumbled somewhat at the Indians who placed themselves under the King's protection, and against whom they waged war, have, in fine, remained within their duty; and except some brute among them who, in his drunkenness, cracks a skull, there is reason to believe that the mass will always prefer peace to war.

The English of Boston and of the other seacoasts enjoy the same tranquillity as we, and, far from incommoding, evince a warm desire to live in peace with us, and a disposition to establish some correspondence, which we have already begun on our side, and which it will be much the more easy to keep up, as I understand, by persons who have gone to Pentagoüet and returned, that the passage across the country is no more than sixty leagues. Wherefore I hope to be able to settle some twenty persons, at intervals, so that factories, shelter and refreshments may be found from place to place.

II. I shall execute, as much as will lay in my power, the instructions given to my Secretary by M. Colbert, on his Majesty's behalf, especially as to what regards the marine, to which I am assured Acadia can furnish great assistance; and if I can, I shall have some conversation with Colonel Temple, who appears to me much disgusted with the Boston government, which is more Republican than Monarchical. To Sieur de Marson, whom I had sent to Boston to demand the restitution of a Vessel which had been pirated by an Englishman, that officer expressed a desire to retire within the King's dominion, and to live there under his protection and

obedience. He has even some useful domains which he abandoned in the receded country, the property of which had been granted him. I shall await his Majesty's orders as to what I ought to do in regard to this Colonel, who promises me, by his intermediation, great facility in recalling the French families established among the English. I am also encouraged to hope that I may obtain, through him, some sailors, some ship carpenters, and mechanics capable of constructing Saw-mills, of which the country is in great need. If I find it easy to introduce there those mechanics of that nation, to the number of twenty, I presume it cannot be disagreeable to the King, as they will not fail to be useful to his service.

III. A month ago or more I dispatched, at two several times, and by two different canoes and different routes, Sieurs de Saint Lusson and la Nauraye, to continue the opening of the road hence to Pentagout and Port Royal, and to convey at the same time some Instructions which his Majesty's service demanded, and to prepare new memoirs, until I could furnish him more correct information before my voyage. I expect their return every moment.

Sieur de La Salle has not yet returned from his journey to the Southward of this country. But Sieur de Lusson is returned, after having advanced as far as five hundred leagues from here, and planted the cross and set up the King's arms in presence of seventeen Indian nations, assembled, on this occasion, from all parts; all of whom voluntarily submitted themselves to the dominion of his Majesty, whom alone they regard as their sovereign protector. This was effected, according to the account of the Jesuit Fathers who assisted at the Ceremony, with all the pomp and eclat the country could afford.[1] I shall carry with me the record of taking possession prepared by Sieur de Saint Lusson for securing those Countries to his Majesty.

The place to which the said Sieur de Saint Lusson has penetrated is supposed to be no more than three hundred leagues from the extremities of the Countries bordering on the Vermilion or South Sea. Those bordering on the West Sea appear to be no farther from those discovered by the French. According to the calculation made from the reports of the Indians and from Maps, there seems to remain not more than fifteen hundred leagues of navigation to Tartary, China and Japan. Such discoveries must be the work either of time, or of the King. It can be said that the Spaniards have hardly penetrated further into the interior of South, than the French have done up to the present time into the interior of North America.

Sieur de Lusson's voyage to discover the South Sea and the Copper Mine will not cost the King anything. I make no account of it in my statements, because having made presents to the Savages of the Countries of which he took possession, he has reciprocally received from them in Beaver what can balance his expense.

Three months ago I dispatched with Father Albanel, a Jesuit, Sieur de Saint Simon, a young Canadian gentleman, recently honored by his Majesty with that Title. They were to penetrate as far as Hudson's bay; draw up a memoir of all that they will discover; drive a trade in furs with the Indians, and especially reconnoitre whether there be any means of wintering ships in that quarter, in order to establish a factory that might, when necessary, supply provisions to the vessels that will possibly hereafter discover, by that channel, the communication between the two seas—the North and the South. Since their departure, I received letters from them three times. The last, brought from one hundred leagues from here, informs me that the Indians, whom they met on the way, have assured them that two

[1] This meeting was held at the Falls of St. Mary. — Ed.

English vessels and three barks have wintered in the neighborhood of that bay, and made a vast collection of beavers there. If my letters, in reply, are safely delivered to the said Father, this Establishment will be thoroughly examined, and his Majesty will have full information about it. As those countries have been long ago *(anciennement)* originally discovered by the French, I have commissioned the said Sieur de Saint Simon to take renewed possession, in his Majesty's name, with orders to set up the escutcheon of France, with which he is entrusted, and to draw up his procès verbal in the form I have furnished him.

It is proposed to me to dispatch a bark of sixty tons hence to Hudson's bay, whereby it is expected something will be discovered of the communication of the two seas. If the adventurers who form this design subject the King to no expense, I shall give them hopes of some mark of honor, if they succeed; besides idemnifying themselves from the fur trade which they will carry on with the Indians.

IV. His Majesty will be able to see by the abstracts of the Registers of Baptisms, which I have entrusted to my Secretary, that the number of children born this year is between six and seven hundred; that hereafter a considerable increase may be expected, and there is reason to believe that, without any further aid from French girls, this Country will furnish more than one hundred marriages in the first year, and a great many more according as time progresses. I think it inexpedient to send out girls next year, in order that the farmers may marry off their daughters more easily among the soldiers who are settled and disengaged. Neither is it necessary to send out any young ladies, having this year received fifteen so qualified, instead of four that I asked for, to form engagements with the officers or principal inhabitants here.

V. I am no Courtier, and assert, not through mere desire to please the King nor without just reason, that this portion of the French Monarchy will become something grand. What I discover around me causes me to foresee this; and those colonies of foreign nations, so long settled on the Sea-board, already tremble with affright, in view of what his Majesty has accomplished here in the interior within seven years. The measures adopted to confine them within narrow limits, by the taking possession which I have caused to be effected, do not allow them to spread without subjecting themselves at the same time to be treated as usurpers, and to have war waged against them; and this, in truth, is what they seem, by all their acts, greatly to fear. They already are aware that the King's name is spread so far abroad among the Savages throughout all those Countries that he alone is there regarded by them as the arbiter of Peace and War; all detach themselves insensibly from the other Europeans, and with the exception of the Iroquois, of whom I am not yet assured, we may safely promise ourselves to make the others take up arms whenever we please.

Done at Quebec, this 2d November, 1671. TALON.

M. Talon to M. Colbert.

Extracts of a Memoir addressed by M. Talon to the Minister, On the State of Canada, dated 11th 9ber 1671.

I am more firmly convinced at present than when I wrote my last dispatch that Acadia and New France will in a few years be in a condition to furnish the Antilles with the salted provisions necessary for their use. And in order that this aid be more prompt, I think it would be necessary to interrupt, without violence, the trade the English carry on with the King's subjects inhabiting Port Royal, from whom they obtain, yearly, quantities of salted meat in exchange for some druggets and other stuffs of Boston manufacture. This, in my opinion, can be naturally enough effected by sending from France or hence to Port Royal some few stuffs to supply the most urgent demands; also some looms, which the Colonists demand, to weave their sheep's wool, and the flax produced by the aid of their hand-labor from the soil. For my part I shall provide for these wants as much as my health permits.

II. I have placed in my Secretary's hand one of the first four lettres de cachet which the King had issued on my return here last year, whereby his Majesty ordered the Captains of his ships or others to do as I should direct them for his Majesty's service. I think it would be as beneficial to renew them this year, and to forbid those Captains to take any persons on board, to return to France, without a permit from me; on the ground that should the people return, this Colony would scarcely increase, whatever pains you would take to augment it. Several persons have returned this year; but a considerably greater number expect to go back next season, in consequence of the facility with which passports are given.

III. After closing my dispatches, the Abbé de Queylus proposed to me to found an hospital at Montreal for the support and treatment of sick and aged Indians, and offers to make, for that purpose, an original endowment of ten thousand *livres*. In addition to the glory which may accrue to God from this work of piety, it may also afford facilities to win the children, who, feeling themselves near the chiefs of their tribes, will more easily detach themselves from their other relatives. I did not promise to write you on this proposition, until I had been requested to do so by the Bishop of Petrée, by the Abbé de Queylus and the Mother Superior of the *Hospitalières*, who promises to furnish Nuns for the management of this establishment, for which they solicit only the King's consent, and a charter at the proper time; having on my part, neither promised nor excited hopes of anything except this permission, if the proposal appear reasonable to you.

IV. Whilst concluding this memoir, Sieur de St Lusson returns from Pentagouet, but so broken down by the fatigue of his journey, and so enfeebled by the hunger he suffered, that I doubt his ability to go to France, whither I should be very glad he would repair to have the honor to inform you, in person, what he saw at the Rivers Pemcuit and Kinibiki, both covered with handsome English settlements, well built and in beautiful valleys. The Colonists of those districts, though for the most part English by birth, received him in princely style; saluted him with Musketry and Cannon, and all regaled him the best they could with demonstrations of evident joy at seeing that Pentagouet and the title to the lands were in the King's possession. Whether this extreme joy be an effect of the fear they entertain in

consequence of the vicinity of the French, or of a real desire to pass under his Majesty's dominion, I cannot determine; they have authorized Sieur de Saint Lusson to make proposals to me on this subject, which I forbade him to communicate to whomsoever. He is the bearer of the Memoirs to you.

If the project submitted to me by M. Le Tourneur, one of the Directors of the General Hospital, and which I consider, in some parts, practicable, could be effected, I know no quarter better adapted than those Rivers to render it successful for the relief of the hospital and the advancement of the Colony; a mixture of French among the English would attach to the King's service those who would not naturally belong to his Majesty on the restitution which has been made to him of that quarter.

I am assured that the English will urge the settlement of the Boundaries between Pentagouet and Boston. Should his Majesty give me any orders on that subject, I shall do my best to execute them on taking charge of his instructions. I am likewise assured that Colonel Temple[1] repairs to Old England, with the design to return. I would have desired a conference with him before he had undertaken that voyage.

TALON.

Narrative of Governor de Courcelles' Voyage to Lake Ontario.

[From an Original paper in the Royal Library, Paris.]

An Account of what occurred during the Voyage of Monsieur de Courcelles, Governor of New France, to Lake Ontario. 1671.

They, into whose hands this Narrative may happen to fall, will wonder, perhaps, that their time should be taken up with the perusal of a voyage which possesses nothing remarkable either in battles or in victories, and is rather a promenade than a voyage of public utility.

But I am confident their surprise will cease when I shall have placed before their eyes the difficulty of voyages in New France, whether by land or water; the grand designs which induced the Governor of that Country to undertake this one; and, in fine, the great good which has resulted therefrom; so that I have only to request my Reader to suspend his

[1] Sir THOMAS TEMPLE was a kinsman of Lord Say. Having obtained, with others, from Oliver Cromwell, in 1656, a grant of Acadia, bounded east by the River St. George, and including Nova Scotia, he purchased of Stephen la Tour all the right the latter inherited to that country from his father, and came to New England in 1657, when the persecution of the Quakers was at its height. He endeavored most humanely, though ineffectually, to save the lives of those of that sect who were condemned to be executed, offering to remove and provide for them at his own charge. He was recommissioned Governor of Nova Scotia and Acadia by King Charles II., in 1662, in which year he visited New Amsterdam (New-York) and Fort Orange (Albany), to suppress the incursions of the Mohawks into his territory. This, however, was soon after ceded to France by the Treaty of Breda, and possession thereof was demanded on the 21st October, 1668, of Sir Thomas Temple, who declined to comply with the requisition on the ground of the non-payment of the sum of £16,200, which the Crown agreed to allow him as an indemnity for the loss of his property. A special order from the King, in 1669, forced him to submit; and he signed an instrument at Boston, on the 9th of July, 1670, whereby the whole of the country, from the River Muscongus in Maine, to Cape Breton inclusive, was restored to France. Sir Thomas, thereupon, returned to England, and died in 1674, having devised his interest to his nephew, William Nelson, who transferred it, in 1730, to Samuel Waldo, of Boston. The indemnity, however, has never been paid. *Charlevoix' Histoire Nouvelle France*, I., 416; *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, I., 184, 190, 236; *Holmes' Annals*, I., 368; *Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia*, I., 64, 65; *Williamson's Maine*, I., 428. — ED.

Judgment until the close, in order to make him agree with me that it was of importance to place before the eyes of the People of that Colony the pains and fatigues endured by the Governor, through regard for them, so as to render them more disposed to testify towards him the obedience they owe him.

To commence, then, this account. It is well to understand that the River Saint Lawrence on which people journey, is one of the most considerable rivers in the World, since at its mouth, situate in . . . . . it is nearly thirty leagues wide, and growing gradually narrower for the space of 120 leagues up to Quebec [where it is only half a league;][1] it preserves that width not only as far as Montreal, which is the last of the French settlements, sixty leagues above Quebec, but for the space of more than seven hundred leagues, spreading now into lakes of an appalling magnitude, anon confining itself within the bed of a simple river of the width I have stated.

Lake Saint Peter, the first lake formed by this River, is 33 leagues above Quebec; it is about four leagues wide. The second is Lake Saint Louis, four[2] leagues above that of Saint Peter, and is six leagues long by two leagues wide. Five leagues farther up is met a third — Lake Saint Francis — twelve leagues long by two leagues wide. Forty leagues beyond that is found Lake Ontario,[3] of an oval figure, 120 leagues long by 30 leagues in breadth. 35 or 40 leagues beyond the latter is found Lake Erie, called by the Indians Techaronkion, whose length from East to West is 140 leagues, and the width twenty-five to thirty. Fifteen leagues higher up is met another lake, quite circular, twelve leagues in diameter. Fifteen or sixteen leagues farther on is seen the Lake of the Hurons, 250 leagues long and of an irregular width; at one place ten, at another twenty, and in a third place thirty or forty leagues. 3 leagues beyond this is seen the lake called Lake Superior, 150 leagues long. Into this disembogue ten or twelve large streams, which must be ascended to their source before the true head of this River (Saint Lawrence) can be determined. The writer relates only what he has seen; he therefore cannot be doubted.

But what is most astonishing in this River is, that neither the great weight nor rapidity of its waters has been able to scoop out a bed where it can spread and flow in an easy and equal stream, but in many parts are found rocks so hard that, not being able to break or soften them, after having collected above a sufficiently large volume of water to rise to their level, it passes finally over and forms in these places Cascades, the more beautiful as it is not the water of a simple canal, formed by the hand of man that constitutes them, but a vast River which, as I have already stated, is a full half league in width. These falls are not all of an equal height; and to describe them in order—

The first four are in front of the Island of Montreal, and form what is called the Sault Saint Louis. At this point the River, in less than a quarter of a league, has a fall of over thirty feet, so loud that we cannot hear one another speak.

The second Sault, in ascending the stream, is where the River enters into Lake Saint Louis. It has a perpendicular fall of about three feet.

The 3^{d} is half a league higher up, and falls about four feet.

The 4th is another half a league higher, and falls about four feet.

The fifth is twenty leagues higher than the last, and falls four or five feet.

[1] The words within brackets are translations of notes appended to this document by the French copyist, to supply parts of the text which are pared off in the original. — Ed.

[2] So in the text. *Query.* Twenty-four?

[3] Literally, "The Great Lake;" from the Huron *Iontare*, Lake, and *Io*, great.

The sixth is 20 leagues higher than the last, and falls at several points more than forty feet.

The seventh is between Lake Ontario and the Techaronkion; it falls perpendicularly more than sixty feet.

Finally, the eighth is between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and is similar to the Sault Saint Louis.

I mention here only the water-falls to be met in the River, without counting the violent rapids which are continually encountered in it between and lake Saint Louis, from Lake Saint Louis to Lake Saint Francis, and from the latter to the place called Otondiata,[1] near Lake Ontario.

What is called a rapid in this Country is not a simple current of water, but a current caused by a pitch so great that the water combs violently up, breaking sometimes three or four feet high. I have seen some such leap over eight or ten feet, so that the hair of the head stands on end when one is obliged to pass these places.

But if Navigation on this river is, as we have seen, so difficult, the vessels in use render it so dangerous that a prudent man cannot expose himself, unless obligated either by the the service of God or that of his King.

The River Saint Lawrence is navigable to Quebec for vessels of 500 Tons. From Quebec to Montreal vessels cannot be taken up of more than 150 tons; but above Montreal no person ever attempted to take more than a flat bateau, on account of the Sault Saint Louis, which at that point entirely bars the river.

This difficulty has caused the savages, and after them the French, whom the necessity of their affairs has obliged to pass those places, to invent a species of vehicle the most spiritual, but at the same time the most perilous that can be imagined.

These vessels are made simply of birch bark, which covers a frame *(Gabaris)* of cedar wood that sustains this bark, and gives it the form necessary to transport on the water a considerable amount of men and baggage; they are so fragile, withal, that if they happen to strike against a rock or be rudely handled in removing them or launching them into the water, they are seriously injured; so unsteady that 10 pounds on one side more than on the other causes them to lurch, which renders it necessary to remain kneeling or in a sitting posture; so light that a man, or, at most, two, can carry them; and yet so useful that there are some which contain as many as six to eight men with their provisions and baggage.

In fine, these vessels are not rigged nor steered as our bateaux. A particular skill is requisite, which is not acquired except by long practice; and for want of this skill many have lost their lives.

On arriving at these dangerous points of the river, which I have mentioned above, it is not attempted to pass them by paddling; but, plunging into the water, the bateau or canoe is taken with the hand and thus drawn along the shore, avoiding the rocks, and thus forcibly dragged to surmount the rapidity of the water. But in places where there are falls we land, unload the canoe, and, shouldering it, carry it until a convenient point of re-embarkation is met with.

Navigation on this river being so dangerous, as we have stated, the Governor could not undertake the voyage to Lake Ontario, which includes the most dangerous passes on the River, without powerful motives.

[1] Five or six leagues from La Galette is an island called Tonihata. *Charlevoix*, III., 194. It is supposed to be Grenadier Island, Leeds county, C. W., and is laid down in the Map accompanying Kalm's Travels in America; also in Jeffery's Chart of the River St. Lawrence. La Galette is a little below Ogdensburgh. — Ed.

To explain these in a few words, it is necessary to know that the French are established in New France, in a Canton belonging to Indian people called Algonquins, who received us among them in order that we should aid them in their wars against another people, also Indians, called the Iroquois, of whom they were for a long time the enemies. In the beginning, the French did not find any inconvenience from those wars. They were here only for the Beaver Trade, without caring about making any settlement or clearing any land. They occupied a strong fort, well supplied with provisions and arms, and not being obliged to leave it through any necessity, thus found themselves beyond the reach of the Iroquois, who never dared to attack a French fort that they thought any way capable of defence.

The manner of life of these people is so heteroclitical, that it will not be useless here to make some remark on it.

They have neither Religion, nor King, nor Laws, nor Justice; and each is so far master of his will that he can execute whatever comes into his head without fearing reproval from any one soever. The sole rule of morals among them is a certain point of honor, which causes them to abstain from certain things or to pursue others, because they are esteemed or contemned by their Chiefs.

This is the reason that, regulating themselves by the natural law alone, they esteem good and hate evil. They are not observed to attach themselves to vices evidently opposed to this law; and if it happen that some one does so, he is so much despised as to be considered unworthy to be heard in the Councils relating to the affairs of his tribe.

But notwithstanding their complete independence, the one of the other, this does not prevent them, when some affair is being prepared, such as undertaking a war, treating of peace, distributing prisoners, or such like things; it does not prevent them, I say, assembling a sort of Council, which the old men, and those who have rendered themselves commendable by some great achievement, have alone the right to attend, and the remainder of the people, ordinarily abide pretty faithfully by the decision of that Council, and if any one assumes the liberty of contravening it, he passes for a man devoid of understanding.

The resolution to make war being adopted, the Kettle is immediately hung, and all the young men are invited to the feast; and before the distribution of the meats, one of the company, in whom most confidence is reposed, rises and commences singing the War-Song, saying he is about to proceed against such a people, and that those who have courage will follow him. His song ended, those among the young men who take a notion to join him, rising one after the other, sing each a song, containing nothing but a recital of the great actions they intend performing in that war.

The engagement being taken, a day of departure is fixed. The women prepare small sacks of flour for the Warriors, who carry them on their shoulders, with their gun, axe, powder and ball. Arrived in great silence in the enemy's country, they skulk along, afraid of being discovered, seeking an opportunity to strike their blow, so that their wars and battles consist only of surprisals. A man will leave the village to hunt or to work; they unexpectedly surround him and take him prisoner. A woman will go into the woods in search of fuel; they endeavor to approach her without noise, and to take her prisoner. But if they perceive a party approaching whom they can advantageously attack, they hide, each behind a tree, awaiting until the party passes their place of ambuscade, and having fired a volley, they pounce on them, hatchet in hand, and endeavor to capture them; for their glory consists in carrying off with them as many as they can. But if any of the enemy remain on the field they pull the scalp off his head and take it with them, in order to

The Warriors having returned, the old men assemble, to whom the prisoners are presented for disposal. If any have lost a son, nephew or relative in that war, a prisoner is presented to him to replace the dead; but if the person to whom he is given do not accept him, or feel disposed to wish the death of his relative avenged, which happens but too often, he condemns his prisoner to death, which is executed with a horrible cruelty, appalling even in its description.

The first torture they inflict on the unfortunate man is to tear away some of his nails; to cut some of his fingers off with flints, in order to increase his sufferings, or to apply some coals of fire to his body, to force him to sing. Having tortured him five or six hours in this style, they conduct him to a stage in the public square, where, having tied him hand and foot to a stake, they commence burning him with an old gun barrel, red hot, applying it, successively, from the heels to the head, for a space of eight or ten hours, so that not a particle of the body remains unroasted. This done, they untie him and let him run through the square, where the young men wait with brands, and kettles full of hot ashes or boiling water, which they throw on him, whilst others stone him. In a word, they worry him to such a degree that he falls down exhausted, when they rush on him and tear him limb from limb, each taking away a piece to his lodge to feast on. I here describe only the least cruel kind of death, for they sometimes perpetrate cruelties so dreadful that I dare not relate them lest I excite horror.

I mention all these things only to give an idea of a portion of the cruelties the Iroquois have committed against the French, and the impossibility the latter [experienced to extend their Colonies whilst] the war continued. Every day the enemy was seen charged with our spoils; carrying some of our people away prisoners, whom they afterwards pitilessly burned. These misfortunes were for us frequent, and without remedy had not the King's goodness commisserated our wretched condition and sent troops to our aid, who, under the guidance of Monsieur de Tracy and Monsieur de Courcelles, our Governor, carried the war, with great fatigue, into the enemy's country, captured their forts, burned their villages and finally obliged them to sue for peace, which was granted them. This is known to all the world. Therefore I pass lightly over it.

Those we call Iroquois are a people inhabiting along the South side of Lake Ontario; divided into five nations. The nearest to us are the Mohawks; those which follow are the Oneidas; next the Onontagués, the Cayugas, and finally the Senecas. These Five Nations can turn out about two thousand warriors. They are so inclined to war that they wage it not only against their neighbors, but against tribes more than six hundred leagues distant from them. It is surprising that they have observed the peace they have made with us. The terror they entertain of our arms may alone constrain them to it, for as regards friendship for us, they have none. Therefore our attack was directed, in the first place, against the Mohawks, which is the most warlike nation; these were so severely handled that the others were terror stricken.

Nevertheless, as those Iroquois, though at peace with us, have not ceased waging war against the Outawacs, our allies, who have for a long time been in the habit of coming to trade with the French settlements, and by that means obstructed the freedom of their commerce, attacking them when they were coming to trade and despoiling them of their beavers, Monsieur de Courcelles thought it necessary for the good of the Colony to oblige the Iroquois to make peace with them, and for its greater security obliged the one and the other to exchange the prisoners who happened to be still alive.

The Iroquois acted in bad faith on this occasion, for they selected the least useful among their prisoners, such as a few women and children. They brought these to the Governor, to the number of twelve or fifteen, and retained more than a hundred good men, whom they would not restore, saying they preferred waging war against the French to giving them up so great a number of men whose absence essentially weakened them; so that three or four times last year they brought news here that the Onontagués and Senecas were preparing in earnest to make war on us; principally relying on their position on the borders of the Ontario, as we have stated, whither the Governor could not bring his troops to them, being obliged for the transportation of supplies to make use, French fashion, of bateaux, the management of which seemed to them impossible, on account of the rapids and water-falls which, we have seen, intervene between us and the Ontario.[1]

The Mohawks, who felt that they could be reached, since they were once already devastated, took good care not to join the enterprise of the other nations, their allies. On the contrary, they always protested that they acknowledged the King of France as the Lord of their country.

This shows the importance of the voyage taken this spring by our Governor, to prove to these insolent fellows that he could ruin them at his pleasure, since it was not impossible for him to have a large plank Bateau taken up as far as Lake Ontario, with such great dispatch as to be astonishing were such diligence used even with bark canoes.

This was not the sole utility expected to be derived from this voyage. There are others no less important.

It is well known that the Iroquois nations, especially the four upper ones, do not hunt any Beaver or Elk. They absolutely exhausted the side of Ontario which they inhabit, that is, the South side, a long time ago, so that they experience the greatest difficulty in finding a single beaver there; but to get any they are obliged to cross to the North of the same lake, formerly inhabited by the Hurons, our allies, whom they defeated or drove off; so that it may be said the Iroquois do all their hunting, at present, on our allies' lands, which belong in some sort to the French, who ought by the Treaties be subrogated to the rights of the Hurons.

The Iroquois, however, trade scarcely any with us, but carry all their peltries to New Netherland, depriving us thereby of the fruits of our land; that is to say, of the peltries which they take from us on the lands belonging to us.

Wherefore some means were sought, a long time ago, to prevent the Iroquois going to New Netherland to trade; and the best assuredly would be to establish a post as far up as the mouth of the Ontario, to command the pass through which these people go to trade when returning from their chase, and thus the French would absolutely control it. For this purpose, it was necessary to reconnoitre the place, examine the most convenient sites and the finest land; and this the Governor has done in this voyage.

I shall add here a reason for this voyage, of no trifling importance. Two years ago, two Ecclesiastics left here [to visit] divers Indian Nations, situated along a great River called by the Iroquois, Ohio, and by the Outawas, Mississippi. Their design did not succeed on account of some inconveniences very usual in these sorts of enterprises. They learned, however, from the advances they made towards the River, that it was larger than the River

[1] It is certain that the Iroquois war could never have been more injurious to us than at present. The settlements being dispersed along the River, each being obliged to live on his farm, to make it of any value, would enable them to take off a great deal of people before we were in a position to resist them everywhere. *Note by the Author of the Memoir.*

Saint Lawrence, that the tribes settled along its banks were very numerous, and that its ordinary course was from East to West. After having closely examined the Maps which we have of the coast of New Sweden, of the Floridas, of Virginia and Old Mexico, I did not discover any River's mouth comparable to that of the River Saint Lawrence.

This leads us to think that the river of which we speak disembogues into another sea—to determine where, I leave to the judgment of the more learned. Nevertheless, it is probable it waters those countries towards New Spain, which abound in gold and silver.[1]

The shortest and easiest route to this River is that of Lake Ontario, which would be not a little facilitated by the planting of a Colony at the entrance of that Lake; and this was not one of the least of the Governor's plans in his arduous voyage.

We must not wonder if all these grave reasons made so strong an impression on his mind as to cause him to set at naught the most extraordinary fatigues a man of his rank could endure. But it were well to detail some of these.

No sooner was the river free of ice, last spring, than the Governor went up to Montreal, whither he was followed by all the Officers and Gentlemen of the Country. It was at that place he proposed to them the plan he entertained to make the Ontario voyage, not in bark canoes as the savages were accustomed to make it; but that his design was to demonstrate to the tribes inhabiting the shores of the Ontario that the French could accomplish something they were incapable of; and that he could go when he pleased in wooden bateaux, which we ordinarily make use of, and set fire to and slaughter all in their villages. This novelty so surprised every body, that the French and the Indians at first considered it impossible.

One flat bateau of about two or three tons burthen was, notwithstanding, by the Governor's order, prepared, loaded with provisions, and the command of it given to a brave serjeant of Monsieur Perrot's company, named Champagne, who had eight soldiers as his crew. It was also furnished with a strong rope to haul it along bad places.

Every thing being ready, the Governor left Montreal on the second of June. He went by land as far as the head of Sault Saint Louis, whither all those who were to be of the voyage, to the number of fifty-six persons, repaired in thirteen bark canoes, and the flat bateau of which we have spoken, prepared to set out on the morrow. But as every one was convinced of the perils he was about to encounter in this voyage, each wished to shrive his conscience before departing; following, therein, the example of the Governor, who had invited an Ecclesiastic of Montreal, named Monsieur Dollier, to join the party. This gentleman performed the duties of Chaplain during the entire voyage.

It is inconceivable with what joy every body embarked on the 3d of June, and how pleasing a sight to behold all those [little embarkations proceed] regularly to the sound of two trumpets. Monsieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal, Monsieur de Varennes, Governor of Three Rivers, Monsieur de Loubias, Captain of Infantry, with several Officers, and a number of young Gentlemen of the country, performed wonders. No person is exempt from the paddle in these little vessels. Every one must contribute in person, and there is no room for the idle. Lake Saint Louis was traversed that day; and a shower having begun at noon, we landed at the foot of the first rapid, at the mouth of the River of the Iroquois. No sooner landed, than each taking an axe in hand, hurried into the woods to look for poles suitable to build a little hut, as a shelter from the ill effects of the air. This frame of poles is covered with bark stripped from the trees

[1] This last phrase was in the margin, and half obliterated. *Note by the Copyist.*

when in sap, and we lie under it alongside of the fire. But as the woods are at this season infested with a species of fly, similar to the French gnat, so tormenting that a vast number of them are constantly around you, seeking only an opportunity to light on the face or parts of the body protected merely by a slight covering easily pierced by their sting, and are no sooner down than they suck blood, in place of which they deposit a species of poison that excites a strange itching, with a small tumor which lasts three or four days. As, I say, there is a vast quantity of these flies at this season, the Governor, to protect himself from them, had a little arbor made on the ground, three or four feet wide and two feet high, and covered with a sheet, the extremities of which trailed on the ground on all sides, to close perfectly all the points by which these little insects could penetrate; and here, [under this arbor, the Governor] had an opportunity to sleep; a favor denied to all those who travel at this season, unless extreme fatigue or want of rest for four or five nights so prostrate them that they fall asleep through very drowsiness, insensible to the frequent bites of the Musquetoes. All those of the Governor's suite followed his example and found the advantage of it.

Next day, the 4th June, preparations were made to overcome the first chûte. The canoes passed by drawing them in the water; but when it came to the bateau an effort was made to drag it by means of the rope we had brought, which the violence of the current breaking three or four times, those who were on board saw themselves in danger; and no person offering to tow them, as was done with the canoes, the Governor himself plunged in, and taking hold of the bateau, was immediately aided by a number of brave fellows sufficient to force it up the rapid. The same day we came to the foot of a chûte which we despaired of surmounting in consequence of a big rock that lay close to the shore, and formed at this point a frightful breaker *(bouillon)*. Nobody knowing what to do, the Governor bethought him of having an attempt made with levers to force this rock aside. Some long ones were got, which could be used without going into the current, whose rapidity would not permit a foothold; and so successful were these efforts, that the rock was removed far enough to allow a free channel capable of permitting the bateau to pass, but with indescribable trouble. The whole of this day's journey was only two leagues and a half.

On the 5th only two or three leagues more were accomplished, in consequence of very bad roads, and we met a missionary of Montreal going to the Iroquois.

The 6th a dense fog arose on Lake Saint Francis, which we had to pass, so that the Governor had his canoe steered by the compass, causing the Trumpets to sound, in order that all should collect together, and not stray away in that mist And we made such way that we arrived at the Islands at the head of the Lake, at the Southwest extremity, where a hunt came off, the like of which is never seen in France. 'Tis arranged thus: As soon as ever an Island is discovered, strict silence is observed approaching it; then, having put some persons ashore at one end, the canoes proceed towards the other. Then those who are on the Island commence making a noise, and in this way force the animals that are there to throw themselves into the stream to gain the main land. At that moment the canoes in advance pursue them, and, having overtaken them, seize them by the ears and lead them where they please, and when near the shore give them their death wound, either by a cut of a sword or a shot from a gun. It is in this way we had the satisfaction to-day to kill an Elk, which contributed somewhat to refresh the party.

Sunday, the seventh of June, after Mass, resumed the voyage among the Islands, which would have been very agreeable had the River not been so rough. The land appears to be remarkably good.

The 8th of June we passed, as usual, through extremely rugged rapids.

The 9th, passed the Great Sault, a frightful place, where the breakers in the middle of the river leap twelve to fifteen feet high.

The 10th, passed the last Sault between Montreal and Ontario, and arrived at a place called Otondiata, quite celebrated in this country, because there terminates the arduous labors of those who ascend to the Iroquois, in going to whom nothing more remains to be passed than beautiful tranquil water, almost without a ripple. It was here the Governor left his bateau under a guard, in order to proceed in a canoe to the mouth of the lake.

The 11th, being near a place called the Eel fishery, in consequence of the great quantity of that fish caught there, he dispatched a canoe with some Frenchmen to where some Iroquois were, to reassure the Indians who happened to be there, so that they should not take flight on seeing the French canoes; and, in fact, this precaution was necessary. There were a goodly number of Iroquois there, to whom the Governor sent word by a gentleman of this country, named Monsieur Le Moyne, who understands and speaks their language thoroughly, that his object was not to quarrel with them, but that he had learned that they spoke of waging war against our allies and ourselves too, if we thought it our duty to assist them, and that he had come to give them *carte blanche* to do so, and to show them that, if he found no difficulty in coming to their country for pleasure, he could as easily come to destroy them did they depart from their duty; and after having regaled them with some French presents he proceeded on. The Iroquois would not leave him, but embarked to follow him.

The 12th, arrived at the mouth of the Ontario, which appears from this place like an open sea, without any bounds. The Governor here dismissed the Iroquois who had accompanied him, to whom he gave letters for the Missionaries residing in their Villages, in which he ordered them to publish throughout the country the reason of his voyage, as he had represented it to those whom he met at the Eel Fishery. Started from this place the same day, on being somewhat refreshed, to return to the bateau, and arrived there on the 13th June. Here we learned a portion of the astonishment which this voyage created in the minds of the savages; for having met the [Montreal] Missionary, of whom we spoke [and who was accompanied by some Iroquois], this Ecclesiastic remarked that the Iroquois carefully examined all the coves in the River, and all the little bays, to see if they could find any thing. This caused him to inquire the reason; and they answered him that they were examining where Onontio (as they called the Governor) had left his bateau; for, said they, he will never get it up to OTondiata. But when they saw it there, it is impossible to conceive their wonder. The Governor remarked at this place a stream, bordered by fine land, where there is sufficient water to float a large bark. This remark will be of use, perhaps, hereafter.

The 14th, began to descend the rapids to return to Montreal. It is here that the danger is the greatest, because of the fright which frequently seizes the canoe-men on seeing the immense breakers over which they must pass with an incredible swiftness, and which, depriving them of their self-possession, prevents them making use of ordinary skill either to avoid the trees or rocks encountered in these places, or to steer their canoe so that the breakers may not swamp it. It occupied only three days to get to Montreal, where the whole world was greatly surprised to see that in 15 days a large bateau was carried up to, and brought back from Otondiata, without the loss of a man. Thanks were given to God; and the Governor, before returning to Montreal, wished to visit the establishment of Monsieur Perrot, Governor of that place, where Monsieur de Chailly, Ensign of Monsieur Perrot's

Company, had a canoe. Having learned that some Frenchmen at the foot of the Long Sault, in the River of the Outawacs, were contravening the orders of the Sovereign Council of New France, selling Brandy there, with which they intoxicated the savages, he proceeded thither and had some arrested to inflict an exemplary punishment on them. After these expeditions he returned to Montreal, where he was received with tokens of joy, which every one felt, for the care he took for the preservation and advancement of the Country.

A few days after returning from the voyage, the Outawacs arrived. They were delighted to learn what the Governor had achieved for the maintenance of peace between them and the Iroquois. They thanked him for it by presents in the usual manner, and requested a continuance of his good will towards them.

Several Missionaries arrived afterwards from the Iroquois, who related that the news of the Governor's voyage had so scared them, that those of the small villages wanted to abandon them, having previously threatened to crack the skulls of the French who were among them; that those of the large villages had retained the young men who were on the eve of setting out on a war expedition against the Indians of New Sweden, called the Antastosi; that they even had recalled those of their young braves who had already departed. Having learned, however, that the Governor had returned, they resolved to send deputies the ensuing spring to Onontio, to learn from him the motives of his voyage, and what they were to expect.

We must not omit remarking here that one of the principal advantages the Governor anticipated from his voyage, and which was in fact realized, was to prevent the Outawacs going to trade their peltries with the Dutch.

At the opening of the Autumn of the last year, 1670, some Iroquois went in the company of some Frenchmen to the Outawacs' country, to carry some presents thither to confirm their union, as they said. They wintered there; and the Outawacs having inquired of the Iroquois the prices of merchandise among the Dutch, learned they were much lower than among the French, and that a Beaver among the former brought as much as four here. This news inflamed them greatly against the French, and caused them to adopt the resolution to endeavor to open a trade with the Dutch. They consulted with the Iroquois about it, who told them that if they pleased to come to meet them next spring, they would conduct them thither. The Iroquois' proposal was received with joy by the Outawase youth, who only desired to see the country. The news, however, reached Quebec, where it was considered of the last importance for the country to prevent this commerce, and it was effectually prevented; for though wishing these two nations to be at peace, it was not desirable that they should be so to the extent of familiar intercourse. The Governor wrote to all the Missionaries of both Nations to give them to understand that they could not unite together for that trade without running the risk of a war more sanguinary than heretofore; that their tempers and mode of acting did not accord; to the Iroquois that it was dangerous for them to receive so considerable a number of their enemies among them, who nourished still in their hearts resentment for the slaughter of so many of their relatives in past wars, and who were coming, less in search of merchandise than to learn the location of their villages and their hunting grounds, so as to come some day to teach them that they must always look upon them as their enemies; the Outawacs we caused to be told that they ought to remember all the treacheries the Iroquois had been guilty of towards them and the infinite number of treacherous ambuscades in which they witnessed the destruction of a great many of their finest young men; that the Iroquois were desirous to attract them into their country; that they might return from it, perhaps the

first year; but after that, being once enticed, frightened, they would behold themselves some day so effectually surrounded by their enemies that they would find no way to extricate themselves out of their meshes; that then they would repent of not having followed the counsels of the French, and of having so lightly confided in the faith of their enemies.

These were the speeches that the Governor put into the mouths of the Missionaries of the two nations in order to prevent them confiding the one in the other. The Indians, more especially the Iroquois, fell so easily into the snare, that they pictured to themselves continually the Outawacs coming, arms in hand, to butcher them even in their lodges, so that they experienced, during the winter, several panics on this account, which obliged them to fortify themselves more strongly against the enemy who were held up so near their view. They finally protested to the French, during the winter, that they would never suffer the Outawas to pass through their country to trade with the Dutch. However, notwithstanding all their fine protestations, we saw a band of twenty-five young Ottawacs arrive this spring in the Iroquois country, who traded there as much as they could for clothes and arms; but having found only some very poor ones, they came back greatly dissatisfied. Nevertheless, they failed not to promise to return thither, not to trade with the Iroquois, but to accompany them to the Dutch. The French who happened to be at that trade were in too small a number to prevent it. But they failed not to say to the one and the other that if they were bold enough to return thither against the orders of Ononthio, they would find the French sufficiently numerous to prevent them passing, and to plunder them. It was at this conjuncture that the Governor arrived, whose presence induced the one and the other to obey his orders.

Instructions to Count de Frontenac.

The King's Instructions to Count de Frontenac, whom his Majesty has chosen as his Governor and Lieutenant General in Canada.

Sieur de Frontenac must first be informed that the peace and tranquillity of the Colonies of New France having been frequently disturbed by the expeditions and cruelties of the savage tribes, and particularly of the Iroquois, against the Inhabitants thereof, at the time his Majesty began to turn his care and attention to the re-establishment of commerce and navigation within his kingdom, he adopted the resolution to appropriate a fund annually to supply the wants of those of his subjects who were settled in those countries; and though considerable sums have been expended to meet the proposed augmentation of those Colonies, the fruit of his labors and of that expense has been a long time retarded by massacres, from time to time, of those inhabitants by the Iroquois, so that the care for the preservation of their lives and those of their families has for a long time diverted them from a proper application to the clearing and cultivation of the soil.

But as his Majesty affords equal protection to all his subjects, and has nothing more strongly at heart than to cause them to feel the effects thereof, Sieur de Frontenac ought to be informed that his Majesty, being desirous to deliver the whole of the inhabitants of said country, once for all, from the cruelty of said Iroquois, resolved, in 1665, to send to said country the

Regiment of Carignan Salieres composed of a thousand men, with all the arms and ammunition necessary to wage war against said Iroquois and oblige them to sue for peace.

That undertaking was entirely successful; and that expedition having been prosecuted under the care of Sieur de Tracy, Lieutenant General in America, and of Sieur de Courcelles, Governor and Lieuteant General in New France, he had the satisfaction to learn that the most of those savage nations submitted to his obedience; that the settlers *(habitans)* had no longer the mortification to see themselves disturbed in their establishments by the cruelty and barbarity of the Iroquois; and as his Majesty then deemed the most effectual plan of increasing considerably those Colonies to be to disband the companies of said Regiment in that country, and to make grants to the Captains and soldiers who would settle there voluntarily, this plan having succeeded, and the greater portion of those officers and soldiers having taken up settlements, those colonies received such an augmentation that they are at present able not only to support themselves, but also to furnish the Kingdom, in a few years, with a greater quantity of products than they have hitherto done.

His Majesty has since caused a considerable number of persons, of both sexes, to be sent every year to that Country, and in 1669, accepted the proposal, made by six Captains of Infantry, to convey thither their full companies to settle there in like manner. Thus, it is easy to understand that when those colonies are supplied with a considerable number of disciplined settlers, they will be able to impose sufficient dread on those Iroquois as to confine them within the bounds of their duty and the obedience they owe his Majesty. Wherefore, said Sieur de Frontenac must take particular care to maintain the Inhabitants of said country in the exercise and management of arms, and cause them to be frequently reviewed, so as to keep them in a condition not only to repel any insults the Iroquois may commit against them, but even to attack them whenever the service of his Majesty and the peace of the Colony may require it.

After this first duty, which is indispensable for the defence and preservation of these colonies, Sieur de Frontenac must particularly apply himself to procuring for all the Inhabitants thereof the same peace and repose which his Majesty's other subjects enjoy, by the establishment of Justice among them, so that every one may reap the fruit of his labor and his pains.

He must likewise be informed that at Quebec has been established a Sovereign Council, composed of the Lieutenant General, the Bishop of Petrée, the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in said Country, and of a number of Councillors; and as that Tribunal has not been formed except with a view solely to prevent the oppression of the Poor by the more Powerful and the more Wealthy among the said Inhabitants, Sieur de Frontenac will take particular care that his Majesty's good intentions in this regard be punctually carried out; and in case he observe any fault in the conduct of the Judges and public men, it will be necessary that he notify them thereof. But should any grave disorder occur, he will not fail to inform the King of it.

Though no epidemic has prevailed, up to the present time, in New France, should any occur, Sieur de Frontenac will have an inquiry instituted into the causes thereof with great care, in order to apply a prompt remedy to it, as it is important to his Majesty's service to convince the inhabitants of said country that their preservation is dear to his Majesty and useful and necessary to the public.

As the augmentation of said Colonies is to be the rule and aim of Sieur de Frontenac's entire conduct, he must bethink himself constantly of the means of preserving all the inhabitants, of attracting to that country the greatest number of people possible; and as

the good treatment of those who are already established there will induce divers other Frenchmen to repair to the said country to make it their home, he will apply himself strenuously to allay all differences, as well general as particular, and to govern the people with that spirit of mildness which obtains in his Majesty's conduct.

Sieur de Frontenac must encourage the inhabitants, by all possible means, to the cultivation and clearing of the soil; and as the distance of the settlements, the one from the other, has considerably retarded the increase thereof, and otherwise facilitated the opportunities of the Iroquois for the success of their destructive expeditions, Sieur de Frontenac will examine the practicability of obliging those Inhabitants to make contiguous clearances, either by constraining the old colonists to labor at it for a certain time, or by making new grants to the French who will come to settle in said country.

The King having granted divers privileges by the arrêt of his Council of the 3d April, 1669, in consideration of the fecundity of the families, and of the marriage of young men at twenty years and under, and of the girls at fifteen, let Sieur de Frontenac advantageously use these means to prevail on all the inhabitants to get married, in order that the colonists receive a considerable augmentation thereby.

As the establishment of stationary fisheries in the river St Lawrence or in the adjoining seas will be of great utility to those Inhabitants, as well by their abundance as by the facilities they afford for trading to the Antilles or to France, he will earnestly encourage them to apply themselves thereto; he will give them to understand, at the same time, that by exporting their fish, provisions and staves to those Islands, they might derive a two-fold benefit therefrom, by the returns in sugar which they would then import into Canada.

As it is necessary to have vessels for this purpose, and as all timber adapted to ship building abounds in that country, Sieur de Frontenac will profit by this disposition to induce them to apply themselves thereto; these two points being very important for the increase of the Colonies.

He is well aware what great convenience families derive from raising cattle. He will, therefore, strenuously encourage all heads of families to keep the greatest number possible, so that the country may not be obliged to have recourse to the cattle of the Kingdom for its subsistence and for the cultivation of the soil; and as there is at present a very considerable number of all species on the coast of Acadia, and as the King has already formed a fund to begin the road, which is essential for communicating between that country and New France, Sieur de Frontenac will use all diligence in his power to urge forward this work, which will be of mutual advantage by the sale and consumption of provisions and merchandises, the conveyance of which from one Country to another will become feasible.

His Majesty having invested Sieur de Grandfontaine[1] with the Government of the province of Acadia, which extends from the River Saint Lawrence to New England, and Sieur de la Poippe with that of Fort Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland, Sieur de Frontenac will be aware that it is necessary he should cause them to render him an account of all that each will do in his department, whether for the King's service or for the government of his subjects, and that he recommend them to have great care for the augmentation of his

[1] Hubert d'Andigny de Grand Fontaine was the French plenipotentiary at Boston in 1670, when England re-ceded Acadia. He continued to govern that colony, with the title of Commandant only, says Charlevoix, until 1673, when he was succeeded by M. de Chambly. His head quarters were at Penobscot. — Ed.

Colonies, being certain that his Majesty will appreciate their services in proportion to the multiplication of Inhabitants that they will have effected.

The Jesuit fathers who are established at Quebec being the first who carried the light of the faith and of the Gospel of New France, and by their virtue and piety contributed to the settlement and augmentation of that Colony, his Majesty desires that Sieur de Frontenac have great consideration for them; but in case they desire to carry Ecclesiatical authority further than it ought to extend, it is proper he should give them kindly to understand the conduct they must observe, and in case they do not correct themselves, he will skilfully oppose their designs in such a manner that no rupture nor partiality be apparent, and advise his Majesty of every thing, in order that he may apply a suitable remedy.

The Colony of Montreal, situate above that of Quebec, deriving great comfort and consolation from the Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of S^{t} Sulpice, who are settled there, Sieur de Frontenac will afford them all the protection in his power, as well as to the Recollect Fathers[1] who have settled in the city of Quebec; it being necessary to support these two Ecclesiastical bodies in order to counterbalance the authority the Jesuit fathers might assum to the prejudice of that of his Majesty.

As the end of all his conduct and of the service he can render his Majesty in that employment must be the increase and multiplication of people in that country, he must take care and have an exact census made every year in all the Parishes, either by the Officers appointed to administer Justice in each canton, or by the Parish Priest *(Curés)*, which census shall be divided into Men, Women, Children of twelve years, and under and over, and domestics, and sent every year to his Majesty, in order that he may know the ratio of increase in population, every year, in that Colony.

As nothing maintains and augments population in a country so certainly as the administration of Justice, whereby his Majesty's authority is always exerted for the preservation of every one in his rights, Sieur de Frontenac must particularly see that Justice be well administered by the ordinary officers in the first instance, and by the Sovereign Council in case of appeal, without, however, interfering therein, except in quality of, and officially as President of said Council, to the exercise of which office he will confine himself, leaving the Judges who compose it entirely at liberty to give their opinions, and will attend particularly to exalt that Tribunal, and impress on the people the respect and obedience they owe the Judgments it will pronounce, and the Officers composing it.

Done at Versailles, the 7th April, 1672.

(Signed) Louis.

And lower down

Colbert.

[1] The Recollect, or Grey friars, were a branch of the order of St. Francis, and instituted by F. John of Guadaloupe, in Spain, in the year 1500, received into Italy in 1525, and in France in 1584. They came to Canada in 1615. The name, "Recollects," was given them because they were first instituted in certain solitary convents, devoted to the strictest retirement and recollection. *Alban Butler.* — Ed.

M. Colbert to M. Talon.

S[t] Germain, 4[th] June, 1672.

Sir,

The King saw, before his departure, all the letters and memoirs brought by your Secretary, whereupon his Majesty has ordered me to communicate his intentions to you.

* * * * * * * * * * *

As, next to the increase of the Colony of Canada, there is nothing more important for that country and his Majesty's service than the discovery of the passage to the South Sea, his Majesty wishes you to offer a large reward to those who shall make that discovery; but it seems it may be difficult to the inhabitants of that country, as it cannot be effected without ships, of which they have but a very small number.

Respecting the Copper, Lead, Iron and Coal mines, tar and all sorts of manufactures, as you are well informed of his Majesty's intentions regarding the advantage of that country, and as there can be nothing more profitable to the Inhabitants, he leaves entirely to you what is to be done for the discovery of mines and the establishment of all sorts of manufactures.

His Majesty does not wish Tobacco to be planted, as that would not be in any way profitable to the Country, which has much more need of whatever can direct the inhabitants to trade and navigation, to fixed fisheries and to manufactures, and as the cultivation of that plant would be prejudicial to the Islands of America.

His Majesty wishes that you would always encourage the increase of cattle; and with this view desires that the Sovereign Council forbid by its ordinance the slaughter thereof, until sufficiently numerous. He is very glad to hear that 700 children were baptized last year; also the opinion the Bishop of Petrée communicated to him, that there would be 1100 this year. But he would like to have been informed of the number of marriages contracted last year, and how many boys and girls were born in the country.

The decrease in the fur trade last year is not surprising, considering that the decrease and diminution of all commerce, of whatever description soever it be, is caused by divers accidents. But it always happens that when one trade is for some years at a low ebb, it afterwards recovers, and this must be left to the industry and necessities of men, the rather as, if Canada lose this trade, the Inhabitants would be disposed to apply themselves to fixed fisheries, and others to the exploration of mines, and to manufactures, which would be much more profitable to them.

His Majesty will take into special consideration the proposal to have coin struck especially for said country of Canada; and if he deem it good and advantageous, will issue his orders to have it coined and sent out next year.

His Majesty sends the allowances for the shipwrights maintained in Canada. He desires you should promptly fit out the Vessel that has been begun, and would be very glad if you could embrace the opportunity it affords to return with M. de Courcelles to France.

As you perceive clearly that nothing is of greater advantage to that country than commerce by sea, his Majesty wishes you to use every means in your power and all your energy to induce the inhabitants to build ships, and themselves to export their commodities to the French American Islands.

In regard to the French who return annually to France, his Majesty considers it a serious disorder, which an effort must be made to remedy; and with this view he writes to M. de Frontenac, forbidding him to permit the return of any Frenchmen to this Kingdom, who, on

asking that permission, have not a Wife and Children and a considerable establishment in that country; his Majesty always deferring to his prudence to enforce this order as he will consider proper for the good and advantage of that colony; it being important that the French should not feel themselves detained by force in those countries, as that perhaps might prevent a great many repairing thither, and as it is not expedient to have recourse to force until all other means fail.

* * * * * * * * * *

After having replied to all the points in your despatches, according to the order the King has given me, nothing remains for me, but to assure you that I am.

Count de Frontenac to M. Colbert.

Extracts of the Memoir of Monsieur de Frontenac to the Minister.

I. Interesting Point respecting the Population of Canada.

This scarcity of workmen and servants obliges me to request you to have the goodness to remember to send us some of all sorts, and even young women to marry a number of persons who cannot find any wives here, and who create a thousand disorders in the settlements of their neighbors, and especially in the more distant places, where the women are very glad to have several husbands, when the men cannot get even one wife.

Had there been a hundred and fifty girls and as many servants here this year, they would all have found husbands and masters within one month.

I have been informed that the Grand Hospitals of Paris and Lyons proposed to send some, at their expense, provided they were granted some lands here. It will remain for you to examine with your usual prudence what utility and advantage can be derived from their proposals.

II. Importance of clearing and sowing lands—Necessity of securing the country against the incursion of the Iroquois and the disorders of the Coureurs de bois—M. de Frontenac requests the Minister to encourage the exportation of provisions, of which the Country already has an excess; otherwise, he says, "it is to be feared that the Inhabitants will neglect agriculture, finding no vent for their grain, which is the sole means the majority of them possess to purchase their necessary clothing."

According to my imperfect light, I see only two ways of remedying this evil. The first, to establish a permanent trade between here and the Islands—this has favorably commenced this year, two vessels having gone thither with their cargoes; and the other, to send hither people to settle, and even some troops, who would be very necessary if the Iroquois and other savages are to be restrained within their duty, and peace is to be maintained in this Country by preventing the disorders of the Coureurs de bois, who will finally become, if care be not taken, like the banditti of Naples and the Buccaneers of Saint Domingo—their number augmenting every day, as M de Courcelles may inform you, despite of all the ordinances that have been made, and which I have, since coming here, renewed with more severity than before. Their insolence, as I am informed, extends even to the formation of leagues, and to the distribution of

notices of rendezvous; threatening to build forts and to repair towards Manatte and Orange, boasting that they will be received and have every protection there. They have begun last year to carry their peltries thither, which essentially prejudices the Colony. But I shall go early in the spring to Montreal, to watch them nearer, and I assure you I shall endeavor to make so severe an example of them as will serve ever after. I beg of you, nevertheless, to consider that, however well disposed I may be to execute your orders and carry out all your intentions, a Governor, such as I find myself here, is hardly in a condition to effect it.

Military state of the Colony.

III. I am here without troops, without warlike stores or ammunition, having in all only three or four thousand pounds of powder, said to belong to the King. There is not a single arm in the magazine, except some forty old muskets, all broken, not worth the cost of mending. The funds of the current year are all exhausted; and M. Talon assures me that he is obliged to furnish, from his own property, what the Company allows for the payment of the Garrison, which, to the present time, had not been very regular, whereof the troops complain. There is not in store a single pair of snow shoes, a canoe or bateau — things which cannot be done without when any expedition is on foot. The Governor has not a single boat at his disposition — the few vessels said to belong to the King, consisting of some barges *(bagarres)*, and a bark called La Suisse, which have never been inspected, so that how zealous soever he may be, he will find it difficult to make all the movements necessary to preserve a country so vast in extent as this is, and so difficult of communication.

I proposed to Monsieur Talon to make a plan for building a very light brigantine, with fourteen to sixteen oars, for the use of the Governor and Intendant to go from Tadoussac as far as Montreal, whenever the King's service required, to visit the settlements in safety and with some sort of dignity; for I assure you, however accustomed I may already be to a Canoe, 'tis rather the vehicle of a savage than of a King's Minister. It would not be difficult even to man such a brigantine expeditiously with all the Criminals, Coureurs de bois and with Volunteers here, where, I think, it would not be mal-à-propos were they to behold a species of Scola, as they call the Galley at Venice, which lies always opposite S^{t} Mark's place.

IV. Of the Iroquois and the Establishment on Lake Ontario — Demand for Troops.

After having demanded a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, and indirectly asked the King to do for Canada what he does for the smallest of the towns taken from the Dutch, he says:

"For besides having no longer to dread any incursion from the Iroquois, whose fickleness and inconstancy you know, and who, perceiving our weakness, may through their natural inclination for war very easily violate the peace they have with us—a circumstance that depends only on one of their old women's dreams — the troops may also be employed in divers works that will never be executed without a very great expense, such as the road from here to Acadia, and the fortifying certain posts which will be very necessary here. Mr. de Courcelles will mention one to you that he projected on Lake Ontario to prevent the Iroquois carrying to the Dutch the peltries for which they go to the Outawas, and to oblige them, as is just, to bring their furs to us, since they hunt on our lands. I shall endeavor to visit the place next spring, the better to understand its site and importance, and to see if, notwithstanding our actual weakness, it be not possible to form some establishment there that would also strengthen the Mission the Gentlemen of Montreal have already at Quintay; for I beg of you, my Lord, to be persuaded that I shall not spare either my care or trouble, or even my life itself, if it be necessary, in the effort to accomplish something pleasing to you, and to prove to you the gratitude I shall entertain, through the whole course of my life, for the obligations I am under to you.

Military condition of the Colony.

For this purpose I shall employ all the means I shall be able to devise, and apply myself carefully to have the Inhabitants drilled, and arranged and formed into companies in the places where such is not already done. But though there are some who have not forgotten the profession of the soldier by having become Colonists, you know better than I the difference between disciplined soldiers and people who find it difficult to leave their wives and children; who think rather of their household than of the orders they receive, and who being, for the major part, almost without arms, having sold their guns either through poverty or negligence, are scarcely fit for any expedition except at the time of their harvest or that of their planting, which, on the one hand, would be doing an injury to the Colony at a season when, on the other, it would be desirable to do it a service.

If peace be concluded as gloriously for the King as there is reason to expect, we shall have greater hopes of obtaining that favor through your means.

The troops can hardly cost the King in this country more than they cost him in France; and I will guarantee to have them well supported for six French sous per day, without being under the necessity of sending anything from France except the necessary stuffs and cloths for their apparel, which would be deducted from their pay, and could be freighted to this place gratis.

But in order to be of advantage to the Country, I should think they ought to get their money and be paid in advance, as is done everywhere, instead of maintaining them, as has heretofore been the custom here; because the whole profit of the provisions consumed by them has remained in France, and this country has not experienced the advantage of it. At present we have sufficient wheat and pork, provided salt does not fail, as it did this year by the loss of one vessel, and the leakage that occurred in the others. This will be a great disadvantage to the farmers, who, in consequence of their eel and cod fisheries, would require one year's salt in advance, so as not to experience a recurrence of the inconvenience; that is, about two or three thousand *minots*, which is nearly the quantity they consume. It has been distributed with the greatest order possible; and its price fixed at an *ecu* the *minot*, in order to obviate the abuses the merchants might commit. Yet, with all the precautions that have been adopted, it will be difficult to prevent the Inhabitants suffering greatly this year. I request M. du Terron in my letters to oblige the first ships coming hither next year to bring out to us the greatest quantity possible of it.

V. Dispatch of Sieur Joliet, to discover the Mississippi.

He (Chevalier de Grandfontaine, Governor of Acadia and of Pentagouet) has likewise judged it expedient for the service to send Sieur Joliet to the country of the Maskouteins,[1] to discover the South Sea, and the Great River they call the Mississippi, which is supposed to discharge itself into the Sea of California. He is a man of great experience in these sorts

[1] Father Allouez, who visited this tribe in February, 1670, says "they were called the Fire Nation;" *Skoote* or *Ashkoote* being the Algonquin word for "fire," to which the article *m'* and the termination *enk* being added, gives us Mashkoutenc—the country, or place, of Fire. But Charlevoix says this is an erroneous derivation; for, he adds, the word Muskoutenec means an open country or prairie. The Maskoutens were, therefore, Prairie Indians, who dwelt on a river of the same name, which falls into Lake Winnebago, and is called the Wolf river in modern maps of Wisconsin. It is possible, however, to reconcile the meaning given by Father Allouez to the word, by supposing that fire was the agent by which the country became originally divested of its timber, and that it was to this circumstance the Hurons also referred when they called these Indians *Assista Ect Aeronnons*, or the people of the Fire Country. *Relation*, 1669, 70. It is proper to add, that Mr. Schoolcraft corroborates the statement of Charlevoix. Hennepin (Voy. i., 132) says that they and the Outagamis lived, in 1680, on the River Mellioki (now Milwaukie), which runs into the lake in 43° of N. latitude.—Ed.

of discoveries, and has already been almost at that Great River, the mouth of which he promises to see. We shall have intelligence certainly from him this summer.

VI. A Passage, the greater portion of which is in Cipher, wherein M. de Frontenac communicates to the Minister what he has done to keep in check the ever active ambition of the Jesuits.

I send you, under Letter G., copy of the passport in which, you will perceive, I obliged Father Crespieu, Jesuit, to have his name inserted. They were not in the habit of doing this, and passed and repassed into all the different countries, and even to France, without any passports or permits. But having let the Father Superior adroitly and civilly know that such was not in order, and that they ought to be the first to show the example of submission, he forthwith sent Father Crespieu to me—(Ciphers explained: 82. 7. I believe you will approve that I acted thus by them, and that it is well to prevent them arrogating special privileges to themselves—18. 17.—) I expressed forcibly to them my astonishment at seeing that, of all the Indians that are with them at Notre Dame de Foi, which is only a league and a half from Quebec, not one spoke French, though associating with us, and told them that they ought, in their missions, bethink themselves, when rendering the savages subjects of Jesus Christ, of making them subjects of the King also; that for that purpose it would be necessary to inspire them with a desire to learn our language, as the English taught them theirs; to endeavor to render them more sedentary, and make them abandon a life so opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and that the true means to render them Christians, was to make them become men. (Ciphers: 86. 33. 17. — But whatever pretence they manifest, they will not extend that language, and, to speak frankly to you, they think as much about the conversion of the Beaver as of souls; for the majority of their missions are pure mockeries, and I should not think they ought to be permitted to extend them further until we see somewhere a better formed church of those savages. **I strongly exhorted the Gentlemen* of 65.28.88 . . . . . * the Seminary of Montreal so to manage them at Quintay, and to inspire their savages with those sentiments, which they promised me they would do. This, perhaps, will excite the others, through jealousy, to do the same.

Ciph.) If you will hint as much also to Father Ferrier, perhaps what he may write would produce some effect. Another thing that displeases me is the complete subserviency of the Priests of the Seminary of Quebec and the Bishop's Vicar general[1] to the Jesuit Fathers, without whose order they do not the least thing. Thus they are indirectly the masters of whatever relates to the Spiritual, which, as you are aware, is a great machine to move all the rest. They have, if I mistake not, gained over even the Superior of the Recollets, who has no more than three or four Friars in his Monastery, which the Jesuit Fathers would be very glad to see entirely abolished, and where it would be necessary to have able Friars of sufficient talent to balance somewhat that of the others. You will bear in mind, if you deem fit, to say something about it to the Bishop of Quebec and to the Provincial of the Recollets.—13. 91. 20. 17.

* The words in italics are written, after which are ciphers again.

[1] Very Rev. Henri de Bernières, nephew of the Treasurer-general of the same name, came to Canada in 1659, in company with Bishop de Laval, by whom he was ordained in the spring of the following year, and appointed to the parish of Quebec in 1664. He was afterwards Superior of the Seminary, and the first Dean of Quebec. He died 5th December, 1700. The Very Rev. Jean Dudouyt is also mentioned as one of the Vicars-general of Quebec at this time. — Ed.

Here the Ciphers terminate; and in case persons in the interest of the Jesuits should read the Memoir, M. de Frontenac, to conceal his game, continues in letters thus:

First Assembly holden at Quebec.

I have, personally, every reason in the world to be pleased with the civility and urbanity of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who gave me a token thereof at a meeting I held, some days ago, of the Gentlemen of the Clergy, Noblesse, Judiciary and Third Estate, for the purpose of having them take a new oath of fidelity, having offered me their New Church, without my asking it of them, and decorated it as much as lay in their power. I considered, as the like thereof was never done here before, that all the pomp and eclat that the country could contribute ought to be displayed on that occasion, in order to impress more strongly on the public mind the respect and veneration they ought to entertain for his Majesty. I endeavored then to give a form to what they never had had before, and to compose a sort of corps of the Clergy, Noblesse, Judiciary and Third Estate. I was first disposed to adjoin the Religious Communities with the Gentlemen of the Seminary, and the Jesuit Fathers had agreed to it in the beginning. But the Vicar General having afterwards thrown great difficulties in my way, though he, too, had consented, I at once understood they came from them, notwithstanding he alleged to me only that it was not the custom in France for them to mix with the Clergy. I did not, therefore, think it proper to force them, for fear of disobliging the one and the other. For the Noblesse, I selected two or three gentlemen here, whom I united to as many of the officers, and the ordinary Judges and the Syndic of the farmers with the principal merchants and burgesses of Quebec, having organized their little Body, we held a meeting the most brilliant ever seen in Canada, at which there was a concourse of more than a thousand persons. I endeavored to inculcate on them the sentiments of obedience and fidelity they owed the King, and to make them understand, also, the obligations they were under to you, for all the aid you every day procured for them. They appeared convinced of the one and the other, and with all the tokens of joy possible took the oath I demanded of them, copies of which I send you under letter H. I had the Gentlemen of the Sovereign Council to take it in almost the same terms on the first day I sate among them. Several Hurons attended that ceremony, and were so much affected by it, that on the next day they asked me to take the same Oath, which I allowed them. Mr. Talon was not present, because, unfortunately, he was somewhat unwell.

VII. A Mr. de Villeray, intending to solicit the office of Farmer General from the Sovereign Council, M. de Frontenac warns the Minister that though this man lacks not understanding nor knowledge, he is to be feared as a busybody, but particularly as attached to the Jesuits. He writes the following in cipher:

Apropos of the influence of the Jesuits.

It is openly stated here that he (242 is of the number of those who, without wearing the uniform, have not omitted taking the vows.) (Letters:) I therefore consider it my duty to advise you thereof, in order that you should see whether, after having been at so much trouble to (ciphers:) deprive the Jesuit Fathers of the knowledge and direction of affairs in this Country, it would be expedient to open to them a door by which they could again enter indirectly.

Quebec, this 2d Novembr 1672. FRONTENAC.

M. Colbert to Count de Frontenac.

Paris, 13th June, 1673.

Sir,

* * * * * * * * * *

In respect to the Iroquois, as the Colony is very numerous, his Majesty doubts not your easily restraining them within their duty and the terms of their obedience, which they have sworn and promised to his Majesty. But you must not expect that his Majesty can send you troops from here, inasmuch as he has not considered that necessary, and desires you punctually to execute what is contained in your Instruction to discipline the inhabitants of that Country, by dividing them into Companies and having them drilled as often as possible, so as to enable you to make use of them on all the occasions you may require.

The assembling and division of all the inhabitants into three orders or estates, which you had done for the purpose of having them take the oath of fidelity, may be productive of good just then. But it is well for you to observe, that as you are always to follow, in the government and management of that country, the forms in force here, and as our Kings have considered it for a long time advantageous to their service not to assemble the States General of their Kingdom, with a view perhaps to abolish insensibly that ancient form, you likewise ought only very rarely or—to speak more correctly—never give that form to the corporate body of the Inhabitants of that country; and it will be necessary even in the course of a little time, and when the Colony will be still stronger than it now is, insensibly to suppress the Syndic who presents petitions in the name of all the Inhabitants, it being proper that each speak for himself, and that no one speak for the whole.

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The Provincial of the Recollets has, within eight days, dispatched two Friars who are to embark to join their Monastery in Canada; and with a view to the continued increase of their number, I had the same Provincial informed to-day to send thither two others of the most efficient; and I shall also take care that he send some over every year, in order to be able thereby to counterbalance the excessive authority the Jesuits have assumed in that country.

Journal of Count de Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673.

The intelligence received by the Count de Frontenac, on arriving in Canada, of the Treaty the Iroquois were negotiating with the Outaoüaes, was of too great importance to the trade of the country not to oblige him to prevent its ratification. By this Treaty, in which the Iroquois were urged forward principally by their neighbors, they offered to supply the Outaoüaes with all the goods they required, and the latter were to carry to them generally all their peltries, and the exchange was to take place on Lake Ontario.

The only means to traverse and upset this negotiation was, as had been frequently before proposed, to establish a Post on the same Lake, which would prevent the communication of the Nations of the South with those of the North, and force the latter to continue to bring us not only all the peltries that usually came by the River of the Long Saut, but even those

our neighbors profited by, through the facility of being able to cross the Lake without any impediment. Count de Frontenac found himself much embarrassed in the adoption of a resolution, seeing himself without troops, without money, without ammunition, without canoes, and arriving in a country, to the situation of which, and the humor of its inhabitants, he was almost an entire stranger, and where he had not, as yet, sufficient friends to enable him to undertake, on his own credit alone, what those who had preceded him dared not execute with all the knowledge and all the aid they were masters of.

He was of opinion, however, that the loss of the trade would infallibly entail in a short time the rupture of the peace, since the Iroquois and the Outaoüaes, being in a position to dispense with us, and finding greater facility in their hunting and trade, would more easily resume that inclination they naturally feel for war, inasmuch as they had an idea that they could undertake it with less risk on the arrival of a new Governor, who they knew had no troops.

These considerations, and the letters received by Count de Frontenac, in the course of the winter, from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who are missionaries among the Iroquois, who advised him that these people were not over and above well disposed, finally determined and obliged him, despite all the obstacles and all the difficulties he anticipated in the execution of that design, to resolve on undertaking it as soon as the river would be free of ice, and the water sufficiently warm for navigation. Nevertheless he considered, for divers reasons, that he ought not to give entire publicity to it, and contented himself with letting it be understood that he had determined, in the course of the next spring, to visit the whole extent of his government; to become acquainted with the country, and in that way with the Indians who inhabit it, to assure them of his Majesty's protection provided they observed the peace with us.

And as his predecessors had never undertaken similar voyages, except with a considerable number of men and canoes, so as not to expose themselves imprudently to the insults of the Indians, whose fickleness is ever to be dreaded, he declared he would invite the officers who had settled in the country to accompany him on the voyage, and would order out canoes and people from each settlement, so as to be in a state to defend themselves against all the Indians might undertake; and by manifesting to them some evidence of Onontio's power, induce them the more readily to confine themselves within their duty.

To impress these sentiments the more strongly upon them, and to show them that the Sauts and Rapids, which obstructed the River in many places, were not an insurmountable barrier by which the French could be prevented reaching them when necessary, he resolved to take with him two flat bateaux, similar to that Mr. de Courcelle had some years previously carried to the head of the Rapids, and even to mount them with some small pieces of cannon, in order to achieve something new which may inspire the Savages with more respect and awe.

He therefore caused two to be constructed of a particular model, capable of containing sixteen men, with considerable provisions, and had them painted in a fashion unlike any thing seen before in the whole country, and ordered canoes to be pressed, and directed the Hurons to make some others of bark found in the public store.

But in order that the Iroquois, who are very suspicious, may not be alarmed by these preparations, he thought proper to send some person of credit to them to advise them of his intention to go as far as Kenté to visit the French Mission and establishments, and to exhort them, at the same time, to send thither deputies from each Nation, to whom he would

confirm, on the part of his Majesty, all that had been promised them in his name by the Onontios, his predecessors, and receive from them new tokens of the obedience and submission they owed him.

For this purpose he selected Sieur de Lasalle as a person qualified for such a service by the different journeys he had made into that country and by his acquaintance with the Indians. He sent him orders to leave Montreal as soon as the navigation would permit, and to proceed to Onontagué, the place where all the Nations assemble for business, and to invite them to send delegates to Kenté towards the end of June; he was to carry the same message, should he think proper, to the four other villages.

However, as soon as the very severe frosts were over, Count de Frontenac had the construction of the bateaux prosecuted with great care and assiduity; the necessaries for his expedition collected, and orders issued to hold the canoes in readiness all along the shore, and to engage persons suitable for such an enterprise, so that every thing may be ready in the latter end of May to depart for and repair to Montreal, which was to be the general rendezvous.

The voyage had to be postponed for a month in consequence of bad weather and the delay of the spring sowing, which put Count de Frontenac to the necessity of despatching Sieur de Hautmeny anew to the Indians to change the rendezvous, and to defer it to between the 15th and 20th of July.

June the 3d was the day finally fixed for his departure from Quebec. He had a sloop[1] sent to Montreal, some days before, with the munitions of War and other articles he was taking from Quebec; and having left orders with Sieur Prevost, Town Major, to follow him with all the Brigades from the River sides and adjoining places, and to reach Montreal on the 24th, he led the van with a part of the Castle garrison, his guards, staff, and some volunteers. He visited all the officers on his route, who endeavored to outstrip each other in entertaining him, and arrived on the 15th June, about 5 o'clock in the evening, at Montreal, where he was received by Mr. Perrot, the Governor, amidst the roar of all the cannon and musketry of the people of the Island, who were under arms, and was addressed on the beach by the Officers of Justice and the Syndic of the Inhabitants, and finally by the Clergy at the door of the church, where the *Te Deum* was sung.

Passing Cape de la Magdelaine, the Reverend Father D'Ablon, Superior of the Jesuits,[2] who was returning from visiting his missions, informed him that he had learned from the Indians that some Dutch ships had arrived at Manath, of which place they had made themselves Masters after a feeble resistance; that it was to be feared they would afterwards repair to the mouth of the River St Lawrence, to exclude French vessels from it, and would attempt ascending even to Quebec, should they learn that he was at a distance with the main force of the country.

But Count de Frontenac, seeing no foundation for this intelligence, continued his route, and requested the Father not to divulge the news; and in case it should spread, to encourage those

[1] Une Gribane; a sea vessel from 80 to 90 tons. *Dict. de Richelet.*

[2] Rev. Claude Dablon arrived in Canada in 1655, and was immediately sent missionary to Onondaga, where he continued, with a brief interval, until 1658. In 1661 he set out overland for Hudson's Bay, but succeeded in reaching only the head waters of the Nekouba, 300 miles from Lake St. John. In 1668 he accompanied Marquette to Lake Superior, and preached the gospel in Wisconsin; assisted, in 1671, at the great council held by St. Lusson with the Indians (*supra*, 72), at the Falls of St. Mary, and was Superior from 1670 to 1680, again in 1685, 1688, and as late as July, 1693. See IV., 48. He compiled the *Relation* of 1671, 2; and many of his MSS., of interest and value to the early history of the Western States, are still extant. — Ed.

who may feel alarmed. He did not omit, however, sending orders by him to Sieur de Tilly, whom he left Commandant of Quebec and the circumjacent places, to hold all the militia in readiness at the first news he should receive from him, with particular instructions what to do at the least intelligence of the enemy's approach, and sent two canoes to Tadoussac, so as to be promptly advised of the appearance of vessels in the river. He also commanded carriages to be made for the guns which were on the ground and in very bad order at Quebec, whither he assured Father D'Ablon that he should return with all possible diligence on the first news he should receive of the approach of this pretended fleet, and would arrive there soon enough to prevent the enemy effecting any thing.

During the ten or twelve days he remained at Montreal he thought of nothing but regulating what was required, as well for the construction of the Fort he designed, as for the division of the Troops and Canoes into brigades and squadrons, and the supplying them with Commanders; he had considerable trouble in arranging the ranks and the line of march in such a way as not to leave any one dissatisfied. He divided them into nine sections, including the detachment of the Hurons who desired to accompany him, and composed each of ten to twelve canoes; so that, including those of his staff, he found he had nearly one hundred and twenty canoes with the two flat bateaux, and about four hundred men.

He next gave orders to have a wagon road constructed overland from Montreal to a place called La Chine, distant about 3 to 4 leagues, so as to avoid the Sauts in the river between Montreal and that place, there being none more dangerous, and to provide for the carriage of all the necessaries for the expedition over that road. After every thing had been successfully accomplished through his vigilance and assiduity, he caused all the troops who had arrived on the preceding day to take up their line of march on the 26th and 27th, and arrived there, himself, on the evening of the 28th.

June 29th. Finished putting all the munitions of war and provisions on board the canoes and bateaux; and Count de Frontenac, having chosen M. de Chambly as a most efficient, and the oldest officer in the country to command the troops under him, detached him with three canoes, with orders to encamp on the South shore at the foot of the first Rapids, which are at the head of Lake St Louis, and departed with all the squadrons intending to join him there. But having discovered, in passing, that the Indians were creating some disorder, having got drunk at the house of a Montreal settler, he was obliged to land for the purpose of punishing the Indians, and the man named Roland who had given them drink contrary to the prohibitions repeatedly issued, whom he ordered to accompany him on the expedition. The consequence was, he could camp only at the head of the Isles de la Paix,[1] whence he sent orders to Sieur de Chambly to proceed, with his squadron, beyond the first three Rapids.

30th. Passed the first two with incredible labor and fatigue in consequence of the bateaux, the dragging and towing of which required more than fifty men, who were up to the shoulders in water. This caused him much uneasiness, tempered, however, with great satisfaction on beholding the manner the officers acted and the alacrity with which every body toiled.

The Hurons, whom Count Frontenac brought with him, set the example; they achieved wonders; and those conversant with their humor, acknowledged they performed without any difficulty, for him, what no one had ever before dared to propose to them. He, therefore, had them and the whole fleet regaled at night with some Brandy and Tobacco, for which the Hurons sent two of their oldest chiefs to return thanks, and to protest to him that their young

[1] On the south side of Lake St. Louis, and in front of the Seigniories of Chateauguay and Beauharnois. — Ed.

braves were ready to do all he ordered them, and that, in obedience, they would never be behind any of the French. Camped at the foot of the 3d Rapid.

First of July, passed this Rapid in the morning with much difficulty, on account of a Sault in it. The bateaux found in some places scarcely any water, and the rocks cut the feet of the people hauling them, who in other places were up to their armpits in water. Nevertheless, their good humor never diminished, and after having towed the same bateaux all the afternoon, for more than a league with the water up to their waist, encamped at the Islands to the South, a league and a half distant from the outlet of Lake St. Francis.

July 2d. Completed the passage of the two Rapids which intervened between us and our entrance into this Lake, where we arrived at noon; and as the crews of the bateaux were very much fatigued, and several of the canoes had been damaged by towing, Count de Frontenac commanded others to relieve the men with some canoes for an escort, and sent them along the North shore to a Point[1] two leagues further up, and encamped with the remainder of the troops at the outlet of this Lake.

3d. There could not be finer navigation or more favorable weather than on the 3d; a light Northeaster having sprung up, gave the bateaux an opportunity to go as fast as the canoes, so that we arrived at the Islands at the head of the Lake time enough to repair the bateaux, which had been injured by the rocks in the Sauts and at those places where they had to be dragged.

4th. Continued the route, and passed through the most delightful country in the world. The entire river was spangled with Islands, on which were only oaks and hard wood; the soil is admirable, and the borders of the main land on the North and South banks are equally handsome, the timber being very clean and lofty, forming a forest equal to the most beautiful in France. Both banks of the River are lined with prairies full of excellent grass, interspersed with an infinity of beautiful flowers; so that it may be asserted there would not be a more lovely country in the world than that from Lake St Francis to the head of the Rapids, were it cleared.

Made three leagues this forenoon, and halted at a spot more delightful than any we had yet seen: it was near the little channel leading to the Long Sault on the North side, and opposite the mouth of a River by which people go to the Mohawks.[2] The Great River, here, is only a musket shot across. Sieur Le Moine was sent to examine that which goes to the Mohawks, and reported that it formed a large, circular, deep and pleasant basin behind the Point[3] in front of which we had halted, and that the Iroquois, whom he found there, had informed him that there was five days' easy navigation in that river, and three when the waters were lower.

After having dined and rested awhile, the march was resumed, and it was resolved to keep to the South shore, the design being to go and camp above the Long Sault, and at three-quarters of a league below it to cross over; but the rain which supervened obliged Count de Frontenac to cause the entire fleet to come to anchor at the North side, at the place where we intended to cross over, and he had time only to get the bateaux to do so and to encamp himself with the three Rivers brigade and his staff on the South shore, opposite the place where the other sections had anchored. We found in the Western forest, or Camp, a white flower as beautiful as can be seen, with an odor similar to that of the Lily of the Valley, but much finer. It was sketched through curiosity.

[1] Point au Baudet, Soulanges county, C. E.

[2] Supposed to be Grass river, St. Lawrence county, N. Y.

[3] Massena Point, St. Lawrence county, N. Y. — Ed.

5th. Rain threatening, we contented ourselves in despatching the bateaux at the break of day to get them past the Rapid of the Long Saut, and the order was sent to the fleet at the North not to cross until the weather was settled. Therefore, it having cleared about 10 o'clock, the fleet crossed over and advanced to the foot of the 1st Rapid of the Long Sault; but one-half having passed, a storm sprung up which obliged the Count to go by land as far as the Rapids, to hasten on those who were in the centre, and to prevent those in the rear going further on; so that four only were able to pass, and these camped half a league above. He sent the others into a cove, after he had remained more than two hours under the rain, without a cloak, very uneasy about the bateaux, which experienced much difficulty in ascending the Rapid; one of them would have run adrift in the current, had not the people behind thrown themselves into the stream with incredible promptness and bravery.

It is impossible to conceive, without witnessing, the fatigue of those who dragged the bateaux. They were, for the most part of the time, in the water up to the armpits, and walking on rocks so sharp that many had their feet and legs covered with blood. Yet their gaiety never failed; and they made such a point of honor of taking these bateaux up, that as soon as they had arrived in Camp, some among them commenced jumping, playing Prison base *(jouer aux barres)*, and other games of like nature.

The night of the 5th and 6th was so rainy that the Count could not sleep through fear of the biscuit getting wet, insomuch that having ordered Sieur de Chambly not to allow the canoes to start until he saw settled weather, and to push on only the bateaux with experienced hands, as they did not carry any provisions capable of spoiling, he waited until noon to set out; the weather having cleared up, with the appearance of no more rain; but a league had not been traveled, nor the bateaux overtaken, before a tempest burst, so furious that all thought the provisions would be wet. With care, however, very little harm happened, and after halting about three hours, he proceeded on with some five or six canoes, to find out a place to camp, to give [time] to relieve the people in the bateaux, in order that they might follow him with all the troops; and though there were three or four ugly rapids to be passed, they did not fail to surmount all those difficulties, and to arrive before sundown at the head of the Long Saut, where Count de Frontenac had traced out the Camp opposite a little Island,[1] at the end of which the North channel unites with that on the South.

7th. Started the Canoes very early, with orders to cross from the North side at the place where they should find the river narrower and less rapid; and left, with all the Canoes, two hours afterwards, and proceeded until eleven o'clock in better order than during the preceding days, because the navigation was easier. Stopped three or four hours, about a quarter of a league from the Rapid called the *Rapide plat.*

The weather appeared the finest in the world; this induced us to determine on passing the Rapid, which is very difficult on account of the trees on the water side tumbling into the river, obliging the canoes to take the outside and go into the strongest of the current. He detached six canoes in consequence, and ordered all those in them, and two carpenters whom he sent along, to take axes to cut all the trees that might obstruct the passage of the bateaux, and took with him the Three Rivers brigade and his staff to lay out the camp, having left two brigades with the bateaux and the rest for a rear guard. But on landing at five o'clock in the afternoon there came a storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, more furious than all the others that preceded it; so that it was necessary to dispatch orders in all haste to

[1] Isle aux Chats.

the bateaux and to all the fleet to cast anchor wherever they happened to be; which it was very difficult to effect, in consequence of some of the bateaux being in the midst of the Rapid. The rain lasted the whole night, during which the Count was extremely uneasy, lest precautions should not have been taken to prevent the provisions getting wet.

Next morning, at break of day, having sent for intelligence, news was brought about seven o'clock that there was not much harm done, through the care every one took to preserve his provisions; and the bateaux arrived a quarter of an hour afterwards at the Camp. As every one had suffered considerably from the fatigue of the night, it was resolved not to leave the Camp before ten or eleven o'clock, in order to collect all the people and give them time to rest. The weather was so unsettled that, through fear of rain, we waited until noon, and though a pretty strong South West wind arose, and the river was very rough, we failed not to make considerable head way, and to camp at the foot of the last Rapid.

9th. We had proceeded scarcely an hour when the Montreal brigade—detached by Count de Frontenac from our 3d encampment, and sent by Lieutenant De la Valtrie, under the direction of Ensign Morel, to make a second convoy and carry provisions beyond the Rapids—was found in a place which it had been ordered to occupy as a depôt. As soon as our fleet was perceived, he crossed over from the South to the North, and came on board the Admiral.

The Count wrote by him to M. Perrot, Governor of Montreal, to whom he sent orders to have new canoes furnished to Sieur Lebert to join this Fleet, and to endeavor to bring in one voyage what he had at first resolved to have brought in two.

Two hours afterwards, arrived at the place Sieur de la Valtrie selected to build a Storehouse. It was a Point at the head of all the Rapids, and at the entrance of the smooth navigation.[1] The Count strongly approved Sieur de La Valtrie's selection, and resolved to sojourn there the whole day, to allow the troops to refresh, and to have leisure to send off a second canoe to Montreal with new orders, and to hasten the return of the canoes which were to bring up the provisions. At six o'clock in the evening two Iroquois canoes arrived, bringing letters from Sieur De La Salle, who, having been sent into their country two months before, advised the Count that after some difficulty, founded on the apprehension the Indians entertained of his approach, they had in fine resolved to come to assure him of their obedience, and that they awaited him at Kenté to the number of more than two hundred of the most ancient and influential, though they had considerable objection to repair thither, in consequence of the jealousy they felt on seeing Onontio going to Kenté, as it implied a preference of that Nation to the others.

This obliged him to request the Abbés de Fenelon and d'Urfé to go in all haste to Kenté to invite the Iroquois to the mouth of Katarakoüi, twenty leagues below Kenté, which he had resolved to visit, having judged by the Map, after considerable consultation and different opinions, that it would be a very suitable place on which to erect the proposed establishment.

Though Count de Frontenac had appointed this interview with the Indians only with that purpose, he did not omit, however, taking advantage of the jealousy they entertained in their minds; and requested those gentlemen to assure them that he expected them in that place only to let them know that he did not prefer the one to the other, and that he should be always their common father so long as they remained in the Obedience and Respect they owed the King.

[1] Presumed to be Chimney Point, in the present town of Lisbon, St. Lawrence county, New-York.—Ed.

10th. Left the Camp about five o'clock in the morning; and though Count de Frontenac had determined on the preceding day, and before he received the news of the approach of the Iroquois, to leave the bateaux with the greater portion of the Troops behind, and to take with him only two or three brigades to reconnoitre as quickly as possible the outlet of the Great Lake, and the post he was about to fortify at the mouth of the River Katarakoüi, he changed his design, and concluded he ought to proceed with more precaution until he should be better informed of the intention of the Iroquois. We therefore proceeded in a body, and in closer column than heretofore. The weather was so serene and the navigation so smooth, that we made more than ten leagues, and went into camp at a cove about a league and a half from Otondiata, where the Eel fishery begins.

We had the pleasure, on the march, to catch a small Loon, a bird as large as a wild goose *(Outarde)*, of the most beautiful plumage, but so difficult to be caught alive, as it plunges constantly under water, that it is no small rarity to be able to take one. A cage was made for it, and orders were given to endeavor to raise it, in order to be able to send it to the King.

11th. The weather continuing fine, a good day's journey was made, having passed almost all that vast group of Islands with which the river is studded, and camped at a point above a River called by the Indians Onnondokoui,[1] up which many of them go a hunting. It has a very considerable channel. Two more loons were caught alive, and a Scanonton,[2] which is a sort of Deer, with head and antlers, however, handsomer than those of the deer of France.

12th. Broke up camp very early in the morning, and, having proceeded until 10 o'clock, halted three hours to eat and rest. On approaching the first opening of the Lake, the Count wished to proceed with more order than had been already done, and in line of battle. He accordingly arranged the whole fleet in this wise:

Four squadrons, composing the vanguard, went in front and in one line.

The two bateaux followed next.

After these came Count de Frontenac at the head of all the canoes of his guards, of his staff, and of the volunteers attached to his person; having on his right the squadron from Three Rivers, and on his left those of the Hurons and Algonquins.

Two other squadrons formed a third line and composed the rear guard.

This order of sailing had not been adhered to for more than half a league, when an Iroquois canoe was perceived coming with the Abbé d'Vrfé,[3] who, having met the Indians above the River Katarakoüi, and having notified them of the Count's arrival, they were now advancing with the Captains of the Five Nations.

They saluted the Admiral and paid their respects to him with evidence of much joy and confidence. testifying to him the obligation they were under to him for sparing them the trouble of going farther and for receiving their submissions at the River Katarakoüi, which is a very suitable place to camp, as they were about signifying to him.

After Count de Frontenac had replied to their civilities they preceded him as guides, and conducted him to the mouth of the River Katarakoüi, into a bay about a cannon shot from the entrance, which forms one of the most beautiful and agreeable harbors in the world,

[1] Supposed to be now Gannannokoui.

[2] Oskennonton is the Mohawk for a Deer. — Ed.

[3] Rev. Lascaris d'Urfé, Dean of the Cathedral of Puy, came to Canada in 1668, and was detached to the Indian mission at the Bay of Quinté. This having been abandoned by the Sulpitians, Abbé d'Urfé returned to France in 1678. He, however, came again to Canada in 1685, and in 1686 was in charge of one of the frontier parishes in the district of Montreal. *St. Vallier. Etat present*, 8, 21, 59; *Faillon. Vie de Mde. Bourgeoys*, I., 179. — Ed.

capable of holding a hundred of the largest ships, with sufficient water at the mouth and in the harbor, with a mud bottom, and so sheltered from every wind that a cable is scarcely necessary for mooring.

The Count, enraptured at finding a spot so well adapted for his design, immediately landed, and after having examined, during two or three hours, the shore and situation, he re-embarked in a canoe to explore both sides of the entrance to the river and some points which jut out into the Lake, so that he did not return until 8 o'clock in the evening.

The Iroquois impatiently awaited for him to present him their respects in his tent, but as it was late, he sent them word to postpone it until the morrow, when it would be more convenient to see and entertain each other, to which they willingly consented.

13th. Beat the reveillé at day break, and at seven o'clock every body was under arms; pursuant to the orders issued the preceding evening, all the troops were drawn up in double file around Count de Frontenac's tent, extending to the cabins of the Indians. Large sails were laid in front of his tent for them to sit on, and they were made to pass between the two files. They were astonished at seeing such preparations, seemingly new to them, as well as all those guards with their watch-coats, none of which they had ever before seen. There were more than sixty of the oldest and most influential of the sachims. After having sat, and, as is their custom, smoked some time, one of them, named Garagontié, who has always been the warmest friend of the French, and who ordinarily acted as spokesman, paid a compliment, expressing in the name of all the Nations the joy they felt on learning, from Sieur de La Salle, Onontio's design to come and visit them; that though some evil disposed spirits had endeavored to excite jealousy among them at his approach, they could not hesitate to obey his orders, and to come to meet him in the confidence they felt that he wished to preserve peace always with them, and to protect them against their enemies, treating them as a Father would his children; that they were then coming as true children to assure him of their obedience, and to declare to him the entire submission they should always manifest to his commands; that he was speaking in the name of the Five Nations, as they had only one mind and one thought, in testimony whereof the Captain of each Tribe intended to confirm what he had just stated in the name of the whole.

Each Captain in particular accordingly complimented the Count, and told him the same thing in substance, though in different and very eloquent terms, which is very remarkable, adding only that they were much obliged to Onontio for having abridged the voyage to Kenté and for having been pleased to receive them at Katarakoüi; that they did not intend to pay their respects to him by these preliminary compliments, presented whilst waiting his orders and the day he should appoint for them to hear the proposals he would be pleased to make them.

Each Captain presented, at the conclusion of his speech, a Belt of Wampum, which is worthy of note, because formerly it was customary to present only some fathoms of stringed Wampum.

Count de Frontenac having had a fire lighted near the place where they were seated, answered them in terms adapted to their manner of speaking.

Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. I am pleased to see you come hither, where I have had a fire lighted for you to smoke by, and for me to talk to you. O, but 'tis well done, My Children, to have followed the orders and commands of your Father. Take courage, then, my children; you will hear his word, which is full of tenderness and peace; a word which will fill your cabins with joy and happiness; for think

not that war is the object of my voyage. My spirit is full of Peace, and she walks in company with me. Courage, then, My Children, and rest yourselves.

The Count thereupon presented them with six fathoms of Tóbacco, and added:

Children: You have taken great pains to come to see me, and I regret to have given you the trouble of so long a voyage, which I, however, tried to abridge by not obliging you to go to Kenté and by lighting the fire for you at Katarakoüi. Let not fear close your ears, or disturb your minds. I am aware that there have been plenty of ill disposed persons desirous to persuade you that Onontio was coming into these Cantons only to devour your Villages, But, Children, that is not true; those are busy-bodies who would break the peace and union that exist between us, and you will never find in me any other than the feelings of a real father, so long as you will act like true children and continue obedient. Cheer up, then, your spirits, and be persuaded that I had no other design in this voyage than to visit you, as it was very reasonable a Father should be acquainted with his Children, and the Children with their Father.

I cannot, however, sufficiently testify to you the joy I feel to see that you not only fully obeyed my orders with promptness, and have come in great numbers to meet me, but that you have also brought your wives and children with you, because this is a certain mark of the confidence you place in my words. One regret only remains, that I cannot speak your language, or that you cannot understand mine, so that there might be no necessity for Interpreter or Spokesman.

But in order that you may be fully informed of all I have said to you, I have selected Sieur Lemoine, to whom I shall communicate in writing what I have stated to you, so that he may explain it to you, word for word, and that you may not lose any of my remarks. Listen, then, attentively to him. Here is something to open your ears, in order that you may be disposed, in a day or two, to hear the thoughts of Onontio.

The Count then handed the paper he held to Sieur Lemoyne, and presented to each nation a gun, a quantity prunes and raisins for the women, with some wine, brandy and biscuit.

The Indians appeared highly pleased with the speech, which Sieur Lemoyne explained to them, and with the presents made to them in the commencement, and which appearing, according to their fashion, considerable, caused them to hope that magnificent ones would be made them at the close, when Onontio would communicate his intentions to them. It was remarked that their countenances were much changed, and that Toronteshati, their orator, the most astute, most *spirituel*, and most influential man among them, from being sad and pensive before, assumed a gaiety not usual to him. He has been always an enemy to the French and greatly in the interest of the Dutch. Count de Frontenac was obliged, in consequence, to pay him particular attention and to keep him to dinner with him.

Sieur Rendin was busy meanwhile tracing out the fort at the place designated by the Count, and according to the plan that had been approved of by him, and as soon as they had dined, men were ordered to work at the trench, where pickets were to be set until it should be determined in what manner the troops were to be employed, and until the tools were put in order. He then embarked in a Canoe to visit the banks of the river or harbor, and was delighted to find at the head of the bay a prairie, more than a league in extent, as handsome and level as any in France, and to see the river winding through its centre, very wide, and capable of admitting barks and vessels for over three leagues continuously.

He returned to the camp in great spirits on perceiving that he had found every thing according to his wishes, and that God had seemingly blessed his enterprise; but what

increased his joy still more, was to find every body so impatient for work, and so anxious to advance their undertaking, which he hoped to bring soon to an end. This ardor thus exhibited by them caused him to alter his resolution to divide the troops into four brigades, and to have them relieved every two hours, in order that the work should not intermit, and he accepted their proposal to divide the labor among them, each undertaking what might be allotted to him. This had so good an effect that, early in the evening, they began to make a clearing, with such energy that the officers found difficulty in drawing the people off to rest and sleep, so as to be able to work the next morning.

14th. Day had scarcely broken when the entire brigade fell to work according to the allotment that had been made, and all the officers and soldiers applied themselves to it with such heartiness and zeal that the site of the Fort was nearly cleared.

Sieur Lemoyne had orders from the Count to bring him, at each meal, two or three of the principal Iroquois, whom he entertained at his table. He fondled their children every time he met them, and had bread, prunes, raisins, &c., distributed among them, which so gratified the Indians that they would not leave his tent, no more than the women, whom he treated to induce them to dance in the evening.

15th. The work was continued with the same zeal; but the rain which fell throughout the morning of the 16th prevented operations until noon, when every effort was made to recover lost time. The Indians were astonished to see the large clearance that had been made; some squaring timber in one place; others fetching pickets; others cutting trenches, and that different operations advanced at the same time. In the evening he caused notice to be given to the Captains of the Five Nations that he would grant them an audience the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning.

17th. Every thing being prepared to receive them, they came to see the Count in the same manner as the first time, when he submitted to them, in his speech, all the conditions he desired of them, as may be seen from the annexed copy of his address, which was accompanied by magnificent presents in Indian fashion.

Count de Frontenac's Speech to the Iroquois:

First Word. Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. I signified to you the other day the joy I felt to see you arrive here with all the proofs of submission that Children owe their Father, and with such entire confidence that you had brought even your wives and little ones.

You alleviate, in truth, thereby, all the trouble and fatigue I encountered on my voyage, and oblige me, by the respect you have for my commands, to give you every assurance that you can desire of my friendship, and of the King my master's protection, if you continue to observe faithfully his will, of which I am the interpreter and executor. I have even reason to persuade myself that you will not fail therein after the protestations you have given me and the knowledge you have afforded me of the good understanding in which all the Nations now live, inasmuch as you have informed me that they were all of the same spirit and had but the one opinion. But as 'tis the duty of Children to be obedient to their Father, 'tis likewise the duty of a good Father to communicate to his Children Instruction and Information the most useful and necessary for them.

Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. I cannot give you any advice more important or more profitable to you than to exhort you to become Christians, and to adore the same God that I adore. He is the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and of Earth; the absolute Master of your lives and properties; who hath created you; who preserves you; who furnishes you food and drink; who can send death among you in a moment, inasmuch as He is Almighty, and acts as he willeth, not like men who require time, but in an instant, and at a word. In fine, He it is who can render you happy or miserable, as he pleaseth. This God is called Jesus; and the Black Gowns here, who are his Ministers and Interpreters, will teach you to know Him whenever you are so disposed. I leave them among you and in your Villages only to teach you. I therefore desire that you respect them, and prevent any of your young braves daring or presuming to injure them in the smallest degree, as I shall consider the injuries done them as personal to myself, and such I will punish with the like severity.

Hearken, then, well to the advice I give you, and forget it not, as it is of great importance, and you ought to be aware that in giving it I labor more for you than for myself, and I study only your happiness. The Hurons, here present in great number, must incline you thereto, since you see with your own eyes that they have learned to honor and serve the God of whom I speak to you.

Ancients! Give herein the example to your Children, as your judgment must be sounder than theirs; or if you be not yet disposed to become Christians, at least do not prevent them becoming such, and learning the Prayer and the Commandments of that great God which the Black Gowns will willingly teach them.

These consist only of two points, very easy of observance. The first is to love Him with your whole heart, and your whole soul, and your whole strength.

Ancients! Is there any thing more easy than to love what is perfectly beautiful, what is sovereignly amiable, and what can constitute all your happiness?

The second thing he requires of us is, to love our Brothers as we love ourselves. That is to say, that we assist them in their necessities, and furnish them drink, and meat and clothing when they are in need of them, as we would wish should be done to ourselves.

Again, Ancients, for to you I address myself, believing your minds to be sufficiently endowed to comprehend it, tell me frankly, is there any thing more just and reasonable than this Commandment?

As I am obliged to observe these by my profession as a Christian, you ought to be more easily persuaded that I come not here save with a heart filled with gentleness and peace to communicate these to my children, to assist them in all things, and to give them a proof of a true and sincere friendship.

Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. Take courage, then. Lend not an ear to the counsels of certain busy-bodies, who, at my approach, desire to excite distrust and suspicions, and who, assuming to be your friends, meditate only your ruin and destruction.

Listen to me and trust my words. I am frank and sincere, and shall promise you nothing but what I will exactly perform, desiring that you on your side may do likewise.

The dread I feel of disturbing the peace I promise you prevents me even reproaching you with the various treacheries you formerly committed against my nephews. No, I will not dispel from your countenances that joy which I there behold. I content myself with telling

you only to reflect on the past and on the present; consider well the greatness and power of Onontio; behold the number of persons accompanying and surrounding him, the ease and celerity with which he has surmounted all your Sauts and rapids, and passed bateaux mounted with Cannon over them, which you never could have imagined possible for him to have steered through the smoothest and most tranquil of rivers, and that in a voyage made only for pleasure and without any necessity. Infer from this what he could effect if he desired to wage war and to crush any of his enemies. If you reflect seriously on all these things, you will acknowledge he is a good Father, who is not cruel, and that he is the absolute arbiter of War and Peace.

My predecessors concluded the latter with you, and I now ratify it, assuring you that every thing they promised you shall be faithfully observed, but on the same conditions they did impose on you. These, I understand to be, that, besides the French, all the Indians under the protection of the King, my Master, and his Allies, shall participate in that same peace, and that the first who will break it shall be hanged. I shall set my hand to it on my side; do you the same, Ancients; for if any of your youth insult any Indian under the King's protection, or any of his Allies in the Countries under his dominion, I shall deem myself injured, and shall avenge it in the same manner; and you should not be surprised at this, for what confidence can you have in the assurances I give you of my friendship and protection, if you perceive me capable of abandoning those to whom my predecessors granted the same for so long a time, and who are my friends?

Here, then, is something to make you remember my first speech, which in two words consists in exhorting you, as much as lies in my power, to become Christians, by listening with respect and submission to the instructions the Black Gowns will give you on that subject, and then like Christians, or even as good politicians who wish the preservation and advantage of your Country, to observe strict peace on your part, as I shall do on mine, by chastising the first who will happen to violate it.

Fifteen guns, a quantity of powder and lead of all kinds, with gun flints, were thereupon presented to them. The Count then resumed his speech:

Second Word. Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. I pretend not to persuade you by mere words; I will make manifest my good intentions to maintain a true and solid peace with you by more effectual evidence, and I do not think I can afford you a stronger proof of that than by the settlement I am about to make at Katarakoüi, where I have already spread the mat on which I am seated, and where I have lighted the fire to which I have invited you to come and to smoke. I intend to make it considerable in a little while, and to have goods brought thither by my nephews, in order to spare you the trouble of carrying your peltries so far as you have done. You will find here all sorts of refreshments and commodities, which I shall cause to be furnished you at the cheapest rate possible, as I do not intend that you be treated otherwise than as Frenchmen.

But you must consider that it is a matter of expense to convey goods so far, and that your obtaining all your supplies at your door will save you considerable trouble, as you will not be obliged to go and seek them more than a hundred leagues from your villages, over rough and bad roads.

I shall induce all my Nephews to love you, and to do nothing but what is just. Otherwise I shall chastise them. I beg of you to do the same, on your side. Invite your Nephews to respect all the French, and to aid them as far as they are able, supplying them, for payment,

with Indian Corn and other provisions, if they require them, and if such can be easily brought from your Country. You will thereby console me, and show yourslves to be my children, and that you are disposed to live as Brethren with my Nephews. This is my second word; this present will oblige you to give it some consideration.

Twenty-five large overcoats were presented to them; and some time afterwards, Count de Frontenac, continuing his speech, added:

Third Word. Children! Onnontagues, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. As I am the common Father of all the Nations, how can I avoid reproaching you with the treachery and cruelty you have exhibited towards your Brethren, the Hurons, preventing them visiting their relatives; and how can I refrain from telling you that it is not good, inasmuch as you treat them as slaves, and threaten to split their skulls?

See you not that I act towards them alike? I treat them like other Frenchmen, as my true children. Inquire of them—there are numbers of them here—they will tell you I make no distinction between the one and the other.

Do not behave so again, for I insist that they be free to live wherever they please. Have you not been allowed the same liberty? And your people, do they not remain at Montreal and every where else as long as they like, going and coming whenever they think well, without any objection? Prevent, then, complaints being made hereafter to me on this subject, for I shall become angry, and I insist that you, Iroquois, Algonquins and other nations who have me as Father, live henceforth as Brothers. Otherwise, those who act differently, will feel the effects of my wrath.

But to prove to you that I require nothing more than a perfect union between you all and the French, I conjure you most earnestly to let your children learn the French language, which the Black Gowns can teach them. That would unite us more strongly, and we should have the satisfaction to understand each other without an Interpreter.

To begin with a matter that I consider most advantageous for both Nations, I invite you to give me four of your little girls, of from seven to eight years old, and two of your little boys, whom I shall have instructed with all possible care, and taught French and writing, which are of so great importance. I know it is not a trivial request that I make, being aware of the love you bear your children; but I can say, that I shall take as much care of them as if they were mine own; I shall adopt them as such; shall keep the boys by me, and place the girls with the Nuns at Quebec, where the Hurons already have some of theirs, and where, they can assure you, that they are well reared; I shall frequently visit them, and you can come and see them there whenever you please; promising you to restore them when you require them back, should you not wish to have them married with some of the French, when they have attained a proper age. If you grant me this request, I am sure you will be hereafter pleased at having done so, and at seeing them in the position in which I shall place them.

I conclude my third word and my third present, by repeating to you that I shall thereby know the friendship you entertain for me, since you cannot give me any greater mark thereof.

Twenty-five shirts, twenty-five pair of stockings, five packages of glass beads and five coats were given them as a third present, and then the Count said to them:

That he forgot to state that he had recently learned that some Frenchmen among them endeavored to persuade them that they were persons of great importance among us, and even Nephews of Onontio; but that they were rogues and worthless fellows, whom he should

chastise as soon as he could catch them. Let them not be stopped, then, by what those knaves might tell them, and let them be assured that when he desired to communicate his intentions to them, he should send some person of character, such as Sieur de La Salle, or write to the Black Gowns to inform them of his wishes; that, in fine, to prevent the disorders their young men created in their Cabins, and which may cause some difficulty among us if they pretended to do the same in ours, they must be on the alert to keep them from committing excesses or getting drunk, as there was nothing so unbecoming rational men of well regulated minds, and that we had such profound contempt for drunkards, and that if they acted in like manner towards their young men, they would infallibly correct them of that habit.

As soon as Count de Frontenac had finished his discourse, the Hurons, who were present at the audience, took up the word, and in a speech, which had nothing barbarous in it, addressed the Iroquois, telling them that they were very glad to confirm what Onontio had just said to them on the advantage they would derive from being Christians, and the good treatment they experienced, as well in their own persons as in those of their children, by the education which was given them; that it was one of the greatest obligations they were under; and when the Iroquois would perceive the advantage theirs would derive therefrom, they could never thank Onontio sufficiently for the favor he offered them. They hoped the permission requested, to let their relatives return to them, would not be refused; and as they all regarded him to-day as their common Father, they were very desirous to live henceforward together in good intelligence, and as true brethren ought to live.

This speech was accompanied by a belt of Wampum which they offered the Iroquois, and it is impossible to conceive the effect it had on their minds, nor the joy of the Count on witnessing the proceedings the Hurons had adopted of their own voluntary motion, and without advising him thereof until an hour previous to the audience.

The Iroquois thanked him for what he had just said, evincing every mark of satisfaction that could possibly be expected, and requesting until to-morrow to communicate their resolution more fully. They appeared highly gratified that Onontio had at the first and second audience addressed them as children, and thereby had bound himself to act towards them as a Father; the other Onontios not having made use of that mark of authority, and they having never consented to be addressed otherwise than as Brothers.

The works were meanwhile continued with the same diligence as on the preceding day, and the Three Rivers detachment having completed the excavation of the French, began to set up the pickets, and completed one of the flanks of the fort.

18th. The Iroquois were expected to assemble in the morning, but not being ready until very late, the matter was postponed until the afternoon, when the Count received them as heretofore.

The five deputies spoke, one after the other, and each testified, in his harangue, the joy experienced at meeting a real Father in Onontio, whom they conjured to be persuaded that they too would be most obedient children; that they well understood that all the suspicions which were endeavored to be fomented among them were but chimeras, since he had not proposed any thing to them but what was for their advantage; that they thanked him for having especially exhorted them to become Christians, as it was the greatest advantage that could ever accrue to them; that they promised him also to do what they could to influence their young men and children in that regard, and that they would themselves endeavor to show them the example by receiving respectfully the Instructions of the Black Gowns, and preventing any of their people offering the smallest insult to them.

After which they made their presents, each of a Belt of Wampum, in answer to Onontio's first word.

They then resumed their speech, and said they saw with equal joy the establishment he had commenced at Katarakoüi, and they clearly perceived the benefit they should derive from a Cabin so convenient to theirs, where they could obtain their supplies and not be obliged to go so far to seek them as they were forced heretofore to do. But there was one thing that Onontio seemingly forgot, and which they requested him to declare; that was the price he would fix on the merchandise, in order that, by informing their young men of it, they may more easily persuade them not to carry their peltries where they had been in the habit of taking them, but come to Katarakoüi for all their supplies; they insisted particularly thereupon, and the Captain of the Cayugas, more eloquent than the others, added, in an address which exhibited nothing barbarous, that it was true that the news they had heard of the ruin of the Dutch and of the King's conquests in their Country had much afflicted them, sympathizing in the disgrace of a Nation which had been friendly with them, through whom they had received their supplies, but they had reason to console themselves, since for one friend they lost they found a Father who promised to assist them in all their necessities; this it was that caused them to hope he would take care of them, for it being his interest not to have roguish children, he doubted not that a price so reasonable would be set on all the supplies to be furnished them that they should have every cause to be satisfied. And this was their second word, which was followed, like the others, by presents similar to the first.

In the third, they earnestly exhorted Onontio to assist them against the Andostaguez, the sole enemies remaining on their hands, as he had ordered them to live in peace with all the other tribes, and it would be a shame for him to allow his children to be crushed, as they saw themselves about to be; the Andastoguez being strongly fortified with men and canoes, and they not having the means of going to attack them in their fort, which was very strong, nor even of defending themselves if the others came to attack them in their villages.

In the fourth speech they protested that they would blindly follow the orders of Onontio relative to the Hurons, Algonquins and other nations; and that henceforth they would leave them at full liberty to go wheresoever they pleased, without retaining them by force or offering them any violence.

And in the fifth speech, which related to the little girls and little boys, they represented that the affair was important, and they could not come to any resolution on it until they had returned to their villages, promising him to propose it to all the Tribes; to point out to them the advantage they should derive from it; to use all their efforts to oblige them to give Onontio that satisfaction, by assuring them that the word he had pledged them would be punctually executed, and that their children would be restored as soon as they should demand them back. They concluded by repeating their thanks for the civilities and good treatment they had received from Onontio, congratulating themselves on the affability and urbanity with which he treated them, even to their children, acknowledging that they had never before experienced such in their Country.

Each Deputy, in particular, returned thanks to the Hurons, and offered them a present, assuring them that in compliance with Onontio's wishes all would hereafter live as brothers, and they should have full liberty to go and come whenever they thought proper.

Count de Frontenac having forthwith recapitulated all the heads of their answers, invited and urged them again to become Christians, and to have their children instructed, recommending

them especially to respect the Black Gowns, and to prevent drunkenness among their youth, as that was the chief cause of the greatest disorders that occurred.

Secondly, he assured them they should be advised of the orders he would issue for the establishment at Katarakoüi, and the price to be fixed on the merchandise, which he could not determine at present, as he did not precisely know how much the freight would amount to, since it would be higher at so distant a place, accessible only by a difficult navigation; but that he assured them in advance that they should be favored as much as possible, and that being considered as his children, he did not pretend they should be treated otherwise than as Frenchmen. In regard to the war against the Andostaguez, they might very well believe he would never suffer them to be oppressed, as it was a point of honor with him, and a duty he owed his children not to let them perish, but as the season was already advanced to go on the War path this year, and as some preparation was necessary for such purpose, they should concert together when they would come to Quebec to communicate to him their resolution on the demand he had made them to give him some little boys and girls to be instructed.

He rejoiced to see them disposed to do all he told them relative to the Hurons, Algonquins and other Nations, and this was the true means to oblige him to maintain always with them the peace he had promised them.

He did not take it ill their declining to give a decisive answer to the request he had made for their little girls and little boys, as it was an affair that could not be arranged except in the presence of all the Nations and in their villages, but he implored them to acquaint him promptly of the decision they should adopt, and to believe that his request arose only from the friendship he bore them, and from his desire to receive a proof of theirs.

In reply to their statement, that some of their tribes had already complied with his request by sending a few of their daughters to Quebec when peace was concluded, he was very glad to tell them that there was considerable difference between the demand Onontio had then made and the one he was now proposing; for then, some of their girls were required as pledges and hostages for the promise they had given to observe peace; now, the request was made through pure friendship and desire to unite more intimately both Nations, by causing those young children to be taught the language, and to be brought up according to the manners and customs of the French; and as he intended to restore them as soon as they should be required back, he understood, at the same time, that when he should restore them, they would furnish others, and thus a perpetual exchange would be established, which would finally and insensibly lead them to accommodate their manners and customs to ours; that it was quite just that a Father should always have some of his children by him; and the same tenderness which made it so painful for them to furnish him with some of their children, created in him also the desire of soliciting them. That the comparison of the Hedge-hog, which some of them used in their speech, pointing to the young men who acted as Onontio's guard, and expressing surprise at the readiness with which their Fathers had given them up, was in no way applicable, since so far from having done so through want of tenderness for them, as was the case of the Hedge-hog in abandoning its young, they, on the contrary, considered that they could not give them a greater proof of friendship than to place them near a person who could do them a service and procure advantages for them; and that Onontios, such as he, found more embarrassment in refusing those offered by their parents, than difficulty in asking for them.

Count de Frontenac rose, after having spoken to them in this wise, and told them they could remain or return to their own Country whenever they pleased; to which they replied, that they would occupy a day or two more in preparations for their departure, and would then come and receive his commands.

The whole day was employed in great industry at the Fort; half the palisades were set, and Count de Frontenac sent his two bateaux in the morning with Sieur de Brucy to take whatever had been left at Sieur de La Valterie's post.

19th. Finished the fort; and as the entire ground was to be inclosed on the following day, he told the Commanders of the detachments that he required of each no more than an acre and a half of abatis, after which he should send them home. The consequence was, that two squads finished the task assigned them that night, and the others were far advanced with theirs.

20th. The Indians came in the morning to take leave of Count de Frontenac. One set went to the great village; others went down to Montreal, and the remainder to Ganeious and Kenté. He had previously spoken in private to each Captain and Chief of the Five Nations, to whom he made presents, as well for themselves as for their little children, and all departed so satisfied that they could not desist from praising the frankness and mildness with which Onontio treated them.

The Count, perceiving after dinner that the Three Rivers and Saurel detachments had completed their task, permitted them to leave next morning, and resolved to send away also those of Du Guay, St Ours and La Durantaye, he himself resolving to wait, with his guards, his staff and some volunteers, composing about twenty canoes, the arrival of the convoy which was sailing from Montreal. But at night he received news which tended to delay the departure of the squadrons. The Abbé de Fenelon[1] sent him word that the Deputies of Ganatoheskiagon, Ganeraski, Kenté and Ganeious,[2] proposed coming to Katarakoui, to the number of more than a hundred, on Friday night or Saturday morning at latest, to present him their respects.

Notwithstanding the officers offered to delay and postpone their departure, he did not wish to deprive them of the pleasure of returning, and persisted in his first resolution, judging from

[1] Rev. François de Salignac de Fenelon arrived in Quebec on the 27th of June, 1667, and was ordained Priest by Bishop de Laval, on the 11th of June, 1668. On the 15th of September following, he was sent Missionary to an Iroquois tribe on the north shore of Lake Ontario. In order to perpetuate the memory of his labors there, his name has been given to a township in the county of Victoria, C. W. In 1670 he returned to France, in the same ship with Mde. Bourgeoys, foundress of the Congregation Nunnery at Montreal. *Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys*, I., 212. In 1673 he accompanied Count de Frontenac in the expedition above mentioned. On his return to Montreal, he sided with Governor Perrot, in the misunderstanding that occurred between that officer and Count de Frontenac, whose conduct M. Fenelon severely censured in a sermon he preached at Easter, 1674. He was, in consequence, cited before the Council at Quebec. On appearing before that body, he insisted on his privilege of remaining seated and covered when addressing the Council, whose jurisdiction he refused to acknowledge, and declined to answer all interrogatories. He was thereupon committed to prison, whither M. Perrot had already been sent. Their confinement was but short, however, for the whole affair was referred to the King, and nothing more was heard of the prosecution. *Garneau*, I., 216, 218. Abbé Fenelon is said to have returned finally to France, but at what precise time is not stated. He was still in Canada in 1676, according to Hennepin. *Nouvelle Decouverte*, Amsterdam, 1694. p. 14. This author confounds him with the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, and the mistake has been lately repeated by various writers. That prelate was born in 1651, and ordained at Paris in 1675, by Mgr. de Harlay (*Abbé Ferland's Observations*, p. 15), seven years later than the Indian Missionary, who was the Archbishop's half brother. *Faillon. Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys*, I., 178. — Ed.

[2] Ganadatsiagon, Ganaraské and Gannejouts will be found mentioned on Vaugondy's map of Canada, 1753, in Mitchell's map of North America, and in that accompanying Kalm's Travels. Ganatcheskiagon was near Darlington, or Port Hope, in the Newcastle district; Ganaraské was the mouth of the river Trent, and Ganneious is now Nappane — all on the north side of Lake Ontario. Kenté is still preserved on modern maps. — Ed.

the proceedings of the Indians that it was not necessary to take much precaution against them, nor to retain a greater force than he had proposed to keep by him.

21st. Therefore, the Three Rivers and Saurel squadrons left in the morning, followed in the afternoon by those of Contrecoeur and Bertier; Count de Frontenac having ordered them to proceed to Montreal in the same order in which they had come, and to wait the one for the other in the Rapids, so as to assist each other and to be able to pass through without accident.

The clearing of the interior of the Fort and the construction of the barracks were continued, and there arrived two or three canoes of Indians who had left to go to Ganeious. Among these was the Captain General of all the Five Nations, who returned to assist the delegation, on being informed that the Deputies of Ganatcheskiagon and the other Northern Villages were to come to Katarakoüi, in order to assist also at their deliberations. Count de Frontenac was much pleased at this, perceiving thereby that he persevered in the sentiments of submission and peace which he assured him he should ever entertain, though naturally he might be induced to wage war, and his interests may obviously lead him thereto.

In the evening arrived the Delegates from Ganatcheskiagon, Ganeraské Kenté and Ganeious, to offer the same compliments as the others, so that it may be said that all the Nations to the North and South of Lake Ontario evinced the same submission to his orders.

22d. The brigades of Dugué, St Ours and La Durantaye departed at day break; and after dinner, La Chevrotiere, whom Count de Frontenac dispatched to Montreal from the head of the Rapids to hasten the Convoy which was to leave that place, brought intelligence that the canoes would start without fail on the 17th of this month. This afforded him much pleasure, hoping, as he did, that he should not have long to wait for them.

23d. Sieur de Brussy returned at eight o'clock in the morning from the post at the head of the Rapids with the two bateaux freighted with provisions which had been left there in passing, and reported having met one of the brigades on its return; it had the wind aft and was making great headway.

Count de Frontenac gave audience, about ten o'clock the same day, to the Deputies of Ganatcheskiagon, Ganeraské, Kenté and Ganëious, who spoke to him in nearly the same terms as the others, and assured him of their respect and submission.

Having replied forthwith thereto, and expressed his displeasure at their not being in attendance at the same time as the rest to hear what he had to say, he recapitulated all the requests he had made, on which he enlarged at considerable length, having exhorted them particularly to become Christians and to maintain a firm peace and a good understanding with the French. This they promised to do, assuring him that they should all have but one mind and one will to obey him.

24th and 25th. Continued the works as usual, every man exerting himself to forward them; and Count de Frontenac designated the Garrison and workmen whom he was to leave in the Fort after his departure.

26th. Caused to be removed into the store he had constructed, the provisions and ammunition which were to be left there, and directed what work was to be done during the winter.

27th. He resolved to depart, hoping the Convoy would arrive soon, and that he should meet it the first day. He accordingly embarked at eight o'clock in the morning, and camped at Otondiata without hearing of the Convoy, which caused him great uneasiness.

28th. Though the wind was Northeast the camp was broke up at day break; we had not made three leagues when the Convoy was perceived to the number of twenty-five Canoes.

This gave him the more pleasure, as he learned by the officer in command that every thing he required had been put on board and was in good condition, except four bags of biscuit which had been lost in a Canoe that had upset.

Count de Frontenac delayed this officer as little as possible, so that he might not lose the favorable wind, whereby he could at an early hour the same day reach the fort, which would, by means of this fleet, have a supply of provisions for one year.

The wind, however fair for those ascending the river, was so contrary for us that we were forced to halt, half an hour after passing the convoy, and to wait until seven o'clock in the evening, when, it becoming more calm, we continued the voyage, and after sailing until more than two hours after midnight, we arrived at the head of the Rapids, at the place called La Galette, where Sieur de La Valterie was stopping.

29th. Left about eight o'clock in the morning, and, notwithstanding the excessive heat, succeeded in passing the Long Sault Rapid and in camping at the Islands at the head of Lake St Francis.

30th. A Northeast wind rose up so strong that we were obliged to remain and wait for fair weather to cross the Lake. This we did the next day and slept at La Chine.

The first of the month of August. Arrived at Montreal about ten o'clock at night, to the entire satisfaction of Count de Frontenac; as out of one hundred and twenty canoes that had accompanied him, not an accident had occurred to a single one, notwithstanding the perils ordinarily incurred throughout all the Rapids which must necessarily be passed in such voyages. To the special protection of God are we indebted for this, as well as for the successful execution of an enterprise whose importance will, no doubt, be better developed in the course of time; since, independent of its securing the entire Country, it also obliges the Iroquois to keep the peace despite themselves; affords full liberty for the Missionaries to continue their missions without fear, and secures the trade, which was going to utter ruin.

But what must be more glorious to him is to have effected it by his energy and skill alone; and to have executed without troops, without any funds from Court, and without any other assistance than that afforded by the officers who have settled in the Country, what had heretofore been considered very difficult, and what people had contented themselves merely in projecting with considerable aid and means.

'Tis true that justice to all the officers requires us to proclaim that, next to God, whose will it seemingly was Himself to conduct this enterprise, its principal glory belongs to them, and that Count de Frontenac is under obligations to preserve for them an eternal gratitude, and that in no Regiment, however well disciplined and paid it may have been, was there ever greater vigilance, activity, zeal and obedience observable than were manifested by all these gentlemen.

M. Colbert to M. de Frontenac.

(Extract.) Paris, 17 May, 1674.

Sir,

* * * * * * * * * * *

Your principal study ought to be to increase the number of the Inhabitants of that country, as his Majesty has been surprised to see, by the returns you have sent me, that there are only

6,705 men, women and children throughout the whole extent of Canada, and is therefore satisfied that whoever made up those returns committed a very great error, as the country contained, ten years ago, more people than at present. Hereafter His Majesty wishes you to see that those returns are more correct, in order that he may be better informed of the number of People in that Colony.

His Majesty desires, moreover, that you continue to discipline them by accustoming them to the constant exercise of arms, and dividing them into companies, according to the Instruction furnished you previous to your departure.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

As to the request the Jesuits made to continue their Missions in the far countries, his Majesty thinks 'twould be more advantageous both for the Religion and his service if they attended to those more near, and whilst converting the Indians, lead them to civilized society, and to abandon their manner of living, in which they can never become good Christians. His Majesty, however, does not pretend that these good Fathers be in any wise circumscribed in their functions. He merely desires that you would communicate to them, and gently encourage them to second, His Majesty's views.

You will readily understand by what I have just told you, and more especially by the state of affairs in Europe, which I have explained to you at the commencement of this letter, that his Majesty's intention is not that you undertake great voyages by ascending the river S^t Lawrence, nor that the inhabitants spread themselves, for the future, further than they have already done. On the contrary, he desires that you labor incessantly and during the whole time you are in that country to consolidate, collect and form them into Towns and Villages, that they may be placed in a position the more easily to defend themselves successfully, so that should even the state of European affairs be altered by a happy and advantageous peace, to his Majesty's glory and satisfaction, he deems it much more agreeable to the good of this service that you apply yourself to the clearing and settlement of those tracts which are most fertile and nearest the sea coasts and the communication with France, than to think of distant discoveries in the interior of the Country, so far off that they can never be settled nor possessed by Frenchmen.

This general rule may have its exceptions in two cases:—The one, should the countries of which you take possession be necessary to the trade and traffic of the French, and be open to discovery and occupation by any other Nation that may disturb French commerce and trade. But when such a category does not exist, his Majesty is always of opinion that you may and ought to leave the Savages at liberty to bring you their peltries, without giving yourself the trouble of going so far in search of them.

The other is, that the countries you might discover may approximate you to France by communicating with some sea, more Southerly than the mouth of the River S^t Lawrence, such as would be the case with Acadia.

The reason for this is, as you are perfectly aware, that the greatest drawback to Canada is the mouth of that River, which being very much to the North, is open to vessels only for four to six months in the year.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty likewise desires that you continue to encourage the Jesuits, the Recollets, the Montreal Seminary to take young Indians, to rear and instruct them in the Faith and lead them to associate with the French.

He likewise wishes you to see that the Vessel, which has been begun, be completed as soon as possible and be ready for its freight to be sent to France; and he desires that this Vessel may be an example to induce the Inhabitants to build some others for their own trade.

In regard to Sieur de Villeray, his Majesty has always understood that he was the wealthiest of all the inhabitants of Canada, the most extensive merchant, and even that he already had some vessels at sea which had opened a trade with the American Islands; and as his Majesty has invariably stated to you that nothing was more important and necessary than such establishments, those, therefore, who apply themselves thereto ought assuredly possess the greater share of your confidence and good graces, in order that, by the favorable treatment they experience at your hands, they may be invited to increase that trade, and their example induce others to apply themselves thereto. This assuredly is the rule and order you ought to observe; and though you may meet with some imperfections in these sort of people, it is necessary to dissimulate and bear with them, inasmuch as the good of which they are capable greatly exceeds the harm; and as the Company had commissioned said Villeray to receive the ten per cent duties, you ought not to give that office to any other, on the pretext that said Villeray is attached to the Jesuits.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Count de Frontenac to M. Colbert.

Extracts from the General Memoir addressed to the Minister, by M. de Frontenac, On the State of Canada in 1674.

Great increase of Iroquois among the Jesuits since last year.

I. Having received your orders very late, and given instructions quite recently for taking the Census, which had been already begun, I know not whether it can be finished before the departure of the vessels, nor whether I shall have it in my power to send it to you this year. But you shall have it next year, at farthest, with as much exactness as possible, for I shall not seek to conceal anything from you. You will find at the settlement of La Prairie de la Madelaine, belonging to the Jesuit Fathers, a considerable increase of Iroquois, who have come to settle there since last year, and are resolved to make a fixed and permanent abode there.

Will apply himself to people the country and to discipline the inhabitants.

No person can desire more earnestly than I the increase of the number of inhabitants in a Country which I have the honor to command, and therefore it is that I shall use my every effort, both to discipline them and accustom them to the use of arms, there being a greater necessity than ever for it, and the example of what occurred at Acadia (of which I shall have the honor of speaking to you by and by) warning us to be more on our guard for fear of being surprised.

With that view, I have renewed the orders I had already issued to all the Governors, Commandants and Seigniors of the settlements to have their people drilled as often as possible, who are divided into Companies, to which I have appointed Officers, Sergeants and Corporals. But I find it very difficult to constrain them to keep arms, powder and lead, as much in consequence of the poverty of the most part of them, as on account (*of* 90—20. 21. 39. 69 18 *etc., the scarcity of arms and ammunition existing this year in the Country, where only three vessels have arrived, and brought scarcely any.*[1]

Want of arms, powder and lead.

[1] The words in italics are in ciphers in the original.

You will please to observe, My Lord, that a great quantity of arms and powder is every year absorbed by the Indian trade, and the hunting which is prosecuted every winter by the French, who, in their necessity, part even with their guns, for which they find a ready sale; neither do the merchants ever bring enough of these, and had not the King reserved some in his stores for unforeseen use, the same difficulties would always recur.

It is several years since *any powder or other munitions* have been sent hither, and therefore what remained *is consumed*, notwithstanding I economized it as much as possible since I have been here.

I found here *only about* 4,000 *pounds of coarse, and a hundred pounds of fine powder*, as you may see by the returns I sent you the first year I came here; and you will judge from these that there cannot be *much remaining*. You will have also seen *the number of balls, which is very small, and though a ball has not been fired, we should not have enough for two days, were we attacked.*

I see no *remedy* for that, except such as it will be in your power to supply from France, should the War, and other more important affairs, allow you to provide for those of this Country, which is deeply interested in wishing for a solid and permanent peace.

I have not failed to order all the merchants to retain half the powder and guns they received this year, and not to part with them before the summer, nor until we shall have heard what the Dutch intend to do in our River, which, I think, is one of our strongest defences, in consequence of the difficulty in ascending it.

Fortunate results to Canada from M de Frontenac's voyage to Lake Ontario.

II. It was this same zeal that led me last year to undertake the voyage to Lake Ontario, the effect and utility of which have been perceptible this year, since the way I managed the Indians, and the post I erected, are the sole causes that prevented the Iroquois adhering to the Dutch, who sent twenty Ambassadors this year among them, to engage them to renew the war against us; but they remained faithful to the promises they gave me; have come this year in solemn Embassy to Montreal to give me eight of their children, belonging to the principal and first families of their Villages; have there ratified all the conditions of the Treaty concluded last year with them; have promised to prevent the Mohegans of Taracton, a Nation bordering on New Netherland, continuing hostilities against the Outawacs, seven or eight of whom they killed, which may be of important consequence; and promised not to prosecute the Trade that, I advised you last year, they had begun at Gandaschekiagon with the Outawas,[1] and which would have ruined ours by carrying to the Dutch the peltries they might collect. In fine, they evinced such thorough submission, were so affected by the good treatment, presents and entertainments they received, that every body in this Country is surprised to see them in these sentiments. But what creates more profound astonishment is, to see that they have granted me what they invariably refused all Governors, and what M. de Tracy and M. de Courcelles never could obtain from them, after having defeated them, and after having gone to burn them in their Villages.

The Jesuit Fathers, who know them better than any one, were at first deceived, and could never believe, until they had seen it, that they had resolved to give me their children.

Nevertheless, here are eight that I have in my hands, who are so many hostages, responsible to me for the peace so necessary to this Colony, and which they would not dare, henceforward, to break.

[1] See supra, Note 2, p. 112. The water communication north of Rice Lake, in Canada West, through which this trade was probably carried on, will be found laid down in *Bouchette's Map of Canada*, 1831. — Ed.

The alms the King has been pleased to bestow on the Ursuline Nuns has arrived quite seasonably for the support of these children, as I had placed the fourteen* girls with them, which, with the six Huron girls they already had, make at present ten little female savages, whom they instruct so successfully as to edify every one.

* M. de Frontenac's Secretary doubtless intended to write *four*.

I have agreed with them that eight of those children shall be supported out of the thousand livres the King gave, which is about forty ecus each, and that I should pay the board of the other two from the charities some private persons sent me from France, in consequence of what I had written to them.

In regard to the four Iroquois boys, I placed two of them, who are very young, to board with a woman who has great care of them, where they are supported on the remainder of the charity I have received; the other two, who are about nine or ten years old, I shall rear in my own family, at my own expense, and send them for Instruction, daily, to the Jesuit Fathers.

If it be his Majesty's intention to continue the thousand livres annually to the Ursulines, they offer to establish a Seminary of Female Indians, where the King will always have eight supported; this number will be increased by other private charities of those who will be inclined to aid in so pious a work, which I consider the most meritorious in the sight of God and the most useful for this Colony that can ever be proposed.

Be pleased, My Lord, to communicate your intentions hereupon to the Bishop of Quebec, before he return to this Country, in order that those good Ladies may be able to arrange their plans accordingly, and have the clothes and other necessaries for that establishment brought from France next year.

If the erection of Fort Frontenac has been productive of the effects that I have described to you above, and (insured) the safety of the Missionaries among the Iroquois, who are never weary of thanking me, as the Secretary by whom I send this can show you from several of their letters, it has also been not less advantageous to commerce, for never since the French came to Canada have so many Indians been seen down in Montreal as this year. The Iroquois, who used to come hither only in spring and towards summer, and not leave it the whole winter, and the Outawacs, who came there towards the month of July to attend the Great Trade, have come down this year in such great numbers that there were as many as eight hundred at one time. It was a pleasure to see them mingled with the Iroquois, who had accompanied their ambassadors, and who had been formerly their bitterest enemies, and to remark the submissiveness with which they observed all the regulations I had made to prevent any disorders in trading. Therefore, never has so quiet a sale been witnessed; not a single complaint having been made by an Indian against a French person, nor by the French against an Indian. All the French, as well simple traders as wealthy settlers *(gros habitans)*, made profitable purchases there, and the Indians, on their side, were satisfied at the prices at which goods were sold them.

They received no less attention, presents, and public festivities, at which they assisted to the number of 800, and private entertainments which I always had during their stay; and if the expectations they had conceived, on receipt of the news of what passed last year at Cataracouy, had attracted hither this season four or five new tribes, who had never before descended thus far, I hope there will be a great many more of them next year.

Establishment of Fort Frontenac.

All these considerations coinciding with the two that you have laid down to me in your dispatches, relative to new establishments, united with the representations of Sieurs Bazire and Le Ber, who with the principal people of the Country are

persuaded that the security and preservation of the Trade depend on that of this Post, have determined me to find the means to support it without any charge to the King, since he will not in the present state of his affairs incur any extraordinary outlay. And as I could not support it any longer at my own expense, as I have done for the last year, I placed it in their hands according to the terms you will find in the agreement I made with them, and which I send you, marked letter D.

If you grant them the privileges they ask, and which, costing the King nothing, will in no wise prejudice the country, they will continue the undertaking, unless you absolutely desire that post to be abandoned. I shall go next year and pull down the Fort, if necessary, with as much alacrity as I had pleasure in seeing it constructed.

Grants of land in Canada no longer made except according to the example of the Dutch and English.

No person is more persuaded than I that the good of this Colony demands that Grants *(Concessions)* be not extended except in the cases you point out to me. It is a gospel I have preached ever since I came to this Country, where I have not made any new grants of land, except in the vicinity of the old ones, to the increase of which they may contribute. For it is certain that the Country will never be thoroughly formed until it will have towns and villages.

This, however, will never be accomplished unless by following the example the English and Dutch have set in their country; which is, to designate the place where the Indian trade will be carried on, with a prohibition to pursue it in private settlements, or to take possession of Rapids and carrying places, as persons of all sorts of professions are in the habit of doing here, by virtue of grants they formerly obtained, and which ought to be revoked, so as to force them to settle in the towns, where the Indians would be obliged to come, as there would be nobody to stop them on the way.

It is thus our neighbors have built up Manatte and Orange; and we, too, would have towns in this Country had we observed the same strictness. But to effect that, the people must be accustomed to less license; more authority must be given, or larger means to chastise them afforded.

Capture of Pentagouet and Gemsec by the Buccaneers of Saint Domingo. The English of Boston co-operate in this insult against us by supplying a Pilot to the Pirates.

III. Though I be overwhelmed with despair in having to speak to you of all these contests, and to have nothing but disagreeable news to communicate, I cannot forbear advising you of the misfortune that has overtaken M. de Chambly; of his wound and of the capture of Pentagouet, and of Gemseq on the River Saint John, and of Sieur de Marson, who commanded there. What I know of it, from a letter Sieur de Chambly wrote me, is, that he was attacked on the 10th August by a Buccaneering Vessel which came from Saint Domingo and had touched at Boston; that she had one hundred and ten men on board, who, after landing, kept up their attack for an hour; that he received a musket shot through the body, which put him hors de combat, whereupon his Ensign and the remainder of the Garrison, consisting, with the settlers, of only thirty ill affected and badly armed men, immediately surrendered at discretion; that the pirates plundered the Fort, removed all the cannon, and were to carry Sieur de Chambly to Boston (with Sieur de Marson, to capture whom they sent a detachment into the river Saint John), having demanded from him a ransom of a thousand Beavers. As I did not receive this news until the close of September, by Indians whom Sieur de Chambly dispatched to me with his Ensign to conjure me to give orders for his ransom, and as only one month of navigation remained, I was unable to send help to Acadia, even had I the articles necessary for that purpose. I contented myself with sending some persons with Canoes to endeavor to obtain

information as to the condition the fort was left in, and whether any attempt was made against Port Royal, with orders to bring back Miss de Marson and those who remain on the River Saint John; and to send bills of Exchange to a correspondent at Boston, that Sieur Formont furnished me, for the ransom of M. de Chambly, which I am obliged to instruct my Agent at Rochelle to pay; considering that it is not for the honor of the King, for which I shall always sacrifice whatever little property I possess, to abandon a Governor, in presence of our neighbors, to the mercy of pirates, who would have taken him along with them and perhaps killed him; this poor gentleman, moreover, assuredly deserving, by his merits and long service, a better fate.

I also wrote a letter to the Governor of Boston to express my astonishment at seeing him, whilst Peace existed between his Majesty and the King of England, furnishing a retreat to Pirates and Ruffians without a commission, after having so gravely insulted us; and that for mine own part, had I acted so, I should deem myself failing in the orders I received to cultivate a good correspondence with them. I am persuaded those of Boston have employed these people to perpetrate this outrage on us, having supplied them even with an English Pilot to conduct them, bearing with impatience our vicinity and the constraint which this places upon them in their fisheries and trade.

M. de Frontenac, pursuant to the orders he has received, invites the Jesuits and Recollets to rear up young Indians.

IV. I have conformed to the orders you gave me to continue to encourage the Jesuits, the Seminary of Montreal, and the Recollets to take young Indians for the purpose of instructing them in the faith and civilizing them. The last ask nothing better, and exert themselves in that way at the Cataracouy Mission, where they assuredly will succeed. As for the others, I have shown them an example, and demonstrated to them that, whenever they are disposed to make use of the credit and influence which they have with the Indians, they will civilize them, and have, like me, some of their children.

Difficulties which he experiences in this regard with the Jesuit Fathers.

But 'tis a thing they never will do, unless absolutely constrained thereto by reasons I have already stated to you, and which it is useless to repeat.

They will act in like manner respecting the extent of their missions, on which subject I have spoken to them in the manner you ordered, but in vain, they having declared to me they were here only to endeavor to instruct the Indians, or rather, *to get Beavers*, and not to be Parish priests to the French.

They have affirmed the same within eight days, and withdrew two Fathers whom they always kept at their settlement at Cape de la Madelaine, one of the most populous in this country, because a sufficient number of Indians do not resort there at this moment; and when I wished to represent mildly to the Father Superior the inconvenience the people were subjected to for want of spiritual aid, he did not hesitate to give to me the same reasons that I have already stated to you.

Nevertheless, after having resolved not to leave any of their Fathers there, the charitable admonitions I addressed to them have obliged them, within a few days, to alter their determination, and the Superior has since come to inform me that they would leave one there, but I believe that will be only for this winter, and to permit the great noise it has made to blow over.

Demands Recollet Fathers to oppose the Jesuits; that order already excites their envy.

If the Recollet Fathers were more numerous, and were employed, they would assuredly do wonders in the missions; but the two whom you did me the honor to inform me that you demanded last year did not come, nor the four this year. I presume they were retarded by some mysterious means, as there begins to be great jealousy of them, however fair a face be shown them.

They require active members, and to be more numerous, and that you should tell the Bishop that you desire him not to allow them to remain idle, but that he send them into adjoining and distant missions. The Superior who came last year is a very great Preacher; he has cast into the shade and given some chagrin to those in this country, who certainly are not so able.

V. I would mention a great many other matters to you were I not ashamed of the length of this despatch, and were not my Secretary in a position to give you the information in case you desire it. I shall merely say, that we have not a single gunner here. This is a very necessary person, whenever the King will be pleased to incur this expense. Two Interpreters, one for the Huron, another for the Algonquin language, are not less necessary, in order that we may not pass through the hands of the 212* when treating with the Indians, especially as we can have faithful persons who are attached to the King's interests and service, to tell them what is proper for them to hear; and to know, also, exactly their answers and sentiments.

* Jesuits, no doubt.

Return of Sieur Joliet from his voyage to discover the South Sea.

VI. Sieur Joliet, whom Monsieur Talon advised me, on my arrival from France, to dispatch for the discovery of the South Sea, has returned three months ago, and discovered some very fine Countries, and a navigation so easy through the beautiful rivers he has found, that a person can go from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac in a bark to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying place, half a league in length, where Lake Ontario communicates with Lake Erie. A settlement could be made at this point and another bark built on Lake Erie.

These are projects which it will be possible to effect when Peace will be firmly established, and whenever it will please the King to prosecute these discoveries.

He has been within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico, and believes that water communications could be found leading to the Vermilion[1] and California seas, by means of the river that flows from the West into the Grand River that he discovered, which runs from North to South, and is as large as the Saint Lawrence opposite Quebec.

I send you by my Secretary the Map he has made of it, and the observations he has been able to recollect, as he has lost all his minutes and journals in the shipwreck he suffered within sight of Montreal, where, after having completed a voyage of twelve hundred leagues, he was near being drowned, and lost all his papers and a little Indian whom he brought from those Countries. These accidents have caused me great regret.

He left with the Fathers at the Sault S^te^ Marie, in Lake Superior, copies of his journals; these we cannot get before next year. You will glean from them additional particulars of this discovery, in which he has very well acquitted himself.

Quebec, this 14 November, 1674. FRONTENAC.

[1] The Gulf of California was called by the Spaniards Mar de Cortes, or more commonly Mar Bermejo, from its resemblance in shape and color to the Red Sea. In ignorance of this fact, the French translated Bermejo by the word "Vermeille." *Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi*, 4. — ED.

Sieur de la Salle's Petition for a grant of Fort Frontenac. 1674.

Memoir for the maintenance of Fort Frontenac.

The proposer, aware of the importance to the Colony of Canada of the establishment of Fort Frontenac, of which he was some time in command, and desiring to employ his means and his life in the King's service and for the augmentation of the Country, offers to support it at his expense, and to reimburse its cost on the following conditions, to wit:

That his Majesty be pleased to grant in Seigniory to the Proposer the said Fort, four leagues of country along the border of Lake Frontenac, the two Islands in front named Ganounkouenot and Kaouenesgo and the interjacent Islets, with the same Rights and Privileges obtained hitherto by those who hold lands in the country in Seigniory, with the right of fishing in Lake Frontenac and the adjoining Rivers, to facilitate the support of the people of said Fort, together with the command of said place and of said Lake, under the orders and authority of His Majesty's Governor, Lieutenant General in the Country; on which condition the proposer will be bound:

1st. To maintain the said fort; to place it in a better state of defence; to keep a garrison there at least as numerous as that of Montreal, and as many as fifteen to twenty laborers during the two first years to clear and till the land; to provide it with necessary artillery, arms and ammunition, and that so long as the proposer will command there in his Majesty's name, and until some other persons be authorized to settle above the Long Saut of the River Saint Lawrence, through which people pass to said fort; without being charged with similar expense, or to contribute to that which the Proposer will be obliged to incur for the preservation of said Fort.

2d. To repay Count de Frontenac, His Majesty's Governor and Lieutenant General in Canada, the expense he incurred for the establishment of said Fort, amounting to the sum of twelve to thirteen thousand *livres*, as proved by the statements thereof prepared.

3d. To make grants of land to all those willing to settle there in the manner usual in said Country; to allow them the trade *(la traite)*, when their settlements will be in the condition required by the edicts and regulations of the Sovereign Council of said Country.

4th. To attract thither the greatest number possible of Indians; to grant them land for villages and tillage; to teach them trades, and to induce them to lead lives more conformable to ours, as the proposer had begun to do with some success when he commanded there.

5th. To build a Church when there will be one hundred persons; meanwhile, to entertain from this moment one or two Recollet Friars to perform divine service and administer the Sacraments there.

6th. His Majesty, accepting these proposals, is very humbly supplicated to grant to the Proposer Letters of Noblesse, in consideration of the voyages and discoveries which he made in the Country at his expense during the seven years he continually lived there, the services he rendered in the Country and those he will continue to render; and all the other letters necessary to serve him as titles possessory to said Seigniory.

M. Colbert to Count de Frontenac.

St Germain en Laye, 15 March, 1675.

Sir,

I shall commence answering the letter you wrote me on the 14th Novr last by notifying you that you will have to write, for the future, directly to the King, and not to me, as you now do; and that you will be required to render his Majesty an exact and detailed account, not only of every thing that passes in New France, but of every thing you think necessary to be done there for the good of his service, in whatever may relate to war, justice, police, and the increase of the Colony, and you will receive in return letters and orders from his Majesty.

I shall say further, that you who are Lieutenant General of the King's Armies and Commander-in-Chief of a Country, ought not to style me My Lord, but, simply, Sir. This I omitted to communicate to you until now. * * * * * *

You cannot do any thing more agreeable to his Majesty than to labor continually to increase settlers. You can easily effect this by keeping them at peace with the Iroquois and other Indian Nations of said Country. The post you have occupied at Lake Ontario will, doubtless, accomplish this; and his Majesty has been much pleased to learn that the Iroquois have given you eight of their Children as hostages of the Peace they are to observe, and that more than eight hundred Indians came down to Montreal last year. He is fully persuaded that by treating them well, and giving them to understand that he will cause those to be severely punished who violate the Peace which has been conceded to them, they will not only be disposed to associate with his subjects, but will even increase the fur trade which is the sole means to strengthen and enrich the Colony. * * * * * *

His Majesty is also confident that the example you have given the Jesuits and the Montreal Seminary, by assuming the charge of some little Indians, will induce them also to rear and instruct some others in our customs and the principles of Christianity; and his Majesty orders me to mention to you on this point the propriety of exciting those Ecclesiastics to take charge, voluntarily, of those little Indians, but that it is not feasible to constrain them to do so.

Grant of Fort Frontenac to Sieur de la Salle.

Decree accepting the Proposals to Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle.

Compeigne, 13 May, 1675.

The King having caused to be examined, in his Council, the proposals made by Robert Cavelier, Sr de la Salle, setting forth that if it should please his Majesty to grant him, his heirs, successors and assigns, the Fort called Frontenac, situate in New France, with four leagues of adjacent Country, the Islands named Ganounkouesnot and Kaouonesgo, and the adjoining Islets, with the right of hunting and fishing on said lands, and in the Lake called Ontario or Frontenac, and circumjacent Rivers, the whole by title of Fief, Seigniory and justice, appeals from the judges of which will lie to the Lieutenant General of Quebec, with

the Government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of Noblesse, he would cause considerable property he possesses in this Kingdom to be transported to the said country of New France, for the erection and establishment there of settlements which may, in the lapse of time, contribute greatly to the augmentation of Colonies in said country; said de la Salle offers to reimburse the sum of ten thousand livres, the amount expended for the construction of said Fort Frontenac, to keep in good order the said Fort, and the garrison necessary for the defence thereof, which cannot be less than that of the Fort of Montreal; to maintain twenty men during nine years[1] for clearing the land which shall be conceded to him; and, until he shall have a church built, to keep a Priest or Friar to perform Divine Service and administer the Sacraments; which expenses, &c., the said de la Salle will defray at his sole cost and charges, until there be established above the Long sault, called Garonouoy, some individuals with similar Grants to that he demands, in which case those who will have obtained said grants shall be bound to contribute to the said expenses in proportion to the lands which will be granted to them. And having heard the Report of Sieur Colbert, Councillor of the King in his Royal Council, and Comptroller General of Finances, his Majesty in Council hath accepted and doth accept the said de la Salle's offers, hath in consequence granted to him the propriety of said Fort called Frontenac, and four leagues of adjacent country, computing at two thousand *toises* each league, along the lakes and rivers above and below said Fort, and half a league, or one thousand *toises*, inland; the Islands named Ganounkouesnot and Kaouonesgo, and the adjacent Islands, with the right of hunting and fishing on said Lake Ontario and circumjacent rivers; the whole by title of Fief, and in full seigniory and justice, ON CONDITION that he cause to be conveyed immediately to Canada all the effects he possesses in this Kingdom, which cannot be less than the sum of ten thousand livres in money or movables; that he produce a certificate from Count de Frontenac, his Majesty's Lieutenant General in said country; reimburse the sum of ten thousand *livres* expended in the construction of said Fort; put and maintain it in a good state of defence; pay and support the garrison necessary to guard and defend it, which is to be equal at least to that of Montreal; likewise maintain twenty men during two years to clear the land, who shall not be otherwise employed during that time; cause a church to be erected within the six first years of his grant, and meanwhile to support a Priest or Friar for the administration of the Sacraments; also, induce the Indians to repair thither, give them settlements and form Villages there in society with the French, to whom he shall give part of said land to be cleared, all which shall be cleared and improved within the time and space of twenty years, to be computed from the next 1676; otherwise his Majesty shall be at liberty, at the expiration of said time, to dispose of the lands which will not have been cleared or improved. His Majesty wills that appeals from the judges (to be appointed by the said de la Salle within the limits of the said Country conceded by his Majesty) lie to the Lieutenant General of Quebec; and to that end his Majesty wills that all Donatory and Concessionary Letters hereunto necessary be issued to the said de la Salle, together with those for the government of said Fort Frontenac, and letters of Noblesse for him and his posterity.

[1] Further down the text is *two* years.

Patent of Nobility for Sieur Cavelier de la Salle.

Louis, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to all present and to come, Greeting. The Kings, our predecessors, having always esteemed honor to be the most powerful motive to stimulate their subjects to generous actions, have been careful to distinguish by marks of dignity those whose extraordinary virtue hath rendered them deserving thereof; and as We are informed of the worthy deeds daily performed by the people of Canada, either in reducing or civilizing the savages, or in defending themselves against their frequent insults and those of the Iroquois, and, finally, in despising the greatest dangers, in order to extend Our name and Our empire to the extremity of that new world; We have considered it but just on our part to distinguish by honorable rewards those who have rendered themselves most eminent, in order to excite others to deserve like favors. Wherefore, being desirous to treat favorably Our dear and well beloved Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, on account of the good and laudable report that has been rendered of the worthy actions he has performed in the country of Canada, where he has been some years settled, and for other considerations Us moving hereunto, and of Our special grace, full power, and royal authority, We have ennobled, and by these presents, signed by Our hand, do ennoble and decorate with the title and quality of Nobility, the said Cavelier, together with his wife and children, posterity and issue, both male and female, born and to be born in lawful wedlock. We will, and it is Our pleasure, that in all acts, as well inclusive as exclusive of judgment, they be taken, deemed and reputed noble, bearing the rank of Esquire, with power to reach all ranks of knighthood and gendarmerie;[1] to acquire, hold and possess all sorts of fief and seigniory and hereditaments noble, of what title and quality soever they may be, and enjoy all honors, authorities, prerogatives, preëminences, privileges, franchises, exemptions and immunities which the other Nobles of Our kingdom enjoy and are wont to enjoy and use, and to bear such arms as are affixed thereunto, without the said Robert Cavelier paying Us or Our successors, kings, herefor any fee or indemnity, be the amount thereof what it may; We have discharged and do discharge him, and have donated and do hereby donate him the whole, for causes and reasons entered in the arrêt of Our Council, issued this date in Our Presence, copy whereof shall remain annexed hereunto under the counterseal of Our Chancery. Therefore We command our loving and faithful Councillors, those composing Our Court of Parliament at Paris, Chamber of Accounts, Court of Aids at the same place, that they do Enregister this present Patent of Nobility, and allow and permit the said Robert Cavelier, his children and posterity, born and to be born in lawful wedlock, to use and enjoy the contents thereof, fully, peaceably and perpetually, determining and putting an end to all troubles and obstructions, all edicts and declarations, arrêts, regulations and other things to the contrary notwithstanding, which we have derogated, and by these presents do derogate, For such is Our Pleasure. And in order that this be firm, stable and everlasting, We have hereunto affixed Our Seal. Given at Compeigne, the 13th of May, in the year of grace One thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and of Our Reign the thirty-third.

[1] *Gendarmerie;* a sort of royal cavalry, consisting of the king's, queen's and dauphin's companies, &c. They were commanded by the king, queen and ptinces, whose names they bore. Their arms were a sabre, musquetoon and stone pistols; their uniform a scarlet jacket with velvet facings. *Dict. de Richelet.* — Ed.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac.

S^t Germain, 15 April, 1676.

Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac.

* * * * * * * * * * *

You ought to attend to the punctual execution of the order I gave Sieur Duchesneau to have a general Census of all the Inhabitants, of all ages and sexes, prepared, as I cannot persuade myself that there are only 7,832 persons, men, women, boys and girls, in the entire Country, having caused a much greater number to be sent over within the fifteen or sixteen years that I have had charge of it. A considerable portion of the Inhabitants must of necessity have been omitted. I wish, therefore, that a more exact enumeration be made, and that I be carefully informed, every year, of the number of children which will be born in the course of each year, and of the boys and girls, natives of the Country, who will have been married.

In regard to new discoveries, you ought not to turn your attention thereunto without urgent necessity and very great advantage, and you ought to hold it as a maxim, that it is much better to occupy less territory and to people it thoroughly, than to spread one self out more, and to have feeble colonies which can be easily destroyed by any sort of accident.

* * * * * * * * * * *

On the subject of Commerce and the Indian trade, I am very happy to tell you that you must not suffer any person, invested with Ecclesiastical or Secular dignity, or any Religious Community, to follow it in any wise, under any pretext whatsoever, nor even to trade in any peltries; and I consider it unnecessary to tell you that, for the sake of example, you ought not to allow any of your domestics, nor any other person, in your name or by your authority, to do so; and I even forbid you ever to issue any license or permit for the (Indian) trade.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac.

Dunkirk, 28 April, 1677.

Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I cannot but approve what you have done in your voyage to Fort Frontenac to reconcile the minds of the Five Iroquois Nations, and to clear yourself from the suspicions they had entertained, and from the motives that might induce them to wage war. You must exert yourself to maintain peace and good understanding between those people and my subjects; without, however, so far relying on the precautions you adopt for that purpose as not to be, and not to place the said Inhabitants, in a position vigorously to oppose and effectually to repel all incursions those people may make.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Moreover, I wish you to cultivate a good understanding with the English, and to be careful not to give them any cause of complaint—without, however, permitting any thing contrary to the Treaties I have concluded with the King, their Master.

* * * * * * * * * * *

It only remains for me to repeat to you the orders I have issued, each preceding year, continually to encourage the Inhabitants to Maritime Commerce, to the establishment of Manufactures and fisheries, being certain that these three points are very easy means to produce abundance in the country, and the consequent multiplication of the Inhabitants. Doubting not your exact conformity hereunto, I pray God to have you, Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac, in His holy keeping. Written at Dunkirk, the 28th day of April, 1677.

(Signed) LOUIS.

and lower down,

COLBERT.

License to Sieur de la Salle to Discover the Western part of New France.

LOUIS, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, To Our dear and well beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, GREETING: We have favorably received the most humble petition presented to Us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the Western part of New France; and We have the more willingly assented to that proposal as there is nothing We have more at heart than the Discovery of that Country, where there is a prospect of finding a way to penetrate as far as Mexico, the success of which, to Our satisfaction and the advantage of Our subjects in that Country, We have every reason to expect from the application you have exhibited in clearing the lands We granted you by the Arrêt of Our Council of the 13th May, 1675, and Letters Patent of the same date, in forming Settlements on said lands, and in placing Fort Frontenac, whereof We have granted you the Seigniory and government, in a good state of defence. These and other causes Us moving hereunto, We have permitted, and by these Presents, signed by Our hand, do permit you to labor in the Discovery of the Western part of New France; and for the execution of this undertaking, to construct forts in the places you may think necessary, whereof We will that you enjoy the same clauses and conditions as of Fort Frontenac, according and conformably to Our said Letters Patent of the 13th May, 1675, which We have, as far as necessary, confirmed, and by these Presents do confirm. We Will that they be executed according to their form and tenor; on condition, nevertheless, that you complete this enterprise within five years, in default whereof, these presents shall be null and void; and that you do not carry on any Trade with the Savages called Outaouacs and others who carry their Beavers and other peltries to Montreal; that you perform the whole at your expense and that of your associates, to whom We have granted, as a privilege, the trade in Cibola skins. We command Count de Frontenac, Our Governor and Lieutenant-General, and Sieur Duchesneau, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, and the Officers composing the Sovereign Council in said Country, to aid in the execution of these Presents, For such is Our pleasure. GIVEN at St Germain en laye, the twelfth day of May, 1678, and of our reign the 35th.

LOUIS.

COLBERT.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac.

S[t] Germain en Laye, 12 May, 1678.

Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I am well pleased to learn that you have always maintained my authority in the different treaties you have entered into with the Iroquois and other Indian tribes, and in regard to the pretension of the General Major Anglois;[1] my intention is that you always contribute whatever lies in your power to maintain peace between the two Nations, without, however, allowing any encroachment on the countries under my domination.

I am equally well pleased that the education of the Indian children continues. Endeavor to increase their number; and though it be proper to give their parents to understand that they are not restained by force, it is well to retain the greatest number possible of them.

I highly approve your having given orders to Sieur de Marson, commandant of Acadia, to keep on good terms with the English, in order that no rupture may occur.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac.

Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac,

* * * * * * * * * * *

Do not fail to advise me frequently of what transpires between the Indians and the European nations established near New France, and the success of the war that exists between them.

I desire, morever, that you constantly maintain peace, friendship and good correspondence with the English and Dutch, without, however, foregoing any of the rights and advantages appertaining either to my Crown or my subjects in that country; wherefore, I rely on your observing the prudence necessary for my service and that of my subjects.

I recommend you likewise to keep my subjects always in peace and union among themselves as much as lies in your power, and in any difficulty you may experience there, exert yourself to preserve them safe from dangers without, and always to take care that justice be well administered within; you will effect this end more easily than you imagine, particularly if you take care that crime be certainly punished, and if you break up Coureurs des bois and hunters who contribute only to the destruction of the Colonies and not to their prosperity, and thereby oblige every person to apply himself to Agriculture, the clearing of land and the establishment of Manufactures and Trade.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Written at S[t] Germain en Laye, the 25[th] day of April, 1679.

LOUIS.

[1] "Le General Major *Anglois.*" I presume this last word ought to have been *Andros;* but I have followed the text.—ED.

Count de Frontenac to the King.

Extracts of a Memoir addressed to the King by M. de Frontenac.

Quebec, 6 November, 1679.

Sire

I. All the wonders that constantly attended your Majesty's arms, from the commencement of this War, could be surpassed only by a prodigy as surprising as that of the glorious Peace[1] which you have just given to all Europe.

This grand work fills your subjects of New France with universal joy, in the hope they entertain of soon experiencing the effects of that goodness with which your Majesty is pleased to promise them that he will think of the preservation and increase of this Colony.

I shall not omit, Sire, whatever depends on my care to encourage those composing it to labor with still greater ardor in the cultivation of their lands, in Trade and the establishment of Manufactures, and principally in maintaining them in that peace and union among themselves which your Majesty inculcates in all your despatches.

If hitherto I have been fortunate enough to prevent what might disturb this tranquillity without, I hope I may not be less so within, and that with your Majesty's aid every thing shall be peaceable there as well as on the part of the Indians.

I have received divers advices from the Jesuit Fathers and other Missionaries, that General Andros was soliciting the Iroqouis, underhand, to break with us, and was about convoking a Meeting of the Five Nations, to propose, it was reported, strange matters there, of a nature to disturb our Trade with them and also that of the Outawas and the Nations to the North and West.

Nevertheless I learn, from the last letters I have seen, that this meeting did not take place, and that the Small Pox, which is the Indian plague, desolates them to such a degree that they think no longer of Meeting nor of Wars, but only of bewailing the dead, of whom there is already an immense number.

As they have brought this disease from Orange and Manatte, it will be a reason to dissuade them as much as possible from continuing their trade there, [and to invite them to pursue it much more with us.

The same letters, Sire, state that General Andros has issued orders at Orange to remove the Frenchmen who retire thither to Manatte, whence he afterwards sends them to the Island of Barbadoes; but that he has retained there and even well treated a man named Péré, and others who have been debauched from Sieur de la Salle, with the design to employ and send them among the Outawas, to open a Trade with them.

It is to be desired that the dread of transportation to those Islands, and the prohibition this same General has, as is reported, issued against trading with the French, may deter the latter from going to that quarter, as some have lately done; and even that the Indians who are amongst us, and especially those of the Mission of La Prairie de la Madelaine, who are very numerous and on the road, may not carry their peltries thither as they ordinarily do.

But what precautions soever I use, and though I sent Sieur de Saint Ours, one of the Captains in the troops your Majesty formerly had in this Country, and a relative of Marshal d'Estrades,

[1] The peace of Nimeguen, July 31, 1678.

to Chambly, which is the principal pass, to keep watch there, he cannot effect any thing unless he have some men. May it, therefore, please your Majesty to maintain a garrison at that place, which is one of the most considerable in the country, through which almost the whole communication with New England is carried on.

It is not less difficult, Sire, to put in execution, as punctually as I should wish, your Majesty's reiterated orders against those who trade with the Outawas. Their number increases every year, and the country is so open, and the difficulty so great to ascertain precisely when they depart or when they return, in consequence of the secret correspondence they keep up with the Inhabitants, and even with the principal Merchants, that unless men are stationed at all the passes to await them there in the Summer, when they go up and come down, the Provost-marshal's aids, the soldiers and guards that I give him when he requires them, are insufficient to check the course of this disorder.

II. If your Majesty do not think proper to send hither some regular troops, who, while securing the country against all manner of insults, would likewise, being well employed, contribute to its increase, and to the clearance of the land, the number of men proposed to be sent out will be a very great advantage, provided they be good workmen. The scarcity of these and high wages cause the planting and the harvest to be deferred so long, that continual miracles of fine weather are necessary to complete the one and the other.

III. Since I came to this country there is nothing I have labored at more zealously than to induce every body, whether ecclesiastic or secular, to rear and maintain some Indian children, and to attract their fathers and mothers to our settlements, the better to instruct them in the Christian Religion and French manners. I have joined example to my exhortations, having always brought up some in my own family and elsewhere, at my own expense, and impressed incessantly on the Ursuline Nuns and Jesuit Fathers not to inculcate any other sentiments in those under their control.

Nevertheless, the latter having pretended that the communication with the French corrupted the Indians and was an obstacle to the Instruction they were giving them, Father Frémin,[1] Superior of La Prairie de la Madelaine, far from conforming to what I told him was your Majesty's Intentions, has since three years removed all the Indians who were intermingled there with the French to a distance of two leagues further off, on the lands obtained from M. Du Chesneau on his arrival in this country, the title to which I did not think proper to give them until I should learn your Majesty's pleasure, for reasons I had the honor to submit which are of importance for his service, and for the advantage and safety of the country.

I hope the Mission established by the Ecclesiastics of the Montreal Seminary within half a league of their town, will be an example to all others, and induce those to visit it who have been most opposed to it, either from interest or otherwise.

FRONTENAC.

[1] Rev. JACQUES FRÉMIN is said to have arrived in Canada in 1655. He accompanied Dablon the year following, to Onondaga, where he remained until 1658, after which, his labors were confined to Canada until 1667, when he was sent Missionary to the Mohawks. In October, 1668, he went to the Senecas, which tribe he attended until 1671, when he was recalled to take charge of the Indians at Laprairie. *Charlevoix*, I., 323, 398, 402, 452. This Mission was removed to the Sault St. Louis in 1676, and in 1679 Father Frémin visited France to procure some aid for it. *Faillon; Vie de S. Bourgeoys*, I., 256. He was again in Canada in 1682, and died at Quebec on the 2d July, 1691. — ED.

M. Du Chesneau to M. de Seignelay.

[Archives du Ministère de la Marine.]

Extracts of the Memoir addressed by M^r^ Duchesneau to the Minister, dated 10 Nov^bre^ 1679.

(1^st^ Extract.)

I recur, My Lord, to what relates to the disobedience of the Coureurs de bois, and I must not conceal from you that it has at length reached such a point that every body boldly contravenes the King's interdictions; that there is no longer any concealment, and that even parties are collected with astonishing insolence to go and trade in the Indian country.

I have done all in my power to prevent this misfortune, which may be productive of the ruin of the Colony. I have enacted ordinances against the Coureurs de bois; against the merchants who furnish them with goods; against the gentlemen and others who harbor them, and even against those who have any knowledge of them and will not inform the justices nearest the spot. All that has been in vain, inasmuch as several of the most considerable families in this country are interested therein, so that the Governor lets them go on, and even shares in their profits.

You might have understood it, My Lord, from all that I have taken the liberty to write to you these late years; from the information of the Bailiff of Montreal; from that I continued to transmit; from the interrogatories of those arrested by an association under color of making peace with the Sioux, and from the extracts of the letters of those who furnished me information.

Those which reached me this year confirm it; they state particulars which merit attention. These are—

That the Coureurs de bois not only act openly, but that they carry their peltries to the English, and endeavor to drive the Indian trade thither.

That Du Lut, the leader of the refractory, and who has ever been the Governor's correspondent, keeps up an epistolary intercourse, and shares whatever profits he makes with him and Sieur Barrois, his secretary, who has a canoe among his. Whereupon, it is apropos to advise your Lordship that this Du Lut has for three years past a brother-in-law near the Governor and an officer in his guards.

That the Governor takes the precaution to pass his Beaver in the name of merchants in his interest; and that if Du Lut experiences difficulty in bringing them along, he will take advantage of the agency of foreigners.

That he applies to the Governor for Tobacco and beads for presents, and desires that a quantity of Indian goods be imported next spring, even though they be dear.

That he guarantees to forward then a quantity of Beaver, and will send down some canoes towards the end of September. Several have, in fact, come down loaded with peltries, and returned freighted with merchandise.

And it is one of the causes of the Governor's sojourn at Montreal from the month of July to the beginning of October, though he made the news he pretended to have received—that the English General, Andros, wished to debauch the Iroquois—the pretext of his stay.

That the Indians complained to the Governor, in the Council held at Montreal, that the French were in too great numbers at the trading posts, and that he had curtly rebuffed them.

The man named La Taupine,[1] a famous Coureur de bois, who set out in the month of September of last year, 1678, to go to the Outawacs with goods, and who has been always interested with the Governor, having returned this year, and I being advised that he had traded in two days 150 beaver robes in one single village of this tribe, amounting to nearly nine hundred beavers, which is a matter of public notoriety, and that he left with Du Lut two men whom he had with him, considered myself bound to have him arrested, and to interrogate him; but having presented me with a license from the Governor, permitting him and his comrades, named Lamonde and Dupuy, to repair to the Outawac nation to execute his secret orders, I had him set at liberty; and immediately on his going out, Sieur Prévost, Town major of Quebec, came at the head of some soldiers to force the prison, in case he were still there, pursuant to written orders he had received from the Governor, couched in these terms:

"Count de Frontenac, Councillor of the King in his Council, Governor and Lieutenant General for his Majesty in "New France.

"Sieur Prevost, Major of Quebec, is ordered, in case the Intendant arrest Pierre Moreau, *alias* La Taupine, whom We have "sent to Quebec as bearer of our despatches, upon pretext of his having been in the bush, to set him forthwith at liberty, "and to employ every means for this purpose, at his peril. Done at Montreal, the 5th September, 1679.

"Signed

"Frontenac.

"and lower down, by my Lord,

"Barrois."

It is certain, My Lord, that the said La Taupine carried goods to the Outawas; that his two comrades remained in the Indian country, apparently near Du Lut, and that he traded there; that he saw so many Coureurs de bois that he could tell me neither their number nor their names.

Sieur Bizard, Major of Montreal, to whom the King has even this year given a gratuity of 300ll, and who has only within a year ceased to be the Governor's servant, so far from punishing those who have disobeyed the King, and attending to the execution of his orders, himself sets the example of violating them and sends people into the bush.

You will learn all I wish to tell you, My Lord, from the extracts of the letters I have received and signed, the originals of which I reserve to exhibit to you whenever you so order; from the interrogatories of the said La Taupine, which he refused to sign, declaring that he did not know how to do it, though he writes well; from the ingenious answers of the constable named Genaple, from the said Bisard's letters, and from the answers of a merchant named Garos.

M. De Sissé,[2] a man of rank, Priest of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, established in the Island of Montreal, whose private affairs take him to France, will tell you, if you will please to give him the honor of an audience

That the man named Péré having resolved to range the Woods, went to Orange to confer with the English and to carry his beavers there, in order to obtain some Wampum beads to return and trade with the Outawacs; that he was arrested by the Governor of that place and sent to Major Andros, Governor General, whose residence is at Manatte; that his plan was to propose to him to bring him all the Coureurs de bois with their peltries, if he would receive them, and it is even supposed that he undertook to join Du Lut, and that they should

[1] The Tawny.

[2] Rev. Auguste Meulande de Cicé came to Canada, it is said, in 1668, and was some time Missionary among the Indians at Kenté. *Faillon; Vie de Mde. Bourgeoys*, I., 274. — Ed.

head all the Coureurs de bois; that it is even suspected that the said Peré gave hopes of turning all the trade of the Outawas over to the English, which would bring about the ruin of the Colony, and that the said Perré, as is understood, has returned to the Outawacs, after having been well received and greatly caressed by Major Andros, and brought with him the man named Poupart, a settler of this country, and one Turcot, a long time a French refugee among the English in order to escape the punishment of the crimes he had committed.

It is therefore evident, My Lord, and every one agrees in the opinion, that there is an almost general disobedience throughout this Country. The number of those in the Woods is estimated at nearly five or six hundred, exclusive of those who set out every day. They are the best qualified to improve and defend the Colony; they have Du Lut as their leader, well adapted to act treacherously, and to engage them not only to carry their peltries to the English, as they have already begun to do, but even to divert thither the Indian trade; and all this evil arises from the neglect of the Governor, who has the power in his hands to prevent it, and who, on the contrary, clandestinely encourages it. This is so true, My Lord, that when he acted in good faith every body obeyed him.

Be pleased to bear in mind, My Lord, that there was a general complaint, the year previous to my arrival in this country, that the great quantity of people who went to trade for peltries to the Indian country ruined the colony, because those who alone could improve it, being young and strong for work, abandoned their wives and children, the cultivation of their lands and the care of rearing their cattle; that they became dissipated; that their absence gave rise to licentiousness among their wives, as has often been the case, and is still of daily occurrence; that they accustomed themselves to a loafing and vagabond life, which it was beyond their power to quit; that they derived but little benefit from their labors, because they were induced to waste in drunkenness and fine clothes the little they earned, which was very trifling, those who gave them licenses having the larger part, besides the price of the goods, which they sold them very dear, and that the Indians would no longer bring their peltries in such abundance to sell to the honest people, if so great a number of young men went in search of them to those very barbarians, who despised us on account of the great cupidity we manifested.

The following year, when the King first farmed out the trade, the farmers complained that this great license in ranging the woods was ruinous to them, because the peltries were taken to foreigners; that those which were brought in did not fall into their hands in discharge of the debts they contracted for the advancement of the colony, because the Runners hid themselves from them and took their merchandise elsewhere; that they therefore were overwhelmed with letters of exchange and defrauded of their rights.

In 1676 his Majesty interdicted the Governor, by his Ordinance, from giving Licenses to trade in the Interior, and in the Indian country.

The Sovereign Council, before whom I laid the King's Ordinance, issued an Edict by which it was set forth that by the diligence of the King's Farmers the Ordinance would be made known to the French Traders among the Indians of the farther nations, enjoining them to return to their settlements by the month of August of the following year, under the penalties contained in the said Ordinance, which would be affixed in the villages of the Nipissingues, S^{t} Mary of the Falls, S^{t} Ignace of Lake Huron, and S^{t} Francis Xavier of the Bay des Puants.[1]

[1] The Mission of *St. Mary* was at the foot of the Falls of that name, between Lakes Huron and Superior; that of *St. Ignace* was originally on the North shore of the Straits of Michilimakinac, but was afterwards moved to the South side, or extreme point of the peninsula of Michigan; and that of *St. Francis Xavier* on Fox river, between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago. The earlier Missionaries gave the name of "St. Francis" both to the river and to the lake. — Ed.

The Governor, though he made a great clamor because this Edict was rendered—in consequence of the urgency of the affair, in his absence and when he was at Montreal—could not dispense with issuing orders, conjointly with the Council, for the return of the Coureurs de bois, almost all of whom did return in fact, with the exception of three or four.

Meanwhile, the Governor, in order to elude the prohibitions laid down in the King's Ordinance, and yet not to appear in contravention thereunto, issued licenses to hunt, which served as a pretext to nullify those orders; his Majesty, as was just, again remedied this by his last Ordinances.

Since that time, the Governor has done nothing to oppose the Coureurs de bois, and he has contented himself with saying that the evil was so great as to be irreparable; that it was only the consequence of his being deprived of the privilege of issuing licenses, and that its continuance could only be obviated by granting an amnesty. In expectation of this, every body licensed himself, and thus disobedience has become almost universal.

The Provost, who is a very worthy man, and who desires much to do his duty, has labored in vain; and though he has frequently received good information, the delinquents have always received better than he.

For my part, my Lord, who can only order, I have done every thing consistent with my duty, but without any success; and all the trouble I have taken has served but to increase the aversion the Governor entertains to me, and to cause my ordinances to be contemned.

Such, my Lord, is the true state of the disobedience of the Coureurs de bois, concerning which I had the honor of twice speaking to the Governor. I could not avoid telling him, with all possible deference, that it was a disgrace to us and the Colony that our Master, who is so redoubtable to the whole world, who had just dictated the law to the whole of Europe, whom all his subjects adored, should have the affliction to learn that his orders were despised and violated in a country which had received so many proofs of his bounty and paternal tenderness, and that a Governor and Intendant sate, with folded arms, and contented themselves with saying that the evil was irremediable, and did not make use of the garrisons maintained by his Majesty, nor of a provost, nor his aids, nor guards, nor of the assistance which could be drawn from the settlers, to crush the rebellion and to make a memorable example which would remain on the minds of the people, in order to keep them in the respect, fidelity and obedience they owed to so good and so great a Prince.

In return for this representation, I drew down on myself words so full of contempt and insult that I was forced to quit his study to allay his wrath. I returned, however, the next day, and I there found the King's farmers, with whom we continued to speak on this subject.

I, notwithstanding, had the ordinance published anew, copy of which I sent you, and shall do all in my power towards its strict execution; but as the Governor is interested with several of the Coureurs de bois, all that we shall do will be done in vain.

The Trade that is carried on at Montreal is sufficiently important to advise you of its disorders.

The Governor has imperceptibly rendered himself master of it, and so soon as the Indians have arrived he furnishes them guards, which would be well enough if these did their duty and saved them from being tormented and plundered by the French, instead of being employed for the purpose of learning the amount of their peltries, in order to take more assured steps on the strength of that information.

The Governor obliged the Indians, afterwards, to pay his guards for the trouble they took to protect them, and he never granted those Indians the privilege of trading with the Inhabitants

until they had given him a certain number of bundles of beaver, which he has always exacted of them, and which he calls his presents.

His guards have traded openly in the public Fair, their belts on their shoulders, after having persuaded the Indians, whom they guarded, to come and meet them in their barracks.

The common report is, that the Governor had goods sent up to Montreal, which private persons disposed of for his account, and that he allowed foreign Merchants to trade contrary to the prohibitions laid down in the regulations and Edicts of Council.

So that, if we compute the beaver received by the Governor from the Indians as his presents; that which is given to his guards; that which these same guards trade voluntary or by force; what he trades on his private account through individuals, and finally, what the foreign merchants obtain in barter or get underhand by intermediary settlers, it will be seen that the greater part of the Beaver brought by the Outawas does not turn to the profit of the Colony, and all this is notorious.

But not to occupy myself save with what has taken place this year in the said Trade, every one has seen that a small portion of Indians only having come down, and in separate parties, they were constrained to make as many presents as there were parties, though they had sometimes but four or five canoes together.

The Indians having included in their presents to the Governor some old Moose hides and a belt of Wampum, which they appreciate highly, and which the French do not value as much as they do Beaver, he caused his Interpreter to tell them, according to their mode of speaking, that such did not open his ears, and that he did not hear them except when they spoke with Beaver. This the Indians were obliged to do in order to have the liberty to trade.

A Rochelle Merchant, named Chanjon, who is under the protection of and employed by the Governor, having carried to Montreal a great many goods recently received from France, and of which there was but few in the Country, has himself traded and carried on traffic through the medium of the Governor's Interpreter, named Vieuxpont, and of other persons, to whom he made a pretended sale of his goods, and he got more than 15,000[#] worth of Beaver, to the knowledge of all the Inhabitants, who dared not complain of him.

And as it was out of my power to go up to Montreal, in consequence of the affairs of the Council which detained me in this city, to calm the minds and terminate whatever differences might occur, I sent my ordinance to Sieur Migeon, the bailiff there, to prevent this violation. But he dare not have it executed, and the matter having been laid before the Governor he laughed at it.

During the continuance of the Trade, a little Savage having got into difficulties with a Frenchman's boy, some disorder had nigh occurred, as each took sides with his Nation. But the Governor having called the people to arms, the affair was settled by means of seven packages of Beaver which the Outawacs were obliged to give him.

When there was a question about paying his guards, the Indians offered him forty-five Beavers; this did not satisfy him, though the present was considerable enough, and all sorts of artifices were made use of, even threats, to oblige them to add to the number. Sieur de Lusigny, Du Lut's brother in law, an officer of the guards, had half of it; the other they divided between them.

I most humbly beg of you, My Lord, to permit me to assure you anew, that everything I have now had the honor of writing to you is the pure truth, which I have not told with any design to injure the Governor; but considered myself obliged thereunto, because none but myself

dare acquaint you with the state of the country, and I am bound in honor and conscience, and by the fidelity I owe you, to let you see that it is time to remedy it.

I had rather die a thousand deaths than deceive you, and render myself unworthy, through fraud, of the confidence you have been pleased to repose in me for more than 18 years, that I have devoted myself to you; and whatever is done to discredit me in your estimation, I hope you will find, at the end, that I am obedient, faithful and sincere in all that you command me.

(2d Extract.)

I send you, my Lord, the General Census, with the number of Marriages and Baptisms. There are nine thousand four hundred persons.

Five hundred and fifteen in Acadia.
Twenty-one thousand nine hundred *arpens* of land under cultivation.
Six thousand nine hundred and eighty-three horned cattle.
One hundred and forty-five horses.
Seven hundred and nineteen sheep, ewes and wethers.
Thirty-three goats.
Twelve asses.
Eighteen hundred and forty guns, and
One hundred and fifty nine pistols.

I have separated the Census of the Indians who have quitted the villages and settled among us, with the remarks you have ordered.

Exclusive of what I send you of those who have formed villages, there are still some others who resort to the French in Spring and Summer; but as they are vagrant, and do not come steadily, I have not been able to procure their names after the receipt of your letters, because they had already left for the chase. I shall go myself in Spring to all the places where there are any, and punctually perform whatever you ask of me in this regard.

I communicated to the Religious communities, both male and female, and even to private persons, the King's and your intentions regarding the Frenchification of the Indians. They all promised me to use their best efforts to execute them, and I hope to let you have some news thereof next year. I shall begin by setting the example, and will take some young Indians to have them instructed.

(3d Extract.)

I can assure you, My Lord, that the gratuity is very well employed by the Ursuline nuns, who instruct French and Indian girls; by the Grey nuns (*hospitalières*), whose houses are a refuge for all the sick French and Indians; and by the Congregational nuns of Montreal, who have devoted it to the construction of a building they are erecting at the Montreal Mountain, where there is an Indian mission, so as to be nearer to it, and better enabled to instruct the little girls there.

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient and
most faithful servant

Quebec, this 10th Novber 1679. DU CHESNEAU.

M. Du Chesneau to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

The Governor and I are just advised that it is reported at Orange, a town of New England, and which is the nearest to us, that war has been declared between France and Old England; that they are alarmed there, and are taking precautions at that place to prevent us attacking them.

I had the honor to confer with the Governor on this subject, and it has been deemed prudent to content ourselves, until the receipt of more certain intelligence, with merely giving orders to the people to be on their guard, and dispatching, at the opening of the spring, a bark to Isle Percée, in order to obtain early and assured information.

I thought, My Lord, to give you in this communication a brief detail of the condition of the English in this Country, and that you would permit me the liberty to inform you that they have three pretty considerable posts on the seaboard at the South.

The first is the town of Boston, distant twenty leagues from Peintagoüet which belongs to the French.

The second, Manatte, a city situate at the mouth of a river, distant nearly one hundred leagues from Boston.

And the third, Orange, on the same river, fifty or sixty leagues from Manatte.

Towards the North Sea, they have some forts at Hudson's bay.

Boston is a pretty large town, filled only with merchants, where, it is said, some of the accomplices in the death of the late King of England have retired. Their government is democratic; and it is a Republic, under the protection of England, faintly recognizing his Britannic Majesty. It has a Sovereign Council, which it elects, as well as the Governor, who is chosen annually, yet can be continued for as long a period as they are satisfied with him. General Lebret filled this office for many years past. He is an old man, ill qualified for war.[1]

Its harbor is ordinarily filled with a number of merchant vessels. A disastrous fire broke out there two or three months ago; it consumed nearly two hundred houses, and even several ships. This loss is estimated at Three Millions.

The town is indifferently fortified. Its inhabitants apply themselves altogether to commerce, and are so ill trained to arms that a handful of savages, of late years, committed such serious devastation among them that they were obliged to purchase peace. It would not be difficult for the French of this country to make themselves masters of that town, aided by the Indians, who are still greatly inclined to recommence the war, were vessels sent from France to burn those found in its harbor.

Manatte is entirely independent of Boston. It acknowledges the King of England, and the Governor who acts there on behalf of the Duke of York. This place is pretty regularly fortified, and Major Andros, Governor of the country, has some reputation. It has likewise a few vessels in its harbor.

Orange — which is a small town nearer to us, and adjoining the Iroquois, by means of whom the English attract to themselves the trade of the Indians in that direction, to our prejudice — has a local governor, who is subject to Major Andros. It is not capable of much resistance, which circumstance causes them already to seek out means to prevent us attacking them.

[1] Mr. Leveret continued governor, by annual election, from 1673 until his death, March 16, 1678. *Hutchinson*, I., 323. — Ed.

Towards Hudson's bay, as I already have had the honor to inform your Lordship, the English have some forts for trading only, in which, as we are informed, there are sixty men to carry goods to the Indians and to receive their peltries. This will eventually ruin our trade with the Outawacs, which is the most considerable, and constitutes the subsistence and wealth of the Colony.

You perceive clearly, My Lord, from all I have the honor to write you, that the English cannot do us much hurt, and that war with them would be for our advantage, because we could assuredly drive them from the places in which they are established to our injury, and which they have usurped from us.

The inhabitants of this country are hardy, intrepid, and naturally warriors, and, moreover, very alert of limb, and capable of enduring great fatigue.

It were very desirable, in that event, that the Coureurs de bois should return home, they being, without contradiction, the best qualified for enterprizes. I do not think, My Lord, that we have anything to fear by land from the English on this continent. What we would have to dread would be only from the ships of Old England cruising at the mouth of the River Saint Lawrence, to capture those coming to Canada or returning to France.

I doubt not, My Lord, but the Governor requires of you the necessary articles for the preservation of this country. I shall do all in my power to discharge well my duty, and will sacrifice therein even my life.

I considered it my duty, My Lord, to send you the copy of the letter that has been written to me, which will show you the alarm of the English, and entirely satisfy you that the Coureurs de bois were conveying their peltries to Orange, to the prejudice of the Colony and the complete ruin of the Revenue of the King's farm.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble, most obedient
and most faithful Servant,

Quebec, this 14th Novr, 1679. DUCHESNEAU.

M. de Saurel to M. Du Chesneau.

Letter written to Intendant Duchesneau, of New France, by Sieur de Saurel, and which he received the 14th Novembr, 1679.

Sir,

The news arrived from Orange are curious enough to be communicated to you. They are quite recent, for Lafleur, an Inhabitant of Saint Louis, brought them. He was on his way from Montreal, where Mr Perrot and Mr d'Ollier[1] advised him to be the bearer himself of them to the

[1] Rev. FRANÇOIS DOLLIER DE CASSON was born about the year 1620, and came to Canada about 1668. In 1670 he explored Lake Ontario, in company with Father Gallinée. *Supra*, p. 66. He succeeded M. de Queylus (*Supra*, 62), as Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Montreal, but resigned that office in 1676, when he was obliged, by ill health, to go back to France. After his return to Canada he resumed the office, and died 25th September, 1701, aged 80 years. He left behind him a History of Montreal, including the first thirty years of that settlement. It was written about the year 1673, and is preserved among the Manuscripts of the Mazarine Library (H., 2706, folio). *Faillon; Vie de Mde. Bourgeoys.* — ED.

Count, notwithstanding they would, themselves, write to him; and this he was doing, but a pain in the side having seized him here, he begged of me to send the letters to the Count, and gave me the particulars of his Journey, which are: Having gone to Lake Champlain to hunt for *Ranontons*, he met Guillaume David, who resided about two years ago in these parts, and who went with a big boy, his son-in-law, his wife and several small children to New Netherland, where he lives at present. Lafleur inquired the news from his country; to which David answered him that Mde. the Governess of Manatte dining at one Mainvielle, a French Merchant's, told him that news had come of a French fleet having entered the Thames and captured the English Admiral, and sunk a number of ships in sight of London; that the French have no longer freedom to trade at Orange, and that as soon as they arrive there they are sent to Manatte and thence to Barbadoes. Lafleur was at Orange to learn the confirmation of this news, which he found to be true. They wanted to send him to Manatte, but he escaped in the night and came back. He says it is whispered about, that war is proclaimed between France and England. The English, at Orange, are alarmed, for they have sent a certain M^r^ Philippes to examine the roads leading towards them. He had two Savages for guides. It is expected that they will throw trees into a little stream by which people go to their country, and by that means obstruct our road. This is all the news, Sir. There is a good deal of other unfavorable intelligence come into these parts. M^r^ de Boivinet's information will have made you acquainted with it. You will permit me to assure you that I shall be, all my life, Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

DESAUREL.

Compared with the original remaining in our hands at Quebec, the 14^th^ November, 1679.

DUCHESNEAU.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac.

S^t^ Germain, the 29 April, 1680.

Mons^r^ le Comte de Frontenac,

* * * * * * * * * * *

You have learned, since your letters were written, that the news you received of the rupture between me and the King of England had no foundation. Therefore you have no precautions to take on that subject; and you ought to be assured that, on all occasions of this importance, I shall have you punctually advised of what you will have to do.

It is very important that you always keep my subjects, throughout the whole extent of country where you command for me, in a proper state of military discipline, so that, being divided into regular Companies, they may be in a position to defend themselves and secure that freedom and repose which they need. But, particularly, banish from your mind all the difficulties which you but too easily and too lightly allowed to arise there. Consider well the post in which I placed you, and the honor you have of representing my person in that country, which must elevate you infinitely above all those difficulties, and oblige you to bear with many things, on the part of the public and of individual settlers, which are of no account in

comparison to the submissive obedience they render to my orders, with which I have every reason to be satisfied; and when this principal point of obedience and submission is so well established as it is, you ought to act with all moderation, and rather suffer errors of trifling consequence, in order to reach the object which must be your principal aim—to increase and strengthen that Colony, and draw thither numbers of inhabitants by the protection and good treatment you afford the old settlers. And you perceive, clearly, that your maxims are far from those which you have hitherto observed, driving away the principal inhabitants, and obliging many other persons, through special discontent, to return to France. But reflect more particularly, that to accomplish these ends neither interest nor favor, for any one, is necessary. To afford an extensive freedom to all merchants and all ships that carry any trade thither; to excite, continually, all the inhabitants to agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, and other profitable enterprises whereby they may be confined to their work and settlements, and prevented wandering through the woods in search of an advantage which tends to the entire ruin of the Colony, and of the little commerce it may have; in these few words consist the burthen and end of your entire duty, and of what you can do to render your services agreeable to me.

* * * * * * * * * *

M. Du Chesneau to M. de Seignelay.

[Archives de la Marine et des Colonies en France.]

Extracts of the Memoir addressed by M. Duchesneau to the Minister, 13 Nov^{ber}, 1680.

(1st Extract.)

As his Majesty and you, My Lord, are convinced of the great injury the Coureurs de bois inflict on the Country, there is no further question except to discover the best means to oblige them to return without prejudice to the absolute obedience due to the King's will.

It would appear there are no other than to notify them to return home, and that if they make a sincere and frank declaration in court of the time they have been absent, for what persons they have been trading in the Indian Country, who has furnished them goods, how many peltries they have had, and how they disposed of them, such grace shall be granted them as shall be pleasing to his Majesty, who will be very humbly supplicated to send orders on this point by the first vessels coming from France next year; and if they be found guilty of deception, or if they refuse obedience, they shall be punished with all the rigor set forth in his Majesty's ordinances, which assign corporal punishment in case of repetition of the offence.

This proceeding appears the most natural and most proper, because it preserves the King's authority, and does not destroy those who have disobeyed; who, through despair, and the facility of escape in the woods, and the difficulty of being taken, may be driven to pass over to the English, which would be a general loss to the Country, since there is not a family of any condition and quality soever that has not children, brothers, uncles and nephews among them.

I have conferred with the Governor on this plan, and put it in writing, for his perusual, as he desired.

I cannot refrain from adding, My Lord, that it appears to me important that it should not be wholly neglected, because it is an assured means of your becoming acquainted with the manners of this Country, and of thoroughly informing yourself of the causes of the rebellion and of what has so long fomented it.

I never can agree, My Lord, to the pardon of the leaders, such as Dulut and Perrée, who ought to be made an example of, for those who will experience the effects of the King's mercy, as they gave them the example of revolt and disobedience.

Count de Frontenac and I have already commenced together the prosecution of the Coureurs de bois, of those who outfit or protect them. In concert with him I renewed my ordinances on this subject, and I issued one to oblige the Justices to inform against those disobeying the King's wishes, copies whereof I furnished. On this head, My Lord, I think it would be necessary, in order to secure better obedience to his Majesty, that his Ordinance were extended to those who fit out and harbor the Coureurs de bois.

Sieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal, was the first who (on the complaint of a Merchant whom he had caned) had the misfortune to be prosecuted for infraction of the King's Ordinances and of those I issued in consequence, which have been transmitted to you, and are now sent again with the rest. Pursuant to the order you gave me respecting local Governors, I waited on Count de Frontenac to notify him of it, so that justice may be done.

He was of opinion that I should order, at the foot of the petition presented to me, that the said Merchant should make his complaint to him, which I did; and by the Ordinance he issued afterwards, he reserved to himself what regarded the violence that had been committed by the said Sieur Perrot, and referred to me what appertained to the disobedience of his Majesty's Ordinances. This affair is presently under investigation, and the Council has not yet terminated the proceeding.

There are great complaints against said Sieur Perrot, as well on account of his violent conduct as for his open trading. He is accused of having excited a sedition at Montreal, with a view to obtain the repeal of the King's Ordinance forbidding subordinate Governors imprisoning people. This sedition I allayed. But as all these complaints have likewise been made to Count de Frontenac, I shall not speak further of them to you, but content myself with sending the pieces I have concerning them to Monsieur Tronson, Seignior of the Island of Montreal, who will not fail to communicate with you thereupon.

A similar accusation of violating his Majesty's Ordinances has been brought within eight days against Sieur Migeon, Judge at Montreal. The Governor, on the petition presented to him by Sieur Boisseau, agent for the Farmers, has likewise referred this affair to me; it is entered.

The said Agent has also been accused of like violation, of which information has been taken, and seven Coureurs de bois have been arrested, who are under Interrogatories, and will be judged at the earliest day.

I think, My Lord, after all the pieces which I have sent you in support of my belief that the Governor protected several Coureurs de bois, you will not blame me for having strong suspicions thereupon; and although the formal promise he made me to prosecute them persuades me that he is no longer so disposed, yet I believe my fidelity towards you requires me to advise you that it is generally stated that he keeps up a written correspondence with Du Lut, and that it is true he receives presents from him, and has been unwilling that I should imprison the man

named Patron, uncle to the said Du Lut, who receives his peltries, and who knows the object of his enterprise, to which, I am assured, Monsieur Dollier, Superior of the Montreal Seminary, who is a very honest man, is not altogether a stranger; he will not fail, perhaps, to advise Monsieur Tronson of it.

I shall further tell you, My Lord, that the Governor has forbidden Interpreters to let me know, without his permission, what the Indians, belonging to foreign tribes, would wish to have communicated to me; that he has commanded the Provost, who is a very worthy man, and who is very anxious to acquit himself of his duty properly, not to arrest any Coureur de bois pursuant to my Ordinances, without sending him word; and that he has dispatched again that famous Coureur de bois, La Toupine, whom I had arrested last year, and whose Interrogatory I sent you. It is he whom he employs to carry his orders and to trade among the Outawas Nations, and also to bring down the peltries left there by one Randin, who was that pretended Ambassador with whom, and his associates, the Governor had made a Convention respecting the Trade; copy of which, compared with the Original, I send you.

You can, My Lord, have the pieces in corroboration of everything I have just written to you. I send them to Monsieur de Bellinzany.

In all things I have observed silence and obeyed the Governor even with greater deference. I laid before him the declaration of the Montreal Judge, which is one of the pieces I make use of to prove what I advance, because I received it on the information he had furnished me, and because mention was made therein, among other things, of the embassy of the said La Toupine. This declaration has afforded the Governor occasion to illtreat that Judge, and he writes that the prosecution against him is an effect of his vindictiveness.

(Second Extract.)

In respect to the King's orders to inquire, with great care, into the increase or diminution of the Inhabitants, and to reproach myself by comparing the five or six last years, I can truly say, My Lord, if there be any decrease because I have not executed the King's orders, that I have done all in my power for the advantage and advancement of the Colony.

Permit me, if you please, to repeat to you what I had already taken the liberty to state to you, that all the pains which His Majesty and you, My Lord, will take for this Country, will be unattended by the success expected from them, if not directed by honest and disinterested persons. You can not conceive the injury done by the bad example and trafficking of those who ought to be regarded only as the fathers of the people, and studying solely to promote their happiness.

I have not been able to make up my mind to send you the census of this year, because I dare not certify it to be correct. There are eight hundred persons or more in the bush, whatever may be stated to you to the contrary, and I have not been able to obtain the precise number, inasmuch as all those who are interested with them conceal it.

The country suffers so seriously from the scarcity of people, that many farms lie uncultivated. This induces me to supplicate you, My Lord, if you still entertain any commisseration for this wretched country, to send hither two hundred work people.

Permit me, My Lord, to communicate to you the increase of the Colony, by the statement of Baptisms and Burials, to which I have annexed that of the Marriages. By last year's census, it would appear that there were nine hundred and forty persons in Canada,[1] exclusive

[1] So in the MS., but evidently an error for 9,400. See previous dispatch of M. Du Chesneau, dated 10th November, 1679.

of 515 others at Acadia, of whom I have not received any enumeration this year; 21,900 *arpens* of land under cultivation, 6,983 horned cattle, 145 horses, 319 sheep,[1] 33 goats, 12 asses; 1,840 fusils and 159 pistols.

On account of the absence of the Coureurs de bois, it is not to be expected that the cultivation of the soil should be increased, nor that the cattle should multiply, owing to the unfavorableness of the seasons, and the want of people to take care of them; and as it is to be presumed that each Coureur de bois will have carried a gun, there will be a decrease of at least eight hundred fusils.

404 children, to wit, 193 boys and 211 girls, have been baptized; and 85 persons of all ages have died. There ought to be, consequently, an increase of 319 in the population. Therefore the colony ought to reckon nine thousand seven hundred and nineteen souls, exclusive of the 515 of Acadia.

There have been sixty-six marriages.

(Third Extract.)

I shall not repeat to you, my Lord, all the abuses that are committed, because I did not omit any last year. I shall merely say that they are renewed this year.

Among others, that of the trade prosecuted within the camp and confines of the Indians, and even in their Wigwams, by the Governor's guards, his domestics, the soldiers belonging to the garrisons of Quebec and Montreal, by several privileged persons, even the local Governor of said place.

This disorder has reached such a point that the inhabitants presented their complaints to me against it, which I proposed laying before the Governor, but he did not approve of it. This obliged me to withdraw without doing anything further. I drew up my statement thereof, in order to advise you of the truth, and to protect myself against representations to the contrary that may be made to you, and had it certified by some gentlemen or Seigniors of Fiefs, who were of the Governor's suite, when I spoke to him, all of whom are in the interest of the Coureurs de bois.

It again happened that the Guards and soldiers, in their lust for gain, ill treated all those who were opposed to their designs. One of the Guard intended to kill an Indian, whom he seriously wounded, and a soldier beat a settler, even in my presence. All this excited fresh tumult. I repaired anew to the Governor, who contented himself with surrendering the soldier into my hands, to have justice done him.

I have not drawn up a minute of this last action, because a Priest belonging to the Montreal Seminary was present, who gave me notice of this disorder. He informed his superior, M. Dollier, thereof, who will be able to give the facts in his report to Monsieur Tronson, and the latter will tell you the truth, if you ask him.

After I had examined the affair of the soldier, I condemned him to some reparation, and to the costs appertaining therein to the witnesses and bailiffs. After his condemnation, the Governor sent the Town Major of Montreal to demand him of me, as he had something for him to do; I prayed him solely to make the application in writing, in order to my own justification. The next day the said Major went to release him, and left with the Gaoler an order, which, with my judgment, I send to M^r^ Bellinzany.

[1] In previous dispatch, 719 sheep. — Ed.

If you have the goodness, My Lord, to listen to me touching the remedy applicable to what I have pointed out to you, I shall observe, if you please, that on the arrival at Montreal of the Indians, they are placed on a little Island separated by a small creek from the houses of the citizens, against whose advances it is necessary to set some Guards, to prevent insult or violence by the French. Three or four men, at most, suffice for that purpose.

This being the case, My Lord, it seems that if the Governor's Guards, his servants, and the soldiers are permitted to trade, they ought to erect their booths with the other citizens in the Common, which is the site for the fair, and not have the liberty to offer violence themselves to the Indians, since they ought to prevent it.

His Majesty orders me, a second time, to pay an entire deference to the Governor's will, and to inculcate this conduct on the Sovereign Council, except in the administration of justice between Individuals.

I reiterate to you, My Lord, all the assurances I have already given that I shall absolutely and with a good heart do all that is commanded me, and avoid every thing that may embroil us. I assure you, My Lord, you will be satisfied with my conduct and with that of the Officers of the Council, for whom, as well as for all the officers of Justice and myself, I ask again of you entire freedom to perform our duties without being insulted, intimidated or menaced by the Governor and his people.

(Fourth Extract.)

The farmers (of the Revenue) have much more reason to complain than the Coureurs de bois; and the trifling police in Canada is the cause that the peltries go to the Countries inhabited by the English. This is so true, that persons not only get the French to carry them thither, under the pretext of hunting Moose *(Chevreuils Sauvages)*, to be sent to the King, but even employ Indians to carry their Beaver there; and this is what induced me, three months ago, to issue the ordinance I send you. What will increase the disorder is, that the English pay for the Beaver double what is paid at the Farmers' store, and that in Cash or Wampum, on which they have a profit; and what is worse, those in the highest authority pursue this trade. You will learn the truth from the declaration of the Montreal judge whom I have mentioned to you. Pardon me, My Lord, if I presume to say to you that it is important that even the King express himself strongly on this matter.

In answer to his Majesty's orders to me, to examine with the Farmers whether, besides the dispersion of the Coureurs de bois, there be not some expedient to attract the peltries to this Country and to increase the revenue.

After having conferred several times on this subject with Sieur de La Chesnaye, one of the interested, who has spent over twenty-six years in this Country, we are agreed on two points—

First. That the King and you, My Lord, have the goodness to recommend to the Governor-General and to private persons not to evince so much anxiety to obtain peltries, and not to constrain the Indians, as they have done frequently, and even this year, to make considerable presents, giving them almost nothing in return. This discourages them, and forces them to repair to Foreigners, by whom they are better received and treated.

Secondly. When the Coureurs de bois are extirpated, and no further trouble, that it may please the King and you to issue twelve, fifteen, or at most twenty licenses per annum, for as many canoes, each manned by two or three men; to be distributed, not through favoritism but in turn, to those families who may have need of them, and to be granted like the concessions (of land), in order that they be bestowed only on those deserving them; and this

would be beneficial to the Country, because we should be informed of every thing transpiring among the most distant Indian tribes, who would be invited to bring their peltries by a small number of Frenchmen, who will neither harrass nor alarm them.

The third, to which I cannot consent, is, that it please the King and you, My Lord, to permit the Farmers to establish magazines at some frontier posts. This appears too prejudicial to the Country for me to sanction it, because the greater part of the peltries would fall into the Farmers' hands, to the exclusion of the Inhabitants.

(Fifth Extract.)

I send you the Census of the Indians settled among us. I have designated the Christians and those who still continue heathens; by whom they are instructed, and in what government their Villages are situated. I have been among them every where myself, and can therefore assure you, My Lord, that it is correct. They amount to nine hundred and sixty persons, men, women and children.

Your most humble, most obedient
and most faithful Servant,

Quebec, this 13th Novber 1680. DUCHESNEAU.

Count de Frontenac to the King.

Sire,

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The Amnesty which your Majesty has been pleased to grant to the Coureurs de bois, and the goodness you have had at the same time to permit licenses to be issued annually for twenty-five Canoes, will reëstablish order and restore every one to his duty. But to avoid the recurrence of fresh confusion, I have considered it prudent to postpone the issue of these licenses until next spring, when the majority of those still in the woods will be collected together, and those at the greatest distance can be informed of Your Majesty's will that they return to the French settlements within the time fixed by the law which the Sovereign Council has promulgated. Therefore I contented myself with sending an Officer, or one of my guards, to three different villages of the most distant Nations, to carry thither and cause to be published Your Majesty's Orders, and, whilst recalling the French, to note the sentiments the Indians entertain towards us, either for peace or war, and to invite them to come down next year to Montreal with the greatest quantity of peltries possible, by offers even of escorting them hither, in order to assure them against all attacks evil disposed Savages may this year meditate against them, and which have prevented them coming as usual, and greatly injured the trade of the majority of the Inhabitants.

The practice for some time past of certain individuals, who resort among the Indians, of conveying Beaver to Orange by a place called Chambly, and bringing back money and merchandise, would cause serious injury to Your Majesty's treasury, if not promptly remedied. I have made most strenuous efforts against it this summer, but they have been badly seconded by M. du Chesneau and the Council, who, in my absence, have discharged those

whom I caused to be arrested, though they admitted their guilt, and declined deciding whether this trade was lawful or not; as if there could be a doubt whether it was allowable to go trading without license beyond the settlements, and to cheat your Majesty's treasury of the fourth of the Beaver, by conveying it elsewhere than to the Farmers' Magazine, and even preventing its entrance into Your Majesty's kingdom when in the hands of Foreigners.

The sole difficulty, Sire, to be encountered was to know, previous to your Majesty being pleased to prescribe, the course we should observe towards the Indians, and especially towards the Mohegans [*Loups*] and the Iroquois of the Five Nations, who have pursued this trade for a long time by means of those of their tribe who have settled at Saut S^{t} Louis, near Montreal, which is, as it were, their entrepôt for this traffic, as I have had already the honor of advising Your Majesty; but to this I did not consider it my duty to oppose hitherto any thing but remonstrances, through fear that the seizure either of them or their merchandise would cause some rupture, which the Country is not in a condition to sustain.

Nevertheless, this tacit tolerance towards the French, observed by the Council, having encouraged others to imitate those who, it was remarked, were allowed to go unpunished, and being advised that some were preparing to follow this example, I communicated the matter to the new agent of the Revenue. He having thought proper to establish an office, with some guards, at Chambly, I immediately dispatched orders to the settlers to receive them; and to Sieur de St. Ours, whom I had some two years ago appointed commandant, to observe what occurred, to support them in all things, and to endeavor to execute, with them, my recommendations to him for the interruption of this trade, until Your Majesty should consider whether it be not necessary that a Governor and some sort of garrison be stationed at that post; it being the frontier of the country, and on a river through which the Mohawks can with the greatest facility visit us, and by which Mess^{rs} de Tracy and de Courcelle proceeded to wage war against them.

Should Your Majesty adopt this resolution, Sieur de St. Ours, who is married and settled in the neighborhood, and who came to this country Captain in the troops which were sent hither, would be very well adapted for this office. He is a relative of Marshal d'Estrades.

The profit derived, Sire, from this trade may cause it to be continued, if not opposed; for though it does not become me to object to anything your Majesty does me the honor to order me, I cannot forbear representing to you, as it is the truth, and I consider it my duty not to conceal it from you, that the English rate the Beaver carried to Orange and elsewhere one-third higher than it is rated at the office of Your Majesty's revenue *(Ferme)*, and that they pay ordinarily in dollars, without making any of the distinctions customary here, and when merchandise is preferred, they furnish it at a lower rate, by half, than our merchants do.

This is a matter of public notoriety, whatever may have been represented to your Majesty to the contrary; and all those who reside and trade in this country will confirm the same thing.

Had the representations made regarding the occurrences last year at the Montreal fair been thus sincere, your Majesty would have understood that the obstacles I was represented as having created, by that tolerance of soldiers' booths, are imaginary, and that those Savages who, it is pretended, were ill-treated there, had been so only because they endeavored to force the sentries, and to go and pillage the Outaouaos in their wigwams, or trade with them Wampum beads for Beaver to be carried to Orange; as the whole could have been easily proved by the information I caused the Provost to collect, and which I sent.

Those are calumnies, Sire, that my enemies impute to me in the endeavor to blacken my conduct in your Majesty's estimation at the time I apply greater care and application to the

execution of Your orders; but I shall never apprehend any effect from their malice, provided Your Majesty be so good as to desire to probe the matter, as I am confident that the investigation will always revert to their confusion and to my advantage.

The Mohawks have done nothing in violation of the promises of the ambassadors whom they sent last Autumn; but the Onondagas and the Senecas have not appeared, by their conduct, to be similarly minded and disposed.

The artifices of certain persons, to which the English, perhaps, have united theirs, have induced them to continue the war against the Ilinois, notwithstanding every representation I had made to them. They burnt one of their villages, and took six or seven hundred prisoners, though mostly children and old women. What is more vexatious is, that they wounded, with a knife, Sieur de Tonty, who was endeavoring to bring about some arrangement between them, and who had been left by Sieur de la Salle in this same village, with some Frenchmen, to protect the post he had constructed there. A Recollet Friar, aged seventy years, was also found to have been killed whilst retiring. So that, having waited the entire of this year, to see whether I should have any news of them, and whether they would not send to offer me some satisfaction, I resolved to invite them to repair next year to Fort Frontenac, to explain their conduct to me.

Though of no consideration, they have become, Sire, so insolent since this expedition against the Ilinois, and are so strongly encouraged in these sentiments, in order that they may be induced to continue the War, under the impression that it will embarrass Sieur de la Salle's discoveries, that it is to be feared they will push their insolence farther, and on perceiving that we do not afford any succor to our allies, attribute this to a want of power that may create in them a desire to come and attack us.

Although persons who pass here as the most sensible would wish to engage me to anticipate them, I considered that I ought not to do so before previously receiving the orders of Your Majesty, whose great prudence can foresee the consequences of such a step, and who can prescribe to me what I shall have to do, after receiving the advices I take the liberty to communicate.

I most humbly supplicate you to consider that I have, for ten years, maintained all those Savâges in an obedient, quiet and peaceful temper only by a little address and management; that when one is deprived of every means, it is difficult to do any more, and to anticipate things which would be easily remedied had there been any aid; that the Savages become more experienced as to what I can say to them to retain them within their duty; that all the Voyages they see me make almost every year, to Fort Frontenac, afford them no longer the same cause for astonishment as at the beginning; that it is constantly whispered in their ears that they perceive no effect from what those among them, who are in our interest, caused them to fear, nor the arrival of any troops from France, with which they were sometimes menaced when exulting over their prowess and pointing at the weakness of our Colony; that therefore they may recommence the war against us with as much advantage as ever; and a hundred ôther discourses of this kind, which excite the passions of the turbulent and of their young men, and prevent these listening to the Counsels of those who are older and wiser.

Five or six hundred soldiers would very soon dispel all these different ideas, and it would be necessary only to show them, and promenade them through their lakes, without any other hostile act, to insure ten years' peace.

They would afford the means, also, of occupying posts on Lakes Frontenac and Erie, and, with vessels there, prevent the Iroquois openly carrying their Beaver to New Netherland;

and the increase which would accrue to your Majesty's Revenue would exceed the expense of the troops, independent of the security they would afford to the Nations under your Majesty's protection, and of the other advantages to be derived from opening roads and clearing lands.

The war waged by the Indians called Cannibas,[1] who dwell in the neighborhood of Pemekuit and Pentagouet in Acadia, against those of Boston, has been terminated by the address of the English in detaching against them some Iroquois, to whom they gave a passage across their Country. This obliged the former to come to an arrangement. The Governor of Pemekuit always claims the River S^{t} Croix as his limits, and sends vessels to fish and trade along the coasts appertaining to your Majesty.

It will be difficult to prevent them doing so, and those of Port Royal from continuing their inclination towards them, in consequence of the privation they experience of all sorts of aid from France, and of the assistance they derive from the English, unless your Majesty have the goodness to provide therefor, by establishing a Governor there, and giving him the means of subsistance and of applying a remedy to many disorders.

Sieur de la Valliere does every thing he can in the case; but that Province being vast in extent, he cannot go to every point at his own expense, nor do every thing that is necessary in order to restrain those people entirely within what is right.

The last intelligence I had, Sire, from Sieur de la Salle, was to the effect that, despite of all the obstacles thrown in his way and the misfortunes he had encountered, he still was in a position to accomplish his discovery, and that if he were a living man he would proceed next spring to the South Sea, and return with the news thereof the ensuing autumn. I communicated to him your Majesty's orders regarding those licenses which it was reported he had issued; that matter was represented as much more criminal than it really was, inasmuch as he did not issue but two or three to persons who aided in the carriage of things he required, and only in the places where your Majesty granted him the privilege of sending to trade.

Had the complaints, Sire, made against me to your Majesty respecting Sieurs Chartier, de Lobiniere, de Vitré Councillor and the Clerk *(Griffier)* of the Council, been explained, you would have been aware of their injustice, and of the malice of those who invented them; and I most humbly supplicate you to be pleased, if they are repeated, not to condemn me without allowing my wife and friends the favor to prove by incontestable evidence the blackness and wickedness of those who bring forward such unfounded accusations.

Your Majesty will clearly conceive that I never suffered more than when represented as violent and as a man who disturbed the Officers of Justice in the performance of their duties, as I always was particular in the observance of what was prescribed to me, which was to exhort them to do their duty when I observed them negligent. This drew down on me such atrocious insults, as well on their part as on that of M. du Chesnau, that, when they will have been investigated, your Majesty will find it difficult to believe them, and will be pleased do me justice in that regard.

I should not be doing justice to the gentlemen of the Seminary of Montreal if I did not assure your Majesty of the pains they continue to take to increase their Indian Mission, and to induce the Savages to abandon their barbarous customs and adopt ours. The Memoir I send, according to your orders, will more fully explain their success.

[1] The Kennebec Indians were so called by the French. — Ed.

This progress begins to produce good effects in the other Missions, at which the Indians, after the example of the former, already have fowls, hogs and French grain. This is what I always expected.

The favor which your Majesty, Sire, has bestowed on the Recollet Fathers, by granting them the Seneschal's lot, would be very useful to the citizens of Quebec, if our Bishop were not advised to nullify it, by restricting them to the privilege solely of erecting a house thereupon for the sick members of their order, and celebrating mass for these in private, without allowing them to build a Chapel there and performing Divine Service according to the wishes of the people for their consolation. And as they lost by the shipwreck of the S^{t} Joseph, last year, the masons and carpenters who were coming to build their establishment, with your Majesty's donations of several years, and divers other things necessary for the construction of their churches and buildings; the pension allowed them for the support of their Friars will scarcely suffice to repair their losses, if your Majesty will not have the goodness to add to it some new charity, the rather as they are obliged to bring over four Priests and two lay brothers to sustain their Missions and attend on the people.

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It only remains for me, Sire, to supplicate you most humbly to be persuaded, that I do not presume to represent all these things, save only in consequence of the extreme zeal I have for the preservation and support of this Colony; that I shall always feel great interest for every thing that regards your Majesty's service; and that I shall cause all my glory to consist in searching out occasions of evincing the very profound respect and entire submission with which, I am,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, most obedient

and most faithful subject and servant,

Quebec, this 2^{d} November, 1681. FRONTENAC.

M. Du Chesneau to M. de Seignelay.

(Extracts.)

My Lord.

I received, with all the respect of which I was capable, the King's orders and the letter you were pleased to do me the honor to write me on the 2^{d} May last. New France has great reason to hope favorably for repose and happiness, since your Father has been pleased to devolve on you, My Lord, the care—full of tenderness—which he has always taken of her, and since you have the power and inclination to assist her.

I must also deem myself fortunate in being able to evince to you my fidelity and obedience to your commands, and to renew to you the most respectful assurances of my most humble services, which you had the goodness to accept the first time I had the happiness to offer them to you, as a creature of your illustrious house.

I shall endeavor, My Lord, to respond, exactly, to every thing the King and you order me, and to inform you, afterwards, of the state of this Country, and of what occurred in it after the

departure of last year's ships. I shall, assuredly, do so with all the fidelity I owe you, and in pure truth, without the occurrences that have taken place causing any other emotion in me than the desire of performing my duty and of acquitting myself of obligations which his Majesty's service and the good of the Country impose on my conscience.

You will perceive, My Lord, by the census of the Indians that I have taken this year, that their number is increased by two hundred and seven persons. I make bold to state to you that, amidst all the plans presented to me to attract the Indians among us and to accustom them to our manners, that from which most success may be anticipated, without fearing the inconveniences common to all the others, is to establish Villages of those people in our midst.

It appears even that 'tis the best, since at the Mission of the Mountain of Montreal, governed by the gentlemen of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, and in that of the Saut of la Prairie, de la Madelaine, in its vicinity; in those of Sillery and Loretto in the neighborhood of Quebec, all three under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, the youth are all brought up *a la Francaise*, except in the matter of their food and dress, which it is necessary to make them retain in order that they be not effeminate, and that they may be more at liberty and less impeded whilst hunting, which constitutes their wealth and ours.

A commencement has been made in all these Missions to instruct the young boys in reading and writing; at that of the Montreal Mountain, the Ladies of the Congregation devote themselves to the instruction of the little girls, and employ them in needle-work; the Ursulines at Quebec act in the same way towards those given to them, whom they receive indifferently from all the Missions, whether established among us or in the Indian Country under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers.

On this point, My Lord, you will permit me, if you please, to state two things to you: First, those Missions cannot be too much encouraged, nor too much countenance be given to the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice and the Jesuit Fathers among the Indians, inasmuch as they not only place the Country in security and bring peltries hither, but greatly glorify God, and the King, as eldest son of the Church, by reason of the large number of good Christians formed there.

Secondly, his Majesty may, perhaps, have it in his power to increase, essentially, this great good, were he to order me to make, in his name, a few presents to the Indians of the Villages established among us, so as to attract a greater number of them; and were he to destine a small fund for the Indian girls who quit the Ursulines, on being educated, to fit them out and marry them, and establish Christian families through their means.

I shall not fail, My Lord, to exhort the Inhabitants to rear Indians, and shall not be discouraged giving them the example, notwithstanding three have already left me, after I had incurred considerable expense on them, because I would oblige them to learn something. The Jesuit Fathers have been more fortunate than I, and have some belonging to the most distant tribes, such as Illinois and Mohegans *(Loups)*, who know how to read, write, speak French and play on Instruments.

You will perceive, My Lord, by the letter I have written to the proprietors of lands in justice and in fief, as well for themselves as for their settlers, that after having conferred with the Bishop, as you ordered me to do in every thing regarding the spiritualities of this Country, and in obedience to the King's intentions and to yours, the tythe alone is to constitute the support of a Parish Priest *(Curé,)* who has been furnished with a district supposed to be large

enough for that purpose, and even the extent of this has been submitted to the decision of the proprietors and settlers, in order that if by them considered too large it should be curtailed, and likewise, if not sufficiently large, it should be increased.

Nevertheless, My Lord, the proprietors of fiefs and Seigniories, and the settlers have represented that by increasing the extent of the Parish the people would be rendered more destitute, because, as heretofore laid out for each *Curé*, the settlers constituting it had mass usually but one Sunday in a month or six weeks; that the tythe even would not increase in consequence of adding to the Mission, because the settlers, being visited more rarely, would declare against paying tythe except in proportion to the attendance they might receive. Their good faith must also be depended on, as it was impossible to rent the tythe out in consequence of the difficulty of collection, unless at a great expense, owing to the situation of the localities.

The Parish priests have, on the other hand, represented that they are already surcharged with work, being obliged to be incessantly traveling, now on snow shoes over the snows in winter, and anon during the summer in a canoe, which they paddle the whole day long; and that if their Missions, already too extensive, be enlarged, they would not be able to stand such excessive fatigue.

Nevertheless, My Lord, all those difficulties have not prevented me making Known his Majesty's intention and yours; and the Bishop has sent back the priests to the places they have been in the habit of attending, and ordered them to be content with the simplest living and the merest necessaries for their support. Some of the proprietors of fiefs and seigniories have offered to board them in their families, and they are to provide for their entertainment. But as this is merely voluntary, and independent of the tythes, there is no certainty that it will continue.

You will permit me, My Lord, to represent that what is done in France cannot form any certain rule, since, assuredly, the expense is very different in this country. Did I not fear fatiguing you, I should lay before you a statement which would convince you of this truth. I shall content myself by merely remarking to you that wine, which costs only X^{lb} the cask in France, sells here for fifty, sixty and seventy *livres;* other liquors in proportion. Clothes cost double; Clergymen wear out a good deal of these, in consequence of their frequent journeys and the length of the winter. Shoes sell for a hundred sous and six *livres.* A servant who earns only ten, twelve, and fifteen *ecus* wages, has fifty here; and, finally, firewood, which scarcely ever enters into the expenses of a clergyman in France, costs in the settlements at least three *livres*, and in Quebec a hundred sous, or six francs the cord; and the consumption of it is very large, in consequence of the severity and length of the winter. The King and you, my Lord, shall, notwithstanding, be obeyed, and I shall do everything to confine the support of the *Curés* to the tythe alone, as has been commanded me.

As I ought not deceive you, My Lord, I must inform you that there is not a single person in this country who is capable of endowing a Church with iii lb., but is able even to build it substantially at his own private expense. Everybody here is puffed up with the greatest vanity; there is not one but pretends to be a patron, and wants a *Curé* on his farm; and all these persons are steeped in debt, and in the extremest poverty, with one exception, and he is the poorer because he is a sordid miser.

Exclusive of that of Quebec, there are, throughout the entire Country, but seven parochial Churches with stone walls. These are in the Seigniories of the Bishop, of the , of

the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice, and in two private Seigniories. They were built partly from the funds which his Majesty appropriated for that purpose; partly from heavy contributions of those gentlemen, and the charities of Individuals. The rest are constructed of timber and plank at the expense of the proprietors of the fiefs, and of the settlers; the Bishop refuses to consecrate them, because, as he says, it is his duty and obligation not to consecrate any buildings except such as are solid and durable.

Thus, My Lord, if the tythes be sufficient for the Curé's subsistence, there will not be any necessity that the patrons contribute thereunto, which they are not in a condition to do, since, except the persons I have just named to you, there is not an individual in this country in a condition to begin to build Churches of any sort whatsoever. They will say readily enough that they'll do it; but it is not within their means to perform it. Some told me they would build the chancel of strong pieces of timber, and that they would oblige their settlers to build the nave in the same style; and they hoped that therefore they would obtain the advowson. I think that by the King's edict they ought to build the church altogether; and it would be an inconvenience, if a wooden building sufficed, unless the Patron bound himself to keep it in repair. You will oblige me, my Lord, by letting me know your pleasure on these two points.

I have received the statement of the gratuities it has pleased his Majesty to allow to Convents *(Communautés)*, Churches and to individuals in this country. I continue to assure you, My Lord, that a good use is made of them, and such as I communicated in former years. I expended only 3,000 *livres* for marriages this year. I account for what I expended last year, and for fifteen hundred *livres* for the Church at Montreal.

II. Coureurs de bois.

In regard to the Coureurs de bois, and the protection which I last year stated had been given them by M. de Frontenac, and the interest he had in common with them, I could not help reporting it, since what I stated on this point was not advanced without reflection, and I had transmitted the proofs thereof; and the Governor's conduct again this year, which I shall explain to you in course, will convince you that the affair of the Coureurs de bois was his.

I assure you, My Lord, that I caused to be punished as many of the violators of the King's orders as I could catch. They are sixteen in number. The Provost has likewise done his duty, whatever may be said to the contrary. But what could I do without aid and force, and what could the Provost effect when he had the Governor's order to give him notice every time he went to make a search by my command? In this way he was always anticipated and labored much without success.

I think I can hardly be mistaken in the number of Coureurs de bois; and assuredly, My Lord, whoever reported that they were not absent from their families five or six months in the year, and that there is nothing more easy than to ascertain the fact, and to arrest them on their return, has not reflected on the matter, for the Coureurs de bois are at least two and sometimes three years and over on their voyages, and it is very difficult to arrest them.

And in order, My Lord, that you may be convinced of it, permit me to inform you that there are two sorts of Coureurs de bois. The first go to the original haunts of the Beaver,

among the Indian tribes of the Assinibouets[1], Nadoussieux[2], Miamis, Illinois and others, and these cannot make the trip in less than two or three years. The second, who are not so numerous, merely go as far as the Long Sault, *Petite Nation*, and sometimes to Michilimakinac, to meet the Indians and French who come down, in order to obtain, exclusively, their peltries, for which they carry goods to them, and sometimes nothing but Brandy, contrary to the King's prohibition, with which they intoxicate and ruin them. The latter can make their trips in the time indicated to you, nearly, and even in a much shorter period. It is not easy to catch either the one or the other, unless we are assisted by disinterested persons; and if favored but ever so little, they easily receive intelligence, and the woods and the rivers afford them great facilities to escape justice. This has occurred within four years.

The foregoing has given me the idea, My Lord, of informing you exactly of all the nations from whom we obtain peltries; of their interests, and how to attract all this trade. But as this subject is too extensive to be disposed of in one letter, I shall prepare a special Memoir thereupon to be presented to you. I shall take occasion to speak in it of Acadia, which is neglected; of the advantages to be derived from that and the country inhabited by the English, and shall annex to that Memoir the Map, divided into four parts, of all the places I shall mention. I pray you, My Lord, to accept it as a present, indicative to you of my most humble service.

May God grant that the orders issued by the King and by yourself, My Lord, to the Governor, to employ his guards and the soldiers of the garrisons in detaining the Coureurs de bois, may be executed better than those given to prevent the Runners, who had come down on the news of the Amnesty, returning before its publication into the distant Indian Settlements, as they have done in very great numbers. It is the opinion at present that more than sixty canoes have started.

All the means employed by the King and yourself, my Lord, to keep these vagabonds within their duty, and the orders transmitted on this subject, are not only the best, but they are even full of goodness and indulgence for those wretches, did not people take upon themselves the liberty to explain them away, to amplify them, and not to follow them, only insomuch as their application accords with the private interest of those who explain them. This is what you

[1] Otherwise called Assiniboins, or Sioux of the Rocks; the name being derived from *Assins*, "stones," and *Bwan*, the Indian name for the Sioux or Dahcotahs, from whom they revolted, probably in the sixteenth century. They originally inhabited the country around Lake Winnepeg and the head waters of the Mississippi, and are by some authors called Hohays, from the Dahcotah words *Ho he*, fishermen. A continual war exists between them and the parent tribe, in consequence of which they have removed, a part to near the mouth of the Yellow-Stone, and others to the head of the Assiniboin river. Though many of them died in 1847, of starvation, they are reported to number still about 7,000 souls. By some authors they are called "The Weepers," from the custom of constantly bewailing their dead.

[2] The proper name of these is Dahcotahs, or Sioux. When the French visited the Falls of St. Mary, in 1641, they met the Poutawatamies, who were flying from their *Nadawessi*, or "enemies." The French took this to be the name of the tribe, and applied it to distinguish the Dahcotahs, or the "Confederates," who, they were told, lived to the west or northwest of the Falls, about 18 days' journey, the first nine across a large lake (Superior); the other nine up a river (St. Louis) which leads inland. Their villages were larger and better fortified than those of the Hurons, in consequence of their wars with the Killistinons, Irinions and other populous tribes. Their language was different from the Algonquin and Huron. This nation, called by Father Allouez "the Iroquois of the West," is the most powerful Indian tribe in North America. It consists of seven bands, each independent, under a separate chief, but united in a confederacy for the protection of their territories; which send deputies to a general council, whenever the concerns of the nation or the safety of any particular sub-tribe require it. It originally possessed the country around the head of the Mississippi and neighboring lakes; was peaceable and little used to war before the Hurons and Ottawas, flying from the fury of the Iroquois, took refuge in their country. Those derided their simplicity, and made them warriors to their own cost. Governor Ramsay, of Minnesota, made a very interesting Report to the Indian Department, in 1849, on this and the other Western tribes. — Ed.

will acknowledge, My Lord, when I shall give you an account of the enregistration and execution of the letters of Amnesty, and of the Edict for the punishment of those who will contravene the King's orders.

What I have written on the subject of the number and long absence of the Coureurs de bois, My Lord, justifies sufficiently my representation that this country was diminishing in population and that the farms were uncultivated. Two years' absence of five hundred persons (according to the lowest calculation), the best adapted to farm work, cannot increase agriculture; and this is confirmed by the complaints I have received from proprietors of Seigniories, who do not participate in the profits of the Coureurs de bois, that they cannot find men to do their work.

As regards my representation that the French themselves sell our peltries to the English, and that the latter buy them at an advance of almost one-half more than we do, and sell their wares much cheaper, you will be too clearly convinced of it if you will take the trouble, My Lord, to examine the proofs in support thereof, which will expose those who encourage that trade; and they will demonstrate also to you that, if the importation of Beaver into the Kingdom has not fallen off within five or six years, it would have increased, had this trade been prevented. This letter, My Lord, would be too long, did I not reserve, for special Memoirs, the detail of what I have submitted to you in gross.

As Count de Frontenac has declared that he would not grant any licenses to trade with the Indians in their settlements until next year, and that the King's and your intention is that I should *vise* them, I pray you, my Lord, to have the goodness to inform me whether it be not his Majesty's and your intention that those who obeyed the King's orders have the first licenses in preference to others.

My Lord, as to what regards the representation I transmitted relative to the conduct of Sieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal, of which His Majesty informs me I did not send any proofs, you will admit, My Lord, by those I send you this year, that I have not written anything but the truth.

I always have performed, My Lord, whatever was in my power for the King's service and the good of the Colony, so far as preventing any violence being done to his Majesty's native subjects, and to the Savages under his dominion, in order to render this country happy by the union of the one and the abundance caused by the vast number of the others whom I have endeavored to attract hither. But the authority which his Majesty is desirous I should employ for such purpose, in the execution of the duties of my office, as well as that of the other officers of Justice, has been taken away from us, inasmuch as the Governor does not permit the execution of our orders except so far as pleases him. This is one of the points, the explanation of which I reserve for a separate Memoir.

The orders his Majesty and you, My Lord, give to Governors, not to exact any present from the Indians, are highly advantageous to the Colony. There have not been any great complaints this year, on this score, nor of the irregularities that have for some years prevailed in the Montreal trade, because we have forbidden the coming down of ninety Canoes belonging to Outawas, heavily laden with peltries, through apprehensions of the small pox *(peste)*, which was introduced among that people by well-known vagabonds *(libertins)*, against whom the Governor was unwilling that informations should be lodged.

Had not the Coureurs de bois, who, for three or four years did not dare to come down, arrived and brought large quantities of beaver, it would have been impossible to supply the

farmers of the Revenue what was necessary for them to send to France. But what is to be deplored is, that almost the whole of the peltries has fallen into the hands of three or four, and the trade is ruined; this I hope to demonstrate clearly to you in a special Memoir.

I issued an Ordinance, conformably to the King's and your orders, My Lord, relative to the poor, dry beaver, which must be taken at its weight. But a difficulty has arisen through what I consider a misconception in this passage of the King's letter: "It must be enforced without hesitation, and the farmers must take the beaver at the full weight, deducting 20 sous from the price of 4^{liv} 10 sous, at which the half-green *(demi-gras)* beaver ordinarily sells."

As I entertain profound respect for whatever is contained in the King's letter, and dare not permit myself the liberty to explain it, and as I, notwithstanding, clearly perceived that his Majesty's intention was, not to confound the poor, dry beaver, which sells for only iii^{ll} x. sous, with the good, dry and smooth beaver, which sells at iiii^{ll} x. sous, and that there was no question about the half-green beaver which does not sell for iiii^{ll} x. sous, as the said letter states, but for CX. sous,[1] I ordered that the said dry beaver should be taken at its full weight, @ iii^{ll} x.^{s}, subject, nevertheless, to the condition that the settlers and Merchants who might bring half-green beaver to the bureau of the King's collector should submit, if so ordered by his Majesty, to restore what overplus they may have received per pound weight previous to its appearing to be affected by the King's orders contained in the said letter, as the Agent of the Farmers (of the Revenue) claimed.

Nevertheless, My Lord, permit me to tell you that it would not be fair to allow them any thing on this pretension, because the profits realized by the said Farmers off the settlers, by allowing them only a pound and a half for their dry beaver, though it often weighed two, amounted, at most, to five or six thousand livres a year, and were the half-green beaver reduced 20 sous, in addition to the embarrassment which this reduction would create, and the continual differences which would arise relative to green and half-green beaver, it would cause a loss to the settlers of more than sixty thousand livres, contrary to my advice of the 20 8^{ber}, 1636,[2] to the effect that the poor, dry beaver should be diminished 20 sous per pound on 4.10 sous, at which price all the beaver was then indifferently selling, and then taken at its full weight; that the good, dry and smooth beaver should continue at the said 4 francs ten sous, and that, in order to obviate any difference that might arise, the fat and half-fat beaver, without distinction, should be increased to CX sous; which advice was confirmed by a Decree of the King's Council of State of the 16 May, 1677.

A year ago I received the King's orders not to obligate, for the future, the Farmers [of the Revenue] to purchase Ashes, and I have not done so since. I assure you, My Lord, that I endeavor, with all my might, to induce the settlers to manufacture potashes, and I promise you, anew, that I will again endeavor to persuade them, and shall myself aid, according to my poor ability, those who will undertake it.

In reference to the reproach which his Majesty and you, My Lord, make respecting the trade from this Country to the American Islands, I will tell you truly that there never went as many vessels from this Country as since I came here. There has been as many as four in one year, and at least two in the others, except this year, in which only one went, and last year, when one of the two that were going thither was wrecked.

[1] Cent dix sous — 110 sous.

[2] This must be a mistake; probably 1676. — Ed.

III. Differences between the Governor-General and the Intendant.

I would have finished this letter, My Lord, had I not reserved, for the close, what is the most important, and, were I not very unwillingly obliged, in duty and in my own despite, to give you a short account of the present condition of this Country, and to tell you that the occurrences since the month of November of last year, when the vessels left for France, are the disastrous consequences of what I had the honor to communicate to My Lord, your Father, six years ago.

Matters have at length arrived at the extremity I always anticipated. Disorder is introduced every where; universal confusion prevails throughout every department of business; the King's pleasure, the orders of the Sovereign Council, and my Ordinances continue unexecuted; justice is openly violated, and trade is entirely destroyed.

Monsieur De Villeray, first Councillor in the Sovereign Council, has been stripped of the privileges of his birth and forbidden to assume the rank of Esquire, though he is entitled to it by a decision of the King's Council of State, rendered at the time of the last investigation of the Noblesse.

Sieur de la Martiniere, another member of the Council, and the Attorney-General, have been ill-treated and insulted in the discharge of their duties.

Sieur d'Amours, another Councillor, 63 years of age, burdened with twelve children, and greatly embarrassed in his affairs and health; for thirty years a resident in the Country, where he lived exempt from reproach, and seventeen years in the Council, where he discharged his duty like a good judge, has been imprisoned for the space of three days. The Bailiff of Montreal has been arrested, and soldiers have been placed in his house, where they have lived at discretion. The same thing was done to a Merchant. In fine, the other officers of Justice are treated no better than mere *habitans*, whose destruction is determined on, and the guilty go unpunished.

Violence, upheld by authority, decides everything; and nought could console the people, who groan without daring to complain through fear of destroying themselves irreparably, but the hope, My Lord, that you will have the goodness to deign to be moved by their misfortunes, in spite of all the precautions the authors take to conceal them from you.

Be pleased, My Lord, to judge, from all that I have just laid before you, whether there can be a more distressing position than that to which I find myself reduced; since, if I conceal the truth from you, I fail in the obedience I owe the King, and in the fidelity that I vowed so long since to My Lord, your father, and which I swear anew at your hands; and, if I pay attention, as I must, to his Majesty's and your orders, I cannot avoid giving displeasure, because it is not possible for me to render you any account of such serious disorder, without informing you, at the same time, that M. de Frontenac's conduct is the sole cause thereof.

God is my witness, My Lord, that nothing afflicts me so truly as the necessity under which I find myself of writing to you upon disagreeable subjects. I entreat you, with all the respect of which I am capable, to be so kind as to believe that I should not have done it, were anything less at issue than the ruin of a country which has cost the King so much, and to save from oppression a great number of families almost buried in despair, and who intend to withdraw to France.

I always assured My Lord, your father, that I was ever incapable of concealing any thing from him; that I always told him the truth without disguise, and that I modified rather than colored the reports I have rendered him. I have already several times taken the liberty in this letter to assure you of the same sincerity.

I now repeat it, My Lord, since the animosity of which I am accused has no part in what I have written on the subject of the Count de Frontenac; though I might feel some emotion in consequence of a month's imprisonment to which he subjected my son, a student of between sixteen and seventeen years of age, without his being able to obtain leave to take the air in the yard of the fort wherein he was confined—a severity and injustice which astonished the entire country to the last degree—as well as that which he made my servant undergo, whom he caused to be removed from the prison of this town, where I had him confined on the accusation made against him with very little foundation, and whom he had locked up in a dungeon of the fort, deprived of the consolation of speaking to any person.

The severity with which the Governor treated the one and the other was with a view to oblige my son to disavow the complaint he had made to me, that his Excellency had struck and ill-treated him in his study, when he went to pay his respects and to demand justice; and to constrain my servant, who waited on my son, to say that the latter had not told the truth and that his complaint was unfounded.

The moderation which I have invariably observed might possibly have experienced some alteration, My Lord, in consequence of the insults, reproaches and rudeness the Governor is daily guilty of towards me in the Council, where he charges me with rashness and insolence; of the prison with which he frequently threatens me; and of the defamatory libels against me by his authority, and the inconceivable insults which Sieur Boisseau perpetrates against me, both verbally and in writing, as well at Quebec as in the other parts of the country, whither he has always followed the Governor, by whom he is protected from justice. But all this has not affected me; I regarded it with indifference, and have not failed to coöperate [with him] in the King's affairs, and to visit him as usual, and shall continue so to do, although quite recently he abused me very much in his study, because I had refused to authorize the payment of a somewhat large sum of money to Sieur de La Vallière, on whom he conferred the government of Acadia, and justified myself on the precise commands of the King and of his Lordship, your father, not to direct the payment of any more before it be entered on his Majesty's estimate, unless he should absolutely order me so to do.

Finding myself in so disagreeable a position, after all that I have just narrated to you, My Lord, I resolved to lay before you with all possible sincerity the deplorable condition of this country; the intrigues resorted to for the purpose of maintaining disorder in it, and the artifices made use of to prevent complaints reaching you.

The authority with which the Governor is invested is an easy means of success herein, because, in the administration of justice and in what regards trade, he does only what he pleases, and in one and the other favors only those whose business has relation to his speculations, or who are interested with him. The force he has at hand sustains his interests, and he employs it only to intimidate the people, so as to prevent them complaining, or to gloze over his violences by exacting from individuals false statements, which he can use to weaken what may be said against him, and to turn whatever he does to his own advantage

And inasmuch as the detail of matters, so important as those which I have just laid before you, My Lord, cannot be embraced in one letter, I have, in order to avoid being too importunate, thought proper to submit them in special Memoirs, supported by proper proofs.

The first will show you that the King's commands are not executed, that justice is overpowered, that its officers are persecuted and the guilty remain unpunished.

The second will lay before you the disorders created by the Coureurs de bois; what has encouraged the disobedience to the King's orders, and still sustains it; and the fact that

an open trade is carried on with the English; to whom our peltries are conveyed to the prejudice of the King's farm, who purchase those peltries much dearer, and sell their merchandise much cheaper, than we do.

The third will convince you, My Lord, of all that I communicated last year relative to Sieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal. You will therein notice the continuance of his ill conduct, as well as that of Sieur de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, and of Sieur Du Lut, Captain of the Coureurs de bois, and discover some private associations very prejudicial to the country.

The fourth will convince you that, though trade can be carried on advantageously in Canada and Acadia, it is, nevertheless, diminishing.

By the fifth you will understand the extravagant and impious conduct of Sieur Boisseau, which I communicate to you, My Lord, only because he is preparing to return here next year, and his return would be prejudicial to the country.

The sixth, in fine, will lay before you the state of the King's farm, at its establishment, its progress and present condition.

My Secretary, whom I send to you, has in his possession those Memoirs, and all the pieces to support them. He has, besides, whatever relates to the imprisonment of my son and of my servant. I have not given him these to present to you, My Lord, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction. On the contrary, I entreat you, with all possible earnestness, not to make any reflections upon them. It is merely to justify me against what the Governor has publicly stated within these few days — that he should complain to you of my having wished on that occasion to stir up a rebellion against him.

I hope, My Lord, that you will acknowledge that my conduct has been conformable to the commands I received last year from his Majesty and your Lordship's father. I have endured everything; I have remonstrated; and, in fine, I advise the King and you, My Lord, thereof. I shall observe, during the whole of this year, the same reserve as heretofore. I send home my two children, in order not to expose them again to fresh insults. I shall apply myself, exclusively, to the performance of my duty, as far as I shall be permitted, and I shall suffer everything with patience, according to my orders, resolved to inform you, as is my duty, of all that has occurred.

These are the sentiments, My Lord, in which I remain, and hope you will be satisfied with my conduct. I conclude, My Lord, by demanding, with an earnestness full of respect for you, and of affection for this poor country, that you will be pleased to take compassion on it, assuring you that I would willingly sacrifice my life to its repose, and to testify to you that it is impossible to be, with greater fidelity, obedience and submission than I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble,
most obedient and
most faithful Servant.

13 November, 1681.

Memoir of M. Du Chesneau on Irregular Trade in Canada.

Extract of the Memoir [N° 2.] to make known to my Lord the disorders created by the Coureurs de bois; the cause of the disobedience to the King's orders; what still encourages it, and the fact that trade is openly carried on with the English, to whom our peltries are conveyed to the prejudice of the King's farm; that they buy [peltries] at much higher prices than we, and sell their goods cheaper. Annexed to Sieur Duchesneau's letter of 13th Novr, 1681.

See the preceding Extracts from M. Duchesneau's Mem. 1679, 1680.

The King having been informed that all the families in Canada were engaged with the Coureurs de bois; that it was to be feared that the latter will become refugees among the English, which would be an irreparable loss to the Colony, inasmuch as they might convey their peltries thither, they being the best qualified to defend the country; and as it is for the advantage of Canada that a certain number of Frenchmen should go to the Far Indians, in order to prepare and attract them to us; oblige them to bring us their beaver; discover, ourselves, their designs, and finally to support, by these voyages, such families as may be in need:

His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant an amnesty to the disobedient, with authority to issue twenty-five licences, yearly, to twenty-five canoes, having each three men, to trade among the Savages; and in order that the favor might not be abused, his Majesty, by his edict, enacted punishments against those who should go trading without license.

Orders, proving so strongly the King's goodness and paternal affection for the inhabitants of this Colony ought to have been received, not only with profound respect, but with extreme gratitude, which could not be evinced except by perfect submission. Nevertheless, they have been despised; the amnesty served only as a pretext to fall back into disobedience, which has been encouraged by the Governor and by the Major of Montreal. The first to abuse his Majesty's favor have been the friends and one of the servants of the Governor-General. He has been notified of it, and has not even signified any displeasure at that presumption.

The Intendant, after the council had been forbidden by the Governor to take cognizance of what regarded Sieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal, contented himself with taking information on such strange conduct, in order to communicate it to his Majesty.

Intelligence has also been received that Sieur de La Vallière, who commands at Acadia by commission from the Governor, has, with some others, commenced pillaging the inhabitants of that place, and the Intendant has received complaint thereof.[1]

But not content with the profit to be derived within the countries under the King's dominion, the desire of making money every where has led the Governor, Sieurs Perrot, Boisseau, and Du Lut, and Patron his uncle, to send canoes, loaded with peltries, to the English. It is said that sixty thousand *livres*' worth has been sent thither; and though proof of this assertion cannot be adduced, it is a notorious report, and what gives it a color of truth is, that the agent of the gentlemen interested in the King's farm presented a petition to the Intendant, on the 12th September last, to prohibit trade with, and the carrying of peltries to, the English, and to permit him, in order to put an end to the continuance of said commerce, to establish a bureau

[1] Petition of the man named Saint Aubin, and the ordinance of the Intendant thereupon, justify this article. They are annexed, marked P. Q.

wherever he should think most proper. This was granted him by the Intendant; but the Governor did not allow the persons he had selected to depart until the twenty-fourth of October following, after all business had been transacted[1].

Trade with the English is justified every day; and all those who have prosecuted it agree that Beaver carried to them sells for double what it costs here; for that worth 52 *sous* 6 *deniers* the pound, duty paid, brings eight *livres* there, and the beaver for Russia sells there at ten *livres* the pound, in goods.[2]

Sieur Lebert, a merchant, told the Intendant that those who returned from New England brought cloths, which sell in this country for nine livres, and cost there only one hundred and ten sous; also other things in proportion.

Done at Quebec, the 13th November, 1681.

By us, the undersigned, Intendant of New France.

DU CHESNEAU.

[1] The Intendant's ordinance of the 12th September last, and the delay in its execution, render the truth of this article probable; and though conclusive pieces on this head cannot be furnished, yet it is a very general report, and a man of honor, whose name the Intendant's Secretary will furnish to My lord, if he desire, has informed the said Intendant that within five or six days the Governor, Sieurs Perrot, Boisseau and Du Lut have divided the money they derived from the Beavers they had sent to New England. The said petition and ordinance are annexed, marked R.

[2] The trial of Favre, David and Salvage, with his certificate as to the price of Beaver, justify this article.

M. Du Chesneau's Memoir on the Western Indians, &c.

Memoir to make known to my Lord the Indian Nations from whom we derive our peltries; their and our interests; the present condition of those Tribes; together with a brief description of the Country inhabited by the English, and of Acadia, adjoining thereunto.

The Outawas Indians, who are divided into several tribes, and are nearest to us, are those of the greatest use to us, because through them we obtain Beaver; and although they, for the most part, do not hunt, and have but a small portion of peltry in their Country, they go in search of it to the most distant places, and exchange for it our Merchandise which they procure at Montreal. They are the Themistamens,[1] Nepisseriens,[2] Missisakis,[3] Amicoüés,[4]

[1] Temiscamings. They resided on the Lake Temiscaming, one of the sources of the Ottawa river.— ED.

[2] Or Nipissings, from *Nippi* water, and *ing* the suffix for locality. They were visited by Champlain in 1615, and by Sagurt in 1624. The latter says their proper name is Squekan-eronons. Coronelli, in his map of 1688, calls their lake *Skekouen*. It lies to the Northeast of Lake Huron.

[3] This Algonquin tribe was settled originally to the north of lakes Ontario and Erie; but in 1755 they are laid down on Mitchell's map on the north of Lake Huron and east of Lake Nippissirien, or Nipissing. La Potherie derives the name from *Missi*, several, and *Sakis*, mouths of rivers, because they lived on a river of the same name, which discharged itself into Lake Huron by "several mouths." *Histoire de l'Amerique Sepc* II., 60. Others, however, derive it from *Missi* and *Sakiegun*, a lake.

[4] This nation, which derived its name from *Ahmik* or *Amikoa*, a Beaver, in the Algonquin tongue, was esteemed among the most noble of those of Canada. They were supposed to be descended from the Great Beaver, which was, next to the Great Hare, their principal divinity, and inhabited the beaver islands in Lake Michigan. They passed over afterwards to Manitoualin Island. *Charlevoix.*

Sauteurs[1], Kiscakons,[2] and Thionontatorons.[3] They get their peltries, in the North, from the people of the interior, from the Kislistinons, Assinibouets and Nadouessioux, and in the south, from the Sakis, Poutouatamis,[4] Puants,[5] Oumaominiecs or La Folle Avoine,[6] Outagamis or Foxes,[7] Maskoutins, Miamis and Illinois.

Some of these tribes occasionally come down to Montreal, but usually they do not do so in very great numbers, because they are too far distant, are not expert at managing canoes, and because the other Indians intimidate them, in order to be the carriers of their Merchandise and to profit thereby.

'Tis the interest of these people to be at peace with each other, to enjoy great freedom in their trade, to be treated kindly when at Montreal, not to be deceived in the sale of merchandise to them, and to respond liberally to the presents they make, without exacting any, since 'tis certain that they are well content if they get only half the value of what is received from them.

It is their interest, likewise, to be afforded great security and facility in the carriage of goods to those who do not come down to Montreal, and not to be obstructed nor harrassed by a crowd of Frenchmen who disturb their trade; and when differences and wars break out between all those nations, that the Governor-General endeavor to appease them and to procure them peace.

As these tribes never transact any business without making presents to illustrate and confirm their words, should their voluntary offerings not be kindly received, and should they be forced to give more than they are inclined, they endeavor to enter into arrangements among

[1] The Indians of the Falls of St. Mary. In the *Relation* of 1642, they are called "Pauoitig-oueiouhak," or inhabitants of the Falls; in that of 1671, "Pahouitingdachirini," or the Men of the Shallow Cataract, and were estimated at 150 souls; they then united with the Noquets, Marameg and Outchibous. The two latter claimed the north side of Lake Superior as their country. The Outchibous are known as Ojibways, or Chippeways, and are called Ratwans, or people of the Falls, by the Dahcotahs. They now are settled in the north part of Minnesota. A grammar of their language has been composed and published by the Rev. Mr. Belcourt, who has also compiled a Sauteux Dictionary. — Ed.

[2] The Kiskakons, called also Queues coupées by the French, are first mentioned in the *Relation* of 1666, 67. They had formerly lived on Lake Huron; in 1672 were found at the Falls of St. Mary and along Lake Superior (*Shea's Marquette*, I., 61); and in the beginning of the last century were settled, according to La Potherie (*Histoire de l'Amerique, Sept.*, I., 64), at Michilimakinac.

[3] See III., 443, Note 2.

[4] This tribe abandoned their country, and took refuge among the Chippeways in 1641, so as to be secure from their enemies, the Sioux. In 1670 they returned to Green Bay and the borders of Lake Machihigan; were located in 1701 at the River St. Joseph, where a portion of them were in 1830. They have since removed to Kansas.

[5] Winnebagoes. They are mentioned by Sagard, in 1632, as Puans, and in the Relation of 1669, under the name of Ouinibigoutz. Champlain, on his map, calls Lake Michigan "Lac des Puans." This name, Puans, says *La Potherie*, II., 68, copying Marquette, has not so bad a meaning in Indian as in French; for with them it means Salt, rather than Fetid. The Winnebagoes are of the Sioux or Dahcotah stock. They were nearly destroyed in 1640, by the Illinois; were allies of Pontiac in 1763; were defeated by Wayne in 1795, and adhered to the British in 1812.

[6] Menomonies. This tribe was seated, in 1669, on the north part of Green Bay. The name is derived from *Monomonick*, "Wild rice" (*Zizania aquatica*, of Linnaeus); hence the French appellation. The progress of immigration into Wisconsin has forced them from their ancient grounds to the head waters of the Mississippi. They numbered, in 1849, about 2,500 souls; some of whom are in an advanced state of civilization.

[7] The Sacs and Foxes are identically the same nation. They are of the Algonquin family, and are supposed to have been originally located on the north shores of Lake Ontario, whence they emigrated to Lake Huron, giving their name to Saginaw; thence they went to the Fox river of Green Bay, where they were found in 1666. The Menomonies, Chippeways and French drove them thence to the Wisconsin river, where Carver met them in 1766. Schoolcraft derives the name of the Sacs from Osaukee, signifying those who went out of the land. Outagami, the name of the other, is the Algonquin word for a Fox, which epithet they obtained, 'tis said, on account of their great cunning; but their real name is Musquakies, from *Moskwah*, red, and *Aki*, land or country.

themselves; they entertain a profound contempt for the selfish, and do not, unless by great necessity, avail themselves of negotiations that people wish to make a traffic of.

This is what occurred a year ago when the Iroquois made an irruption into the country of the Illinois, in which the Miamis were engaged. I shall speak of this by and by. The latter being in great dread of the Iroquois, induced the former to seek an accommodation; sent them presents, and besought them to enter into an amicable arrangement without the intervention of the Governor of the French, because this cost them too much.

'Tis our interest to keep these people united; to take cognizance of all their differences, however trifling these be; to watch carefully that not one of them terminate without our mediation, and to constitute ourselves, in all things, their arbiters and protectors; to bring them into total dependence by these means, by gentle treatment, a few presents, and embassies; by not allowing a great many of the French, who are always very insolent, to go into their country, and by enforcing his Majesty's last ordinance regarding the licenses to be granted for these trading voyages.

They ought also to be made to understand that all their happiness consists in being attached to the French, which they cannot better evince than by establishing a perpetual trade with them, as this affords the means of maintaining mutual friendship and obliging us to provide for all their wants.

But our principal interest, and what will alone crown all our designs with success, is, according to the dictates of our duty, to establish Religion on a solid basis among those people who have any disposition thereunto. This would succeed, were those in authority in this country to chastise such as set the Indians bad example, and to forbid, in accordance with the prohibition contained in the King's ordinance of the year 1679, the conveying of Brandy to the Natives, inasmuch as drunkenness is, among them, the greatest obstacle to religion; destroys both their health and substance, and gives rise among them to quarrels, batteries and murders, that cannot be remedied on account of the distance; and these poor creatures have such an inveterate passion for brandy, which they use only for the purpose of inebriation, that nothing is too valuable to procure it. This produces, in addition to the disorders I have just mentioned, the waste, in debauchery, of all their beaver; then they must run into debt to obtain their necessary supplies; having no means to pay for these, they return no more, and thus cheat the French who have advanced them their substance.

To convey a correct idea of the present state of all those Indian Nations, it is necessary to explain the cause of the cruel war waged by the Iroquois for these three years past against the Illinois. The former, who are great warriors, who cannot remain idle, and who pretend to subject all other nations to themselves, though they compose only five villages, and can muster, under arms, no more than two thousand men at most, never want a pretext for commencing hostilities.

The following was their assumed excuse for the present war: Going, about twenty years ago, to attack the Outagamis, they met the Illinois and killed a considerable number of them. This continued during the succeeding years, and finally, having destroyed a great many, they forced them to abandon their country and to seek for refuge in very distant parts.

The Iroquois having got quit of the Illinois, took no more trouble with them, and went to war against another nation called Andostagués, who were very numerous, and whom they entirely destroyed. Pending this war, the Illinois returned to their country, and the Iroquois complained that they had killed nearly forty of their people who were on their way to hunt

beaver in the Illinois country. To obtain satisfaction, the Iroquois resolved to make war on them. Their true motive, however, was to gratify the English at Manatte and Orange, of whom they are too near neighbors, and who, by means of presents, engaged the Iroquois in this expedition, the object of which was to force the Illinois to bring their beaver to them, so that they may go and trade it afterwards with the English; also, to intimidate the other nations and constrain them to do the same thing.

The improper conduct of Sieur de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, in the neighborhood of the Iroquois, has contributed considerably to cause the latter to adopt this proceeding; for after he had obtained permission to discover the Great River of Mississippi, and had, as he alleged, the grant of the Illinois, he no longer observed any terms with the Iroquois. He ill-treated them, and avowed that he would convey arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and would die assisting them.

They did, in fact, remark that he carried quantities thereof thither, and that after having traded with them he returned without prosecuting his discovery, which was the pretext for his journey to the country of the said Savages as it was to that of the French.

The Iroquois dispatched, in the month of April of last year, 1680, an army, consisting of between five and six hundred men, who approached an Illinois village where Sieur de Tonty, one of Sieur de la Salle's men, happened to be with some Frenchmen, and two Recollet fathers whom the Iroquois left unharmed. One of these, a most holy man, has since been killed by the Indians. But they would not listen to the terms of peace proposed to them by Sieur de Tonty, who was slightly wounded at the commencement of the attack; the Illinois having fled a hundred leagues thence, were pursued by the Iroquois, who killed and captured as many as twelve hundred of them, including women and children, having lost only thirty men.

The Iroquois, returning home loaded with beaver and some goods, passed by the Miamis, and deliberated whether they should attack them. They did not do so, however, and some of their followers having, whilst hunting, killed a child and captured some women belonging to that nation, the chiefs of their village went to the Iroquois with presents to demand their prisoners, saying they were friends. Their request was granted, and an Illinois child was given them in the place of the one that had been killed.

Another detachment of the Iroquois army, met some hunters belonging to the Bay des Puants,[1] whom they captured and brought into their country, without, however, subjecting them to the ill-treatment they inflict on prisoners.

The victory achieved by the Iroquois rendered them so insolent that they have continued ever since that time to send out divers war parties. The success of these is not yet known, but it is not doubted that they have been successful, because those tribes are very warlike and the Illinois are but indifferently so.

They were, however, somewhat apprehensive that the French Governor was dissatisfied with them, and expected that he would repair this summer to Fort Frontenac and invite them thither; they were prepared for this, and he might possibly have arranged matters, but he has neglected this voyage.

Another unfortunate circumstance occurred on the nineteenth of last September. Some Indians of the Bay des Puants, going hunting, met a Seneca Iroquois, a man of influence in his village; they made him prisoner, to serve as an hostage in case the Iroquois should not send back some of their people whom they captured as above stated, and brought him near the

[1] Green Bay, Wisconsin. — Ed.

quarters of the Kiskakons at the village of Michilimakinak, and invariably treated him very well for some days previous to the arrival at the said village of Sieur de Tonty, on his return from Fort Frontenac, after his interview with Sieur de la Salle, and who was on his way to the Miamis, among whom the said Sieur de la Salle proposed to winter. Meantime some Tiohontatés having met a little Illinois girl, the Seneca's slave, who had gone astray four days before her capture, brought her likewise to the said place of Michilimakinak, into a cabin near the Kiskakons' village, whence some Illinois on their departure had carried her off, and brought her into the cabin where Sieur de Tonty was then regaling some Indians, in return for some good offices he had received from them in his necessity. He had given his knife to an Illinois to cut up the tobacco he had presented to them at the time. The Tionontatés came into the said cabin and brought thither the Iroquois Seneca prisoner, who on seeing the Illinois girl recognized her as his slave. The Tionontatés would fain induce the Illinois to give her up to him, and passed some jokes on them, which so irritated them that one of the Illinois arose quite angry and said the Illinois slave could be removed and he would master the Iroquois; and on the renewal of some rude jokes, he snatched from his comrade's hands the knife Sieur de Tonty had lent him, and with it struck the Iroquois, and even those who would prevent him repeating the blow, and finished by killing him, notwithstanding all the efforts that were made to prevent him.

Immediately the Tionontatés thought only of sending off to the Iroquois to advise them that one of their chiefs had been killed by the Illinois in the cabin of the Kiskakons with the Frenchmen's knife. At the same time all the Outawa nations, on hearing of this murder, took to flight, dreading the anger of the Iroquois; and, doubting not but they would ere long have war in their Country, sent word to the Governor of the French, who spoke on the subject to the Intendant, and they concluded that nothing was to be done for the moment but to send to the Iroquois, to lay before them a true statement of the occurrence; to invite them to come next spring to Fort Frontenac, whither the Governor would repair; to notify them, meanwhile, not to get up any expedition; and, in order to dispel the alarm of the Outawas, to advise these, also, of the measures about to be adopted with the Iroquois.

The Intendant is persuaded, and dares to answer for it, that we shall reëstablish peace and quietness throughout the country, and secure our trade, if attention be paid to the Iroquois; if some presents, which cost nothing, be made them; if those they make be well employed, and reserved to be returned to them when occasion requires, as was the practice with Mess^{rs} de Tracy and de Courcelles; if the impression be removed from their minds that we wish to furnish arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and, if they be assured, on the contrary, that we wish nothing else than to preserve peace among all those nations, whose Fathers we are, and to chastise those who infringe it. For this purpose the Jesuit fathers will be of great use, as well those who are among them, as those of the Mission of La Prairie de la Madelaine, which is filled, in our midst, with the most considerable of that nation; also, the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice, who have charge of the Mission at the Mountain of Montreal, where there are some Iroquois who are much esteemed. Not but that we always have the English, as well towards Manatte and Orange as towards Hudson's Bay, as impediments.

From all that has just been stated, respecting the tribes from whom we derive beaver, we can form an opinion of their present condition, and may conclude that nothing disturbs their repose but the Iroquois. For, although they are infinitely more numerous, the Iroquois is so

terrible, in their estimation, that when he makes war on them they will all scatter, and trade will cease because they will be dispersed and no longer at liberty to bring their peltries.

There is no doubt, and it is the universal opinion, that if the Iroquois are allowed to proceed they will subdue the Illinois, and in a short time render themselves masters of all the Outawa tribes, and divert the trade to the English, so that it is absolutely necessary to make them our friends or to destroy them.

To make them our friends, the best means, in addition to what has been already stated, would be, in the opinion of those who have been most frequently among those Indians, to send among them every two years some intelligent Frenchmen, who possess the tact, which some have, to arrange whatever unfortunate occurrences might take place, such as unforeseen murders, or even to bewail, after their fashion, the deaths of the most considerable of their tribes, or even to gain over in an underground way, as they term it, or, as we say, underhand, those who have the management of their affairs, and for this expense fifteen hundred livres well employed would suffice.

If it should be thought proper to destroy them, or to place ourselves in a position to resist them in case they should desire to make war on us, as is apparent from the disposition in which things are and the state of their tempers, the expense would be much greater, as at least twelve hundred men would be required to be maintained by his Majesty, as in the year 1665, for no mercy should be shown them, and this war should be concluded in a short time, after which the French would be masters absolutely of all the tribes.

There is yet another mode, which would be more advantageous, not only by rendering us masters of the Iroquois and of all the other nations, but also by establishing and preserving, in a solid and profitable manner, the trade with the islands of South America; that is, for the King to purchase, or cause the farmers, or some other company which may be formed, to purchase Manatte and Orange from the Duke of York, with the country belonging to him. And though this might require a considerable sum it would be soon reimbursed, for, independent of our entire possession of the fur trade to the exclusion of the English, who take off a great portion of it, and of the Iroquois being unable any longer to injure us, we should moreover form, in the country possessed by the English, a considerable establishment.

The consideration that the English inhabit the most fertile and the finest country of our America, and we the least fruitful and the most disagreeable, will, perhaps, be deemed conclusive.

Their territory extends from the River Pentagouet, which is in Acadia, to beyond that called the South river,[1] which adjoins, and rises in, the country of the Iroquois. Maryland and Virginia, with which the aforesaid territory is confounded, are not comprehended in it. It is true that Boston, an English town which acknowledges the Duke of York not at all, and the authority of the King of England but slightly, is included therein, with its territory, which may amount to eighty leagues.

All who have been in that country agree that it is very temperate; that the navigation there is always open; that ships arrive and depart at all seasons; that grain and fruit grow there in profusion; and especially that the fisheries of cod, salmon and mackerel, as well as of all other fish that are cured and exported, are equally easy and abundant there, and the fish so excellent that all the inhabitants of that country are in most comfortable circumstances in consequence of that trade, which they carry on.

[1] Delaware river. — Ed.

'Tis certain that in Boston there are several merchants worth 3, 4, 5, 6 and even 700,000 *livres*, and that the fisheries are the principal source of their wealth.

Acadia, which belongs to us and lies adjoining to those countries, is in almost a similar position, and has the same advantages; and navigation is open there throughout the year, with the exception of only two months in certain places. Yet nothing is done there; and although 'tis inhabited by about five hundred French, including both sexes and all ages, they depend altogether for support on the English, and, to obtain their necessaries, carry to the latter a few furs, for which they are content to trade with the Indians.

Their poverty is not the only misfortune of these French; their discords are a much greater. Among them there is neither order nor justice; and those who are sent hence to command them, pillage them, and, notwithstanding, continue themselves in the most abject misery.

The English do much more than enhance the value of their own property; they carry off what we neglect; and have, already, three considerable establishments on the Island of Newfoundland, which belongs to us, and extend their boundaries as much as possible towards Acadia.

They are still at Hudson's Bay, on the north, and do great damage to our fur trade. The farmers (of the revenue) suffer in consequence by the diminution of the trade at Tadoussac and throughout that entire country, because the English draw off the Outawa nations; for the one and the other design, they have two forts in the said bay—the one towards Tadoussac, and the other at Cape Henriette Marie, on the side of the Assinibouetz.

The sole means to prevent them succeeding in what is prejudicial to us in this regard, would be to drive them by main force from that bay, which belongs to us; or, if there would be an objection to coming to that extremity, to construct forts on the rivers falling into the lakes, in order to stop the Indians at these points.

Should the King adopt the resolution to arrange with the Duke of York for his possessions in this quarter, in which case Boston could not resist, the only thing to fear would be that this country might go to ruin, the French being naturally inconstant and fond of novelty.

But as this could be remedied by rigorous prohibitions, that consideration ought not to prevail over the great benefit which would accrue, and the great advantages his Majesty and his subjects must eventually derive from the transaction.

Done at Quebec by us, Intendant of New France, the 13th 9ber 1681.

DU CHESNEAU.

Extract of the Instructions to M. de la Barre.[1]

Instruction which the King desires to be placed in the hands of Sieur de la Barre, chosen by his Majesty as his Governor and Lieutenant in New France.

Versailles, the 10th May, 1682.

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After having explained to him his Majesty's intentions on all that relates to religion, he must be advised of whatever regards the defence of the country by arms, which must be his principal function.

And, first, his Majesty doubts not but he is sufficiently informed of the situation of the said country inhabited by the French, which commences at the mouth of the River Saint Lawrence, and continues along the banks of that river as far as the mouth of the lake called Frontenac.

He is equally informed that the Savages, nearest adjoining the French settlements, are the Algonquins and the Iroquois; that the latter had repeatedly troubled the peace and tranquillity of the Colonies of New France, until, his Majesty having waged a vigorous war against them, they were finally constrained to submit and to live in peace and quietness, without making any incursions on the territories inhabited by the French. But as these restless and warlike tribes cannot be kept down except by terror, and as His Majesty has even been informed by the last despatches that the Onnontagués and Senecas — Iroquois tribes — have killed a Recollet and committed many other violences, and that it is to be feared that they will push their audacity even further, it is very important that the said Sieur de la Barre put himself in a condition to proceed, as early as possible, with 5 or 600 of the militia most favorably situated for this expedition, along the shores of Lake Frontenac to the mouth of Lake Conty, to exhibit himself to these Iroquois settlements in a condition to restrain them within their duty, and even to attack them should they do anything against the French; wherein he must observe that he is not to break with them without a very pressing necessity, and an entire certitude to promptly and advantageously finish the war that he will have undertaken against them.

He must not only apply himself to prevent the violences of the Iroquois against the French. He must also endeavor to keep the Savages at peace among themselves, and by all means prevent the Iroquois making war on the Illinois and other tribes, neighbors to them, it being very certain that if these Nations, whose furs constitute the principal trade of Canada, see themselves secure against the violence of the Iroquois by the protection they would receive

[1] This gentleman, who had been Maitre de Requêtes (an officer in the Court of Chancery) and Intendant of Bourbonnais, was appointed governor of Cayenne, when that island was reduced by the French in 1664. He returned soon after to France, and war being declared against England in 1666, was sent with a fleet to the West Indies. He reduced Antigua and Montserrat in the following February, and recovered Cayenne, which had fallen into the hands of the English. As a reward of these successes, he was created Lieutenant-General. He next defeated an English fleet near the Island of Nevis, after an engagement of three hours. *Bojan's Voyage to Cayenne; Sacy's L'Honneur Francois.* He continued Governor of Canada until 1685. He was a decided enemy of La Salle, and is accused of having converted his official authority to the corrupt purpose of increasing his own fortune. There is no doubt but he did much to lower the reputation of the French among the Five Nations. Charlevoix says of him, that his advanced age made him credulous when he ought to be distrustful, timid when he ought to be bold, dark and cautious towards those who deserved his confidence, and deprived him of the energy necessary to act as the critical condition of the colony demanded when he administered its affairs. — Ed.

from the French, they will be so much the more encouraged to buy their merchandises, and thereby increase trade.

But to arrive at these so advantageous results, great exertion must be made to discipline the Colonists, by dividing them into companies in each settlement, exercising them in the use of arms, subjecting them to frequent reviews, and to observe that they all have by them the arms necessary for service in case of need; and finally, to keep them constantly drilled, in order to render them capable of effectually defending themselves in case they are attacked, for which purpose he will be able to make use, with advantage, of the officers of the troops which went thither some years ago under the command of Sieur de Tracy.

His Majesty desires that he cause to be prepared, shortly after his arrival, an exact roll of all the inhabitants, divided into settlements, in which he will distinguish those who are fit to bear arms from aged persons and children, record the number of women and girls of all ages, and endeavor to furnish his Majesty with complete and correct information of the state of the Colony. His Majesty again particularly enjoins on him to place himself in a condition to defend himself by his own resources, it being neither the convenience nor the intention of his Majesty to send regular troops to those parts.

Independent of the establishment which the French have along the bank of the river S^{t} Lawrence, a part of Acadia is still occupied by them; and as advices have been received that the English were seizing several posts which have been always occupied by the French, his Majesty desires that he inform himself of this particular, and send also to the Governor of Boston to explain to him the points to which the bounds of the French domination extend, and to request of him to confine himself within the limits of the Country belonging to the English. And as there has been no Governor for a long time in that quarter, and as Sieur de la Valière has for two years performed such duties without commission, his Majesty desires that he inquire if the said Sieur de la Valière is capable therefor, or if there be any other officer who could properly fill the place, in order to inform his Majesty by the return of the first Vessels.

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Several private inhabitants of Canada, excited by the hope of the profit to be realized from the trade with the Indians for furs, have undertaken, at different periods, discoveries in the countries of the Nadoussioux, the river Mississipy, and other parts of North America; but as his Majesty does not think that these discoveries can be of any utility, and that attention to Agriculture in the cleared settlements would be much more advantageous, his Majesty is not willing that he continue granting those licenses, but merely permit Sieur de la Salle to complete the discovery he has commenced, as far as the mouth of the said Mississipy river, in case he consider, after having examined into it with the Intendant, that such Discovery can be of any utility.

Conference on the Intelligence received from the Iroquois.

Extracts of the Opinions rendered at the Conference held at the House of the Jesuit Fathers on the subject of the news received from the Iroquois.

This day, 23^{d} March, M.VI. eighty-two, on the receipt by us, Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in New France, of intelligence from Sieur de la Forest,

Major of Fort Frontenac, touching Sieur Lamarque's voyage to the Iroquois, undertaken by our orders, in consequence of the news we received last Autumn of the death of one of the Seneca Chiefs, killed by an Illinois, at Missilimakinac among the Kiskakons, and of letters written by the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who are Missionaries among the Iroquois, wherein they note the dispositions of the Savages, having deemed it proper to confer thereupon with M^r^ Du Chesneau, Intendant, we had him invited to attend, for this purpose, at the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers of this city, where we thought it our duty to summon Sieur Provost, Major of Quebec, and to invite the Reverend Father Bechefer, Superior of the said house, and the Rev. Fathers d'Ablon and Fremin to assist thereat, they being persons well versed in the manners and customs of the Indians by several years' experience, acquired as Missionaries among them, in order to consider all at once the most proper expedients to avert the war which there is reason to believe the Iroquois wish to continue against the Illinois, over whom they have already gained great advantages; a contest that would involve the Outaouacs and other Indian tribes under his Majesty's protection, and possibly might, if not remedied, draw, in a little while, another war into the heart of the Country.

And the Intendant being arrived at the house of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we requested him and the persons above named to have the goodness to give in writing their opinions on the following points, which were extracted from said letters after the same had been read:

1^st^. As to the place at which it is best to give a rendezvous to the deputies of the Five Nations for a conference with them.

2^d^. The time to be fixed for that purpose.

3^d^. About what number of Indians is it supposed, from those letters of advice, will be hunting in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac, so as to be able to fix what escort we ought to have to accompany us.

4^th^. As to the means to defray the expense necessarily attendant on the march of the troops to compose that escort, and for presents which it will be proper to give, according to the custom of the Five Iroquois tribes, in confirmation of the speeches and proposals to be made to them in order to avert the war, and support them pending their sojourn and on their return home.

On which points the Very Reverend Father Bechefer[1] stated, in the name of the aforesaid Fathers: My Lord, the Governor having done us the honor to ask our opinions, we have stated what follows, entirely submitting our thoughts to his, as he has infinitely more knowledge and information than we:

1^st^. That it would be better that My Lord should convoke the Iroquois deputies at the Fort which bears his name, rather than any where else, it comporting more with the dignity belonging to a person of his quality to cause the said Deputies to come to a fort of his government than for him to go on their territory.

2^d^. In consideration of the request which (as appears from the letters above mentioned) the Indians of the different Iroquois tribes have made to My Lord, that he would be pleased to

[1] Rev. Thierry Bechefer arrived in Canada in 1665, was sent as early as 1666 to invite the Mohawks and Oneidas to a Council at Quebec, and was a missionary in their country in 1670–1. *Shea.* In 1680 he became Superior, and filled that office several years. He was in France in 1690, and sailed from Rochelle, on the 28th July, 1691, to return to Canada; but on the 10th of August was obliged, by ill health, to put back to the port from which he had sailed a few weeks before. *Voyages de La Hontan*, ed. 1728, I., 352. He died soon after. — Ed.

assemble them before the young men of their tribe, being returned from hunting, could form war parties; that the 15th of June would be the proper time for said meeting.

3d. It is not expected that many Indians would be in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac at the time of meeting, the season for hunting the Beaver and the Moose *(Orignal)* being over, and those returning from winter hunting being for the most part home in their villages at the time appointed for the meeting. As to the force by which it is proper that My said Lord ought to be accompanied to secure him against insult from the Savages, should they entertain any bad design, though that belongs not to our profession, and we are not qualified to judge correctly of it, yet, as our opinion therein is requested, we think that it would not be proper for My said Lord to take with him a much larger force than in the different voyages he made to the said fort, the first time excepted, when he went to build it; and therefore twelve or fifteen canoes, of four men each, would suffice. The reason of this is the fear that a numerous escort would give umbrage to the Indians, of which they are very susceptible, as happened on divers occasions; the consequence whereof would be, that the Iroquois deputies (on notice thereof from their people, who are always accustomed to exaggerate in their reports) would either not attend the meeting, or perhaps, on arriving at it, take to flight in dread of being seized, and thereby break off the negotiation, the necessity for which is sufficiently palpable. Moreover, should they entertain any bad design against the French, they are too politic and adroit to execute it at present, being desirous to terminate the war which they have commenced with great success against the Ilinois and the Oumiamies, allies of the French with whom it is to be presumed they desire to live at peace, at least until they have completed the war they have begun, provided their design be not disturbed, and they be allowed to destroy our allies.

4th. As to what relates to the support of the Deputies during their sojourn and return to their villages, it must be expected that there will not be less than fifty persons, as well men as women, and the expense ought to be calculated accordingly. The presents ought to be considerable; and some must be given not only to the chiefs, but also to the warriors, because the affair is to prevent them continuing a war to which they are greatly inclined, and which they are certain of waging with success.

The above are the sentiments of Fathers D'Ablon, Fremin, and of me the undersigned.

signed: Thierry Bechefer, of the Society of Jesus.

The said Major said: As My Lord the Governor is pleased to ask my opinion as to what ought to be done regarding the war which the Iroquois wish to continue against the Illinois and Outaouacs respecting a Savage who has been killed; I think My Lord the Governor must order the Five nations to send him Deputies to Fort Frontenac, that he may speak to them through those he shall send on his behalf, if he do not think proper to go up there himself, and make them presents, in accordance with the speech that will be communicated to appease them; and this can be done in the beginning of June, when they shall repair thither according to orders.

That he does not believe, though it may be stated in all the letters communicated to us, that there can be, at this season, any number of Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac considerable enough to render it necessary to go there with a large force, which may do more harm than good.

As for the means to subsist the Indians whom the Governor will invite to come to speak to him, he and the Intendant will agree about that, if they please.

Signed, Provost.

The Intendant said: The Governor having desired him to write his opinion and announce it immediately preceding him, he begs pardon for any errors it may possibly contain, by the repetition, perhaps, of the same things that may have been expressed by those who have already given their opinions, each having retired by himself, as was requested, to prepare his ideas in writing.

After having attentively examined the letters sent to the Governor, by Fathers de Lamberville[1] and Garnier,[2] Jesuits, and by Sieur De la Forest, Major of Fort Frontenac, of the 17th December of last year, 3 January, 7, 15, 16, 18, and 28 February of the present year, he proceeded to say: That it is quite evident that the Iroquois, inflated by the victories they have obtained over the Ilinois, propose to destroy that Nation, which is in alliance with us, and one of those from whom we obtain a great many peltries.

That in consequence of the accident which occurred last autumn, in the Village of the Kiskakons and near that of the Tionontatéz of the Outaouais nation, our ancient friends, from whom we receive all the peltries that come into the country, and which they bring to Montreal, after having traded for them with the Far nations, the Iroquois are seeking an opportunity to destroy both these tribes, and thus gratify their resentment against the French, saying that one of their Chiefs having been killed by an Ilinois in the village of the said Kiskakons, in presence of Tionontatez and of Frenchmen, they must, according to their custom on like occasions, avenge that murder on them as accomplices, for not having killed the murderer.

The continuance of this war is, doubtless, prejudicial to the country, and its consequences dangerous; because, if we suffer our allies to be destroyed, the Iroquois, stimulated by the success they probably will obtain over those tribes, who are but imperfectly disciplined, will almost inevitably turn on us, when they will have no other enemies.

But as it is impossible to effect what appears to be necessary to avert the war without considerable expense, and as he, the Intendant, has express orders not to authorize any, unless War be declared, he entreats the Governor to have the goodness to authorize, on his part, the smallest possible expenditure, unless he judge such indispensable, as it appears to be; for though the War be not declared against us, it is against our allies, who are a part of ourselves

[1] Rev. Jean de Lamberville is supposed to have immigrated to Canada in 1668; he was sent Missionary in 1671 to Onondaga, where he founded the church of St. John the Baptist. He continued at this Mission until 1687, and by his zeal and high character exercised a great influence among the Onondagas, with whose language he was intimately conversant. In the last mentioned year he fell, unfortunately, into a snare set for him by De Denonville, Governor of Canada, whereby he was the innocent cause of leading a number of the Iroquois into the hands of their enemy, who sent them to the French galleys. The Onondagas acquitted him of all participation in this perfidious act, but represented that he could not remain among them any longer with safety, as their young men were highly incensed at the seizure of their brethren. They gave him an escort with which he set out for Catarakouy. In September of the same year he was Chaplain at Fort Niagara, where he was attacked by scurvy, and removed to Catarakouy in a very low condition. Was he Superior in 1690? *See supra*, III., 715. La Potherie represents him as being at Saut St. Louis in 1691. *Histoire de l'Amerique*, III., 131. He returned to France in the fall of 1698; but was so greatly regarded by the Onòndagas, that in the course of the next year they requested M. de Callières to recall him, with a view to his residing among them. It does not appear that he came again to America. He was known among the Iroquois by the name of *Thiorhensere*. See III., 453.

[2] Rev. Julien Garnier, brother of the celebrated Benedictine, was born at Connerai, in the diocese of Mans, about the year 1643. He came in 1662 to Canada, where he completed his studies, and received Holy Orders, April 1666, having been the first Jesuit ordained in that country. He was sent to Oneida in 1667, whence he visited Onondaga, and went to Cayuga in 1668. In 1671 he was ordered to the Senecas, where Hennepin found him in 1679, whence he retired in 1683. He acted as interpreter to the Hurons at the peace of 1701, and is said to have returned to the Senecas in 1702. Lafitau, who was his pupil, and learned from him all he knew of the Indians, says that Father G. had spent more than sixty years on the Mission, and that he was well acquainted with the Algonquin, Huron and Iroquois languages. Mr. Shea says that he was still alive in 1722.—Ed.

(qui sont d'autres nous mêmes). This, then, being granted, and, moreover, all the letters indicating that it is impossible to prevent the continuance of that war, unless the Governor, as they say he promised, convoke the Indians in the month of June, at the nearest place to them; and unless he be escorted, for fear of surprise, and unless he support, by presents, the proposals he shall make:

On the first proposition, he, the Intendant, said: It would be desirable that the Governor convoke the Indians at Montreal, which is a populous place, and the second city in the country; this could be done at little expense and with great safety, as his household alone would be sufficient. However, as all the letters insinuate the necessity of the Governor's being near the Iroquois, and even propose to him to fix the meeting at places forty leagues from their village, he would not presume to insist absolutely on Montreal; yet he cannot avoid entreating him not to advance so near the Iroquois, but to select Fort Frontenac, which is a fortified place, should it not be considered more expedient to invite them to Montreal.

On the 2d: All the letters agreeing that the Iroquois are preparing to start in the spring for the war, and that it is not possible to prevent this unless they be assembled in the month of June, before they depart, it would seem that the Governor ought to be requested to fix the 15th of the same month as the time for them to meet him at the place he will select.

On the 3rd point: It is impossible to state precisely the number of Indians that will attend the meeting; the Governor having considerable experience in all these matters, in consequence of the frequent assemblies he has held, would be better qualified than any other person to determine this point. Yet, since he absolutely desires an opinion hereupon, he would submit, with due deference, in case he should determine to proceed as far as Fort Frontenac, whether by taking some young men of the country to double his guards, with the soldiers of the garrison of Quebec, which he may increase by 15 or 20 persons, he would not be in a position not only to check, but even to chastise the Iroquois, should they fail in the respect they owe him.

On the 4th: As there are no funds, it appears absolutely necessary that an advance be made by the King's collectors, in whose hands will be deposited, in part payment of the advance, all the presents, whether of wampum or furs, which will be made by the nations for whom peace shall be secured.

Signed: DUCHESNAU.

We, COUNT DE FRONTENAC, Governor for the King in this Country, in observance of the order which We requested should be preserved in this Conference, and without having any knowledge of the sentiments above written,

Say, that We are not of opinion that a rendezvous should be given to the five Iroquois Nations at the locality near *la Famine*,[1] designated in the letters we have received, because we could not go thither in a state to be protected against the insults and designs of the Iroquois without a large number of men and canoes, that could not be ready by the time indicated in those letters, and without an excessive outlay, which the Court would hardly approve of, after all the prohibitions his Majesty has given us, especially in his despatch of 31 March, 1680, not to draw any sums of money from the said farmers (of the Revenue) of Canada, under any pretext whatsoever, without advising him thereof; and this expense may, with greater difficulty, be allowed on an occasion when its necessity does not appear

[1] Presumed to be Salmon creek or river, Oswego county. See III, 431, note 1. — ED.

indispensable, since, whatever representation may be made, his Majesty could scarcely persuade himself that this was of such a nature, seeing that it would be incurred only as a precaution and to prevent the Iroquois continuing a war against tribes five hundred leagues distant from Montreal.

Though the preparations for going to Fort Frontenac be less expensive, as less precaution would be necessary for the safety and dignity of our character, yet we could not, were we to avoid affectation, have the Iroquois come thither without making our escort much larger than usually accompanies us in our ordinary journeys (when it consists merely of fifteen or 20 canoes and fifty or sixty men), especially when we take into consideration the large number of Savages we understand by those despatches have gone to hunt in the neighborhood of said fort. Again, this could not be done without incurring an expense which, though less, could not fail to be considerable, and be subject to the same censures of the court. Moreover, the Savages, understanding that we were going to the fort with a larger number of men and canoes than we are accustomed to have, would be confirmed in their suspicions, which we perceive by those same letters were being impressed on them by efforts to persuade them that we would not take a journey of this sort thither unless we had some design against them; a trick already resorted to, as we have experienced, by ill-disposed Indians, who would fain make things worse.

Therefore, to avoid these embarrassments, all of which are equally to be feared, we think the best expedient is to invite them to come to Montreal by Deputies, to the number of two or three from each nation, about the 15th or 20th of June, alleging, if it be deemed proper, that we cannot go sooner by reason of important business in which we are engaged; or, if thought better, by some indisposition which would prevent our going even so far, were it not for the extreme desire we have to see them and to discover means to arrange all matters—acquainting them at the same time that, to facilitate their voyage to Montreal, provisions would be furnished them at the time they will appoint, either at Fort Frontenac or at any other place on their route that they will designate.

What has still more strongly determined us to adopt this opinion is, that by conferring with them on the 15th June, agreeably to their alleged desire, this conference will be almost useless, and require another in autumn, as it will not be in our power to say anything positive to them, before that time, regarding the satisfaction the Kiskakons and Tionontatés propose to make to them; for we would not know from these the resolutions they will adopt thereon nor what they will desire us to submit—matters we cannot be informed of until the coming down of the Outaouaes, which will not be before the end of July and commencement of August. We shall then be better advised, by some vessel arriving from France, of the policy the Court expects us to observe on similar occasions, as we have fully informed his Majesty and the Marquis of Seignelay of the death of that influential Seneca, who was killed among the Kiskakons at Michilimakinac, by an Ilinois, and of all the dispositions of the Iroquois, as well as of their insolences, presumptions, threats and evil designs, both against the Ilinois and the Outaouaes, and even against the French; also of the need we stand in both of troops and money, either to anticipate them, or to protect ourselves against the expeditions they might undertake against our allies and this colony. This will also serve us for a guide as to the policy we shall have to observe in our speeches to them, and acquaint us in what manner we shall prepare them; that is to say, with more or less mildness.

Signed: FRONTENAC.

M. Du Chesneau to Count de Frontenac.

Copy of Monsieur Duchesneau's letter to Monsieur de Frontenac of the 28th July, 1682.

Sir,

On the intelligence we are continually receiving, from all parts, of the evil disposition of the Iroquois towards us, and on learning that no aid is to be expected this year from France, I considered that I could not, without failing in my duty and in the zeal I have always felt for the King's service, omit communicating my opinions to you, in order to avert a war which would be the utter ruin of this country at this time, when it is wholly defenceless. You will pay such attention thereto as will please you; for I am persuaded that in these and all other matters you have more knowledge than I, and that I must not interfere therein any further than is agreeable to you.

Since you did not deem it proper to repair to Fort Frontenac in the month of June last, as the Iroquois requested, to prevent the departure of their warriors against the Illinois, and to render them the justice against the Kiskakons you had promised them, it would appear to me of the greatest importance that you visit them in the month of August, causing them to be convoked for that time, because, should you not do so, they would doubt not but you would be abandoning the Illinois to them, and would be well pleased that they should do themselves justice on the Kiskakons; since they would have some reason to think that you would give yourself no more trouble about a matter, the consequences of which you perceive better than I.

However, as the Iroquois sent you a request not to assemble them at the Fort, but at Téchoueguen,[1] or at la Famine—and as it appears to me difficult for you to refuse them at the present conjuncture, when, having no hope from France, we are obliged to manage them more than we should do at another time; and, besides, as you ought not to do anything unworthy your character, and it is but prudent not to expose yourself to their rashness, but, on the contrary, to preserve your dignity and your authority intact, and to speak to them in security—I have bethought me to propose to you whether you do not think you could preserve all that is due your rank and go as far as the fort; proceed thence in the bark, well armed, and manned by a resolute body of men, none of whom would make their appearance except those you wish, followed by the brigantine in the same condition, and have yourself conducted to one of those two places, and there, without landing, send for the Iroquois to come and speak to you, observing the precaution not to allow them to come on board in great numbers.

I submit all this to your pleasure, and beg of you to approve my laying my opinions before you, which I do only for the King's service and the preservation of this country. I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

DUCHESNAU.

[1] Oswego. — ED

Count de Frontenac to M. Du Chesneau.

Copy of Count de Frontenac's Answer to M. Duchesneau's letter of the 28th July, 1682.

Sir,

I was on the point of dispatching a canoe to you, with advice of what Sieur De la Forest has just told me touching the insult the Iroquois have perpetrated on the bark, by forcibly taking merchandise out of it, when I received your letter of the 28th July. What caused me to defer sending it to you was that I was expecting further news from Fort Frontenac, which might inform me with more certainty of the consequences of that act, in order the better to concert with you the measures proper to be adopted.

What you state to me is well considered, and may, I think, be executed with surety and dignity by putting the brigantine in order, which it is not, as a part of its rigging has been taken to equip the bark; it only remains to be examined, after the insolent manner in which the Iroquois have answered my last summons, evincing a disposition to oblige me to go and seek them, whether it would flatter their arrogance too much to take a step which would appear in some sort to degrade the dignity of my character, and give them reason to believe that we fear them dreadfully, and that it is in their power to dictate the law to us.

But wherever and however this interview take place, on which I am resolved when I shall have seen the Kiskakons, we must previously consider the means of making the necessary preparations for this voyage, and of placing, this winter, the fort and bark beyond insult. This is one of the principal precautions to be taken to arrest the bad designs of the Iroquois and to preserve the country.

As all this cannot be done without expense and early attention, and as I know you have not funds, I considered it my duty to propose to you to defray it between us, and, in case the King should not allow this expense, to engage ourselves in our name to the merchant whom you will please to select for this purpose, to pay him equally for whatever he might furnish of flour, pork and brandy, which compose the indispensable supplies.

Whereunto ought be added whatever may be proper for presents, since you know as well as I that speeches, unless they are seconded, have no effect on Savages.

Though the news, which M. Dollier informs me you communicated to him, indicate your and my appeal, we ought to have sufficient zeal for the King's service and the preservation of the country, whilst we are intrusted with that charge, to do all that depends on us for its security against the attacks of the Iroquois, and to leave everything in a good condition for those who will come to relieve us, and who, perhaps, will not arrive in sufficient season to have flour manufactured and conveyed to the Fort, which is the most urgent matter.

You will please let me know at the earliest moment if you approve this expedient; awaiting which, I shall remain.

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Montreal, this 5th August, 1682. FRONTENAC.

Conference between Count de Frontenac and the Ottawas.

Montreal the 13th August, 1682.

The Kiskakons, Outaoꝺesinagos, those *du Sable*[1] and some Miamis, composing a part of the Indians called Outaoues, who arrived at Montreal on the eleventh day of August, 1682, to the number of 26 canoes, had an audience with my Lord Count de Frontenac, on the 13th of said month, and Nonchekkiskakon being spokesman, and Mr de Vieupont, who came down with them from Missilimakina, acting as Interpreter, they stated in their first word:

First Word. That they have not a great many things to say to their father Onontio, except that they consider themselves dead, and pray him to have pity on them; for the Iroquois kill them. That they would not have come down had not Onontio sent them word to do so; that they come to see him and to hear his voice, and have no other word than what they brought him last fall, and request him not to abandon, but to have pity on them.

Second Word. They recounted the affair of the Seneca killed in their country last Summer by an Ilinois at Missilimakinac, where they were celebrating the festival of the Dead, suspecting nothing, when they learned that some Hurons, their neighbors, returning from hunting, had met in the bush a little Ilinois girl, about seven years old, who had escaped from among those of her nation taken prisoner by the Iroquois. Those men would have brought her to their feast of Indian corn, beyond the Village of the Kiskakons; hearing of which, some of the Ilinois, who are married at Missilimakinac, were there to see her, and having found only some little children in the cabin where she was, they questioned her, and discovering by the names of her parents, which she communicated to them, that she was an Ilinoise, they brought her to the village of the Kiskakons. Having been informed that Annanhac, one of the Seneca Chiefs, had left the main body of the victorious Iroquois army to come to Missilimakina, they visited him; having stated on his arrival there that a little Ilinoise had left him on his march to Detroit, he went with the Hurons to the village of the Kiskakons, to see if it were she, and having recognized her, said that he had even adopted her, and insisted on having her. One of the Ilinois opposing it, both became so heated that the Seneca, insulted by the Ilinois, was killed by him before any of those who were in the cabin had the power to prevent it. They immediately came down to advise Onontio thereof; to testify their displeasure to him, and to request him to interpose in order to settle this affair; but not finding him at Montreal, they applied to Mr Perrot to communicate the matter to him. On their return they gave belts to the Hurons, to be presented in their name to the Senecas whom they were going to see; and in place of appeasing their minds and acquitting them of this death, the Hurons attributed to them all the blame, without speaking of the belts which they were entrusted to present, on their behalf, as a token of their regret that this accident had occurred among them. The Hurons, therefore, were the authors of the unfortunate affairs, having an understanding with the Iroquois, to whom they went frequently in secret.

Third Word. That they are come to hear the voice of Onontio, and to learn what he will say to them to restore their spirits; that they entreat him to be pleased to always protect them; to take pity on their condition and permit them to trade the few peltries they have brought.

[1] The Outawas of the *Talon* and *Sable* (Sand) tribes formerly inhabited Manitoualin Island, but the dread of the Iroquois drove them to Michilimakinac. *La Hontan's Voyage*, ed. 1705, II., 20.

Count de Frontenac answered that he was very glad to see them, but what they told him of the Seneca killed last year among them being of consequence, it was necessary that they endeavor to arrange that matter. On this subject he had to tell them that, as soon as Mr Perrot had given him notice of the arrival last autumn of their deputies at Montreal, he had sent to Onontaguè and to Seneca to exhort the Iroquois to suspend their resentment on account of this death until he should confer next summer with them at Fort Frontenac, where he invited them to repair, and where he would not fail to attend after he had seen the Kiskakons, and learned from them the satisfaction they proposed making for the death of Annehac, which could be regarded only as a private quarrel, with which the tribe had nothing to do, since it had sent deputies to inform him what share it had in that accident. That the Iroquois had requested him, by their answer, to come in the month of June as far as the South shore of Lake Frontenac, to hear their voice thereupon, as it was difficult to believe that the murder of Annanhac had not been committed with the participation of all the Kiskakons, they not having broken the head of the murderer, nor arrested him. That he had postponed answering the Iroquois until they had come down, in order that he may learn what reparation they proposed to make for the death of Annenhac.

That they must not imagine themselves dead on that account, but consider what they intended to offer the Iroquois to restore their spirits; on making proper proposals on their side, he would on his part, as the common father of the one and the other, endeavor to satisfy them. That it would be necessary for them to select, for this purpose, three or four of their Chiefs to confer with him in private, so that the resolutions they would adopt, being secret, may be the more effectual.

The Kiskakons made no reply to that; they merely urged Onontio to permit them to commence trading, as, they said, they distrusted the Iroquois, and feared they might in their absence sack their villages, take away their old men, their women and children; therefore they requested that they might trade and return as soon as possible.

But Count De Frontenac having told them that it was necessary that the Hurons, of whom they complained, and who were hourly expected, should be heard in their presence, that they may be afterwards reconciled and made friends, they consented to tarry.

Meanwhile one of the Miamis, having taken up the word, stated that they likewise were daily slaughtered by the Iroquois.

The Count having answered that this was the first news he had of it, and having afterwards inquired how many of his men the Iroquois had killed, and at what place, the Miami replied that he came not to complain nor to demand satisfaction. The Count rejoined, Were there not Frenchmen in his country—did not Mr De la Salle, who had made an establishment there, exhort them to build a fort to defend themselves against those who should attack them, and even to unite themselves with the Ilinois? The Miami, concurring therein, also confessed that the Iroquois had told him to retire from their war path, as they had nothing to say against him, but against the Ilinois; nevertheless they failed not, on four occasions, to kill him, and to seize some of his people, for which he was not asking satisfaction of Onontio. But his air and tone indicated that he intended to obtain it and to avenge himself.

The Count told him that when he would see the Iroquois he should reprove them, and point out their error, in order that they may repair it and that a similar recurrence be prevented; and then gave the whole party wherewith to smoke and eat, and to drink his health.

The 15th August, 1682.

Some Hurons, or Tionnontatez comprised under the name of their chief Sataretsi,[1] arrived at Montreal on the 13th of August, to the number of ten canoes, communicated their first word to the Count, in the audience given them on the 15th of said month, 1682, through their Orator, Soüoïas, in French The Rat, Mr Le Moine acting as their interpreter, and Mr de St Paul for the Kiskakons, who were invited to the same audience:

First Word. Speaking in the singular number under the name of Sateretsi—they had come down at the request of Onontio their father, who had told them by the Frenchmen to descend to Montreal, where they had come to hear his voice; that he saw them poor and miserable, because their young men amused themselves drinking; that they did not neglect coming at the command of their father, to learn his will and to request him to inform them of what was occurring; that they hear many rumors, and that the earth is turned upside down; that this causes them trouble, and they have recourse to Onontio to restore them their senses and to give them good advice.

Second Word. The same Souoïas, after a pause, said: Onontio, thy son Sataretsi hath just stated that he made an alliance with Ouiatanon,[2] which means the *Selugrue* tribe, who are Miamis and another tribe included in them. He intreats Onontio to receive and to protect them, as he does Sataretsi, who is no longer but one body and one spirit with Oüiatanon.

M. de Saint Paul explained this matter at the same time to the Kiskakons and to the Miamis in their tongue, who declared that they also made this alliance, and requested that it be approved and protected.

Third Word. Onontio, thy son Saretsi styled himself formerly thy brother; but he has ceased to be such, for he is now thy son; and thou hast begotten him by the protection thou hast afforded him against his enemies. Thou art his Father, and he acknowledgeth thee as such; he obeys thee as a child obeyeth his father; he listeneth to thy voice; and doth only what is pleasing to thee, because he hath respect for his father and is obedient unto him.

M. de Saint Paul interpreted this to the Kiskakons and to the Miamis, who said it was so with them also.

Fourth Word. Onontio, thy son Sataretsi hath an upright mind; he is proud, and defies any one to disgrace or reproach him with having acted ill, and with having failed in anything towards his father. There are, notwithstanding, some among his brothers—both French and Indian—who have spoken evil of him, and accused him of creating disturbance; adding, he must be distrusted; he has been taken by the arm, to induce him to commit bad acts. But Sateretsi walks upright, and is subject to his father's will, who alone hath the power to pull him by the arm, and to make him go wheresoever he listeth, because he is the master of the whole earth.

Fifth Word. Sataretsi stands before the eyes of Onontio, his father, who beholds him poor and miserable. Wherefore he beseeches his father to have pity on him, to protect him, as he

[1] Sasteratsi, whom our French call the King of the Hurons, is in fact hereditary Chief of the Tionnontatez, who are the true Hurons. *Charlevoix, Journal Historique, Lettre* XVII. See further on this subject, *La Hontan's Voyage*, ed. 1705, II., 142.

[2] Fifty years ago (says Charlevoix, writing in 1721), the Miamis were settled at the south end of Lake Michigan, in a place called Chicagou, from the name of a small river which runs into the lake, and which has its source not far from the river of the Illinois. They are divided into three villages, one on the river St. Joseph; the second on another river which bears their name and runs into Lake Erie; and the third upon the Ouabache, which runs into the Mississippi. These last are more known by the name of the *Ouyatonons*. *Journal Historique, Lettre* XI. They were also called the *Weas*. *Gallatin.*—Ed.

has always done, against his enemies; to permit him to buy arms to defend, and clothes to cover himself; in a word, to permit him to trade off the peltries he has brought with him.

The Count answered them, that if he had been rejoiced to see them in other years, he was more so this, finding them obedient, and disposed, in the midst of all the different rumors which are current, to follow his advice by endeavoring to arrange affairs which are in confusion.

That he lauds their having concluded a new alliance with the Miamis, in order to strengthen themselves against their enemies; that they may be assured, the one and the other, that he will always protect them whilst remaining united and in the good sentiments which children ought to entertain towards their father.

That, however, notwithstanding the tokens of respect and submission in which the Hurons wish to induce him to confide, he has cause to complain of their conduct, understanding that they have gone and carried belts into suspected places, without giving him notice thereof, or stating what their intention was, nor what had been said to them; and that it was not well to have concealed these sorts of things from him.

Souaïa replied, that it was true that Sataretsi had been to Seneca; but he thought there was no harm in that, as the Kiskakons were aware of it, and that he went there only to arrange their unfortunate affairs, of which the Seneca accused them with Sataretsi.

M. de Saint Paul having interpreted this to the Kiskakons, they murmured against the Hurons, by whom, they said, they had not been well treated. Many reproaches were interchanged, the Kiskakons saying that the Hurons conceal from them what they do, betray them, and have an understanding with the Iroquois, to whom — they complain — the Hurons had given, solely in their own names, the belts they carried, without having made any mention of them, nor offered those presents on the behalf of both nations, though they had equally contributed thereto. The Hurons, having defended themselves, complained that the Kiskakons only did mischief by their rashness and violent conduct, from which they (the Hurons) have daily much to suffer, especially when absent from home, at which time their old men, women and children are insulted by the Kiskakons, who ill treat them on all occasions without reason or cause.

The Count remonstrated with them that neighbors, as they are, ought to be more united and agree better together, and that they ought never be so irritated or incensed as they appear to be, the one against the other; and, addressing the Hurons, that they ought avoid all occasions of exciting distrust by their conduct; and, speaking to the Kiskakons, they ought not to take umbrage without cause, but have respect for their neighbors, nor go to their cabins to insult and ill-treat people there; that, being brethren and his children, he was sorry to see them quarreling and living unfriendly together; that he desired they should forget the past, and be again so united that their enemies, who were seeking to divide them in order to oppress them more easily, might not profit by their misunderstanding; that they ought to find out means of satisfying the Senecas for the murder of Annehac, which occurred last fall in the village of the Kiskakons, in order that the Iroquois may have less cause to evince his resentment against them.

And having afterwards asked the Kiskakons if they had considered and reflected on the matter, they spread a small mat in the middle of the room, and placed thereon a little boy between 8 and 9 years of age, with a belt of Wampum before him and a robe of beaver on his body; and (addressing Onontio) said that, being innocent of Annehac's death, inasmuch as he

was killed by an Ilinois, they did not pretend to owe other satisfaction to the Senecas than the belts they placed in the hands of the Hurons to be given them, to mark thereby the displeasure they felt at the occurrence of that accident in their cabin. However, they presented Onontio, moreover, with this Slave,[1] to do with him as he saw fit.

The Count, rejecting this present, replied: It was not to him they ought to make satisfaction, but to the Senecas, who would justly reject, as he had done, this little Slave were he offered to them as an equivalent for the loss of so great a Captain as Annehac, and that they would not fail to throw him into the war-kettle, the better to season it; that they had come very late, and with very little, and that they ought to have gone early in the spring to the Seneca to settle this matter; that they must bethink themselves now of greater satisfaction, and deliberate on it among themselves, and that he would send for them in the course of two or three days to learn their resolution; that, nevertheless, he would permit them to trade after dinner, to-morrow, for arms and clothing they were in need of, after they had, as was the custom, paid in the forenoon their debts.

The 18th August, 1682.

The Count having caused notice to be given to the Chiefs of the Kiskakons, Hurons and the two Miamis to attend on Tuesday morning, the 18th August, in Sieur Patron's room, he inquired, through M. de Saint Paul, of the Kiskakons whether, according to what had been told them the last time, they had conferred together and agreed as to what they had to offer to the Senecas for the death of Annehac.

After remaining some time without speaking, and looking at each other, the Kiskakons answered No; and the Hurons, being interrogated wherefore they had not done so, replied that they expected the Kiskakons would have spoken first to them about it; the matter regarding these more than it did them. The Kiskakons having afterwards avowed that they had done wrong, added, that they had nothing more to offer than the belts which the Hurons had carried to the Senecas, to whom they ought to have been given in behalf of both nations.

The Count, surprised at this answer, represented that they had not well reflected thereon, and that he should be sorry were affairs to become embroiled and in a worse condition through want of forethought, and exhorted and pressed them to confer forthwith the one with the other. And some time after Noncheka had conferred in private with those of his nation, he resumed speaking, and said that the position in which they found themselves was worse than war; inasmuch as, believing themselves to be at peace, and entertaining no suspicion, they were daily exposed to the hostilities of the Iroquois, who was raising the hatchet over them, without their daring to repel the blows, out of respect to their father Onontio, who had forbidden them to do anything to him because he was his child. But being a disobedient and an evil disposed child, they could not believe that Onontio, their father, had given him the power to kill his brothers, the Outauaes, who are equally his children; that they requested him not to hold their arm any longer, and to permit them to repel force by force.

The Count having replied that they must first begin by consulting about healing and staunching the wound of Annehac, killed in their own cabin; he should then look to restraining the hatchet of the Iroquois.

[1] The Indian captives were thus called. — Ed.

Noncheka replied, that the Kiskakons had not committed this murder; that it was the Ilinois, and it would not be just that Onontio should oblige them to give new satisfaction to the Iroquois, who had never given any to the Miamis, their brethren, whom he had killed on divers occasions.

Whereupon, Alimahoué, Captain of the Miamis, having risen and left his place, spoke with vehemence in the centre of the assembly, and said that so much talk was unnecessary; that he was brother to the Kiskakons and the Hurons; that he carried them both in his heart, and held each of them by the hand, without wishing to abandon them; that the Iroquois was a traitor, who had killed them whilst pretending to be their friend; that he who was speaking had also been bit by him, and had suffered up to the present moment without saying a word; but he was weary of this, and wished not only to bite them in his turn but also to eat them, and to go in quest of them, begging Onontio to hinder him not.

The Hurons, evincing more reserve, or daring not to explain themselves in such a large assembly, said they would speak another time.

And the Count, continuing always to exhort them to adopt mild means, insisted that it was not necessary to come to the last extremity before he had seen the Iroquois, whom, as he had already stated, he had appointed to meet at Fort Frontenac, to propose to them the satisfaction they were willing to give for the death of Annehac; that he would not desist from urging them to reflect on it; to consider the benefits accruing from peace, and the evils to result from war, if once enkindled; and took leave of them until after dinner, when he would confer with them more particularly.

The 19th August, 1682.

The chiefs of the Kiskakons, to the number of three, to wit, Noncheka, Oneské and Assongoïsa, the Hurons, to the same number, to wit, Soüaïti, called the Rat, Ondahiastechen, Burnt tongue *(la langue bruslée)*, and Oskoüendeti, the Runner, and the two Miamis, who were to attend the preceding afternoon at the underground and secret conference in the Count's chamber, having come only the next morning, 19th August, the Count gave the first and the last to understand, through M. de St. Paul, and the remainder, through M. Lemoine, that they were in a place where whatever might be said would be kept secret, so that each could express his opinion with confidence and freely discuss the present business, by agreeing as to what reparation they proposed making for the murder of Annenhac. After these eight Deputies had conferred in private together for some time, Noncheka declared anew that they could not do any more than they had done; that the Hurons had carried belts from them to the Senecas to bury this affair; that the Iroquois had not given any satisfaction for the Miamis whom they had killed on four different occasions; that it would not be in accordance with the justice and goodness that Onontio had always entertained for his children to allow them to be choked without defending themselves; that they were determined to let the Iroquois see that their insults were endured solely out of respect, they always entertained, for Onontio; they therefore requested him to keep their arms bound no longer, and to consider that an open war would be less prejudicial to them, because it would oblige them to keep themselves on their guard, as their present position did not allow them to adopt any precautions.

Alimahoué, a Miami Captain, supported the same opinion with still more energy; and the Hurons, though they did not explain themselves so forcibly, nevertheless declared, through

Soüaïae, that they would not separate themselves, either from the one or from the other, and would remain united to the Kiskakons against the attacks of the Iroquois.

The Count, seeing by these unanimous opinions that affairs were not in a fair train of arrangement, expressed the pain he felt in conseqence, and, as the common father of the Outauois and Iroquois, that he must be greatly grieved to behold his children set against one another; that he should have wished much they had patience, and had resolved to offer some satisfaction to the Iroquois, with which he should have endeavored to induce the latter to be satisfied at the interview he had appointed for them at Fort Frontenac, only with that view; and that the great Onontio of France, who believed all his children here to be at peace, would not be content should they wish to break it.

Nonteka and Alimahoué replied that their nations ought not to be accused of that; that the Iroquois had made them suffer too long a time, and that they must avenge themselves; reiterating to Onontio their entreaties to grant them permission, as they were determined on war.

But the Count declared to them that he could not give them that permission except on condition that they should confine operations to their own country—to repelling those who might come thither as enemies to attack them; that he would not consent to their going in quest of these to their own territory and villages; so that if the Iroquois, continuing to have an evil disposed spirit, were desirous to attack and molest them, he did not prevent them defending themselves, and he should also order the French who are in their country to unite with them to repel and drive him off; but he should forbid them following him, to fire into his cabin or elsewhere, until the Count should have advised the great Onontio of France, who would send his orders next year, and acquaint him what meaus he should use to chastise the Iroquois.

Meanwhile, the best advice he could give them at present was, to live together in good union and correspondence, especially the Kiskakons and the Hurons, who were neighbors, and each of them to fortify their villages, in order to defend themselves and mutually aid each other against those who should undertake to come and attack them; that they ought to send the Belt around to all the Outaouais tribes; to the Nippsingues, the people *du Sable*, the Outaouae Sinagos, the Malomenis, the Poux,[1] the Puans, the Sakis, the Nokets,[2] the Outagamis, the Kikapoux, the Ilinois, the Miamis, the Maskoutens, to warn them to be on their guard, and to advise them of their resolution to resist the insults and hostilities of the Iroquois, and of the alliance they had entered into for that purpose with the Miamis.

That he had to warn them of one thing, namely, that the great Onontio of France, esteeming frankness and valor, had a mortal aversion to those who would use deception and bad faith towards their allies, and never pardoned traitors, so that if any nation among them were so dastardly as to betray its brethren, and, under pretext of alliance and friendship, deliver them to the common enemy, as the great Onontio was the master of the entire earth, he would send orders to hunt them in every country in the world, as much as was possible, to seize them there and punish them more vigorously than their most cruel enemies could do.

Therefore, to oblige them to remain well united and to live in good intelligence, the Count made some presents to those three nations, telling the Miami to remember his alliance, and to be the bond of union between the Hurons and the Kiskakons.

[1] Poutawatamies.

[2] A small tribe which came originally from the shores of Lake Superior and settled to the N. W. of Lake Michigan, on what is still called, after them, *Nocquet* Bay.—Ed.

The 20th August, 1682.

Thursday, the 20th August, the Chiefs of these three nations, being ready to embark, came in the morning to take the letters with which the Count told them the evening before he should entrust them to be delivered to the Jesuit fathers who are Missionaries in their country, to whom he communicated the resolutions adopted in the Conferences, and transmitted orders as to what the French were to do in case of rupture. And after the Chiefs had again testified their joy at being at liberty to defend themselves, and had promised to continue always well united, they requested Onontio to give them the plan of the forts they were to erect in their villages immediately on their return; these having been drawn up on the spot and delivered to them, he recommended, and made them promise that, even if they met any Iroquois on their route, they would not commit any hostility; whereupon they departed better satisfied than they had appeared to be in the voyages of former years, and assured Onontio that they would request the Fathers not to open their letters to make known the secret except in presence of the Deputies of all the Outaoüais Nations, whom they would invite to attend at the reading thereof, in order to be better informed of Onontio's intentions, and to be better able to conform themselves thereto.

Conference between Count de Frontenac and a Deputy from the Five Nations.

Speech of the Delegate from the Five Iroquois Nations to Count de Frontenac, on the 11th September, 1682.

Tegannisoren, an Onondaga Chief, who four years ago assumed the name of Niregouentaron, which the late prince his grandfather bore, stated to the Count, in the audience at Montreal on the 11th September, 1682, Mr. Le Moyne acting as Interpreter, and said that he was deputed by the Whole House, that is, the Five Iroquois Nations, and had been sent to Fort Frontenac, thinking to find Onontio there, but not meeting him he had resolved to come to Montreal, where he had been assured by M. De la Forest, with whom he came down, that he should find him.

That it was to say that Sieur Delamarque having come in the winter to Onontagué on behalf of Onontio, who was aware that they were sharpening their hatchet, had stopped them and held their arm until the spring, when he told them to come to Fort Frontenac to hear his voice.

The Count replied, and caused to be said, that he had appointed a rendezvous for the Deputies of all the Iroquois nations, not for the Spring but for the Summer, at the end of August, and at the time when Niregouentaron had come to the fort.

Niregouentaron, without insisting any more on the difference of the time, continued his Speech, and said, that his children, the Iroquois, entertaining respect for the will of Onontio, their father, had resolved to hear his voice, and without paying attention to all the idle rumors which circulated, had remained at home and would have requested him to advance in his big canoe to Ochoueguen.[1]

[1] Oswego.

That the Ambassadors sent on horseback by the English to invite them to Albany had returned without accomplishing any thing, as they were told that the Iroquois had to listen to the voice of their father, Onontio.

That he is sent to learn and to know his word, in order to bear it to the Whole House, which is uneasy because it had not seen him.

That they all knew that Onontio, their father, had lighted the Council fire; that they all had brought their sticks to it; that they were desirous to keep it alive there in order that it may never die, and that the people who will come under ground might always see this fire which has been lighted by their father, its author and parent; that the reason for his coming here is that he wishes for peace, and that the children, in growing up and becoming big, may believe that this fire will burn forever, and he requests Onontio that it endure.

That the big canoe which Onontio keeps at the fort—that is, the bark which he has caused to be built there—is to right the other canoes in case they upset.

That they cannot move and paddle their canoes, because all the trees, being in sap, are unfit to be stripped of their bark to make canoes.

This is the reason he has been sent to the fort to request Onontio to have his big canoe moved to their side.

And he asked if the letters he had brought from Father de Lamberville did not say the same thing that he did.

The Count answered that this father referred to what he should say, and advised generally that he was the bearer of good tidings; and he expected to be told what these are.

Whereupon he said that he would give Onontio a good remedy to cure him of all his pains; that is to say, all the suspicions which Onontio might entertain of their conduct, and that it was prepared by the Whole House.

And he drew forth a Belt of Wampum, which he held some time between his hands, saying that it was to fetch his big canoe and to draw Onontio into the river of Ochoueguen.

That though the bark come, it will not prevent the fire burning always at the fort.

That, to prevent the bark being agitated when it will arrive at Ochoueguen, they will prop it with strong trees.

That they do not wish to make war on the Kiskakons nor on the Hurons, neither on the Miamis, but will defend themselves if they strike first.

And having drawn forth a fathom or two of white stringed wampum, he said, that it was to inform all the French chiefs to remember what Onontio had recommended, not to place any confidence in the evil reports circulated by ill-disposed spirits, and to kick them from them, as he did.

That he was authorized, by the Whole House, to say what he had stated to Onontio, and to know and carry back his answer, and that he is very happy to speak here at Montreal to Onontio, whom he expected to find at the fort.

That he pays no attention to what evil-disposed minds, in different cabins, may say, but will rely solely on what Onontio will tell him.

That 'tis true they are ready to depart—and not explaining against whom they would march, the Count asked him against whom were they going? To which he answered, that it was against the Ilinois.

The Count regretted hearing him to-day name the Ilinois, since, when at la Chine, at Culerier's, who acted as interpreter, he had told them that their hatchet was indeed raised,

but that he was coming to advise Onontio thereof, and would not let it fall without his permission.

And having replied that he had not said so, and that the interpreter must not have correctly understood him; he, however, added afterwards that, being a man with two arms and two hands, one for peace and another for war, he had run through the Whole House to persuade them not to undertake any thing without first having heard Onontio's word, and to reject all evil reports; and concluded by saying, that was all he had to state.

The Count answered he had a two-fold joy at seeing him come. First, because he had brought news which could not fail to be very pleasing, since it made known to him the feelings of respect and gratitude his children continued to entertain towards Onontio, their father.

Secondly, because of the choice the Chiefs had made of a person so well qualified as he was for affairs of peace as well as for war.

That he might add a third, which was that he bore the name of Niregouentaron, who, as well as his wife, and his niece whom Onontio had adopted as his daughter, had been his particular friend; and as he had resuscitated that name, he resuscitated also in him the affection he cherished for the deceased.

That he could perceive by the treatment he experienced that his visit was agreeable.[1] Let him then take courage and rejoice, and he should be always well entertained.

[1] The Count made him dine at his own table.

That Onontio would, to-morrow, give him his answer to carry to all his children, the Iroquois.

That he would send for the Indians of the Mountain, and those of the Saut who may be at Montreal, to inform them of the Message he had brought from the Five Nations, and to learn also the answer which Onontio would send by him.

Count de Frontenac's Answer to the Speech of the Deputy from the Five Iroquois Nations. 12 September, 1682.

In the audience Count de Frontenac granted Niregouentaron, Captain of Onontagué and deputy of the five Iroquois Nations, on the said day, the 12th 7ber, 1682, at Montreal, in Sieur Patron's room, he gave him to understand through Mr Lemoine, who acted as interpreter and spoke in the name of Onontio, as follows:

Son Niregouentaron! I shall not repeat to-day the joy I feel at thy coming, and on perceiving that the whole house hath deputed to me a member of a family for whom I entertained a special friendship, and who likewise ever entertained a strong affection for me; who is no less qualified for Council than for War, and with whom I can securely treat on business, because he will hearken attentively to my words, will understand my reasons, and be able to report them with exactness to the entire house.

But before telling thee those things I wish to entrust to thee, I shall be glad that all the Indians from the Montreal Mountain and the Saut St Louis, who are here present, were made acquainted with the words you addressed to me yesterday, and that they might hear likewise what I have to answer thereunto.

Acossen,[2] tell them, then, what passed yesterday, which I caused to be written down in thy presence, so that nothing may be altered. Listen attentively, My Son, and thou shalt see that they are the same words.

[2] That is, Mr. Lemoine.

What Niregouentaron said yesterday was read.

You perceive, My Son, that Acossen has stated all you said yesterday. He must also explain all the efforts I used, since the occurrence of the unfortunate death of Annenhac which happened last fall among the Kiskakons, in order that the Five Nations may hear my voice and be exhorted to suspend their resentment, and to take no step to avenge that death before we have conferred together thereupon.

The Narrative of Lamarque's Mission was read.

It was stated that Onontio sent Sieur de Lamarque to all the tribes, though the season was very far advanced, and it was no longer possible to reach their villages in canoes, but only by land, which he could not effect without a great deal of labor and fatigue, having been three months on his journey. This proves that Onontio takes pains, like a good father, to put to rights and to clean the hearth whenever it begins to be dirty.

It was afterwards impressed on Niregouantaron's recollection that the said Lamarque never, on the part of Onontio, authorized the expectation that he would repair to Fort Frontenac at the first running of the sap, but only at the second; and that it was they who had made that request of him, and also that Onontio should go up then as far as Techoueguen; but that he had always given them to understand that he could not do so by those who have carried them the second message.[1]

That he had many objections to granting them the request they had made, the principal of which are:

1st. Because the council fire had been always lighted at the fort; that all the Nations had brought their wood thither to keep it alive, and that he could not have it kindled elsewhere without giving them reason to believe that he wished to extinguish it at that place.

2d. Because he wished first to see the Kiskakons and Tionontatés, in order to be better informed of the manner in which the accident had occurred, and to be able to acquaint them also of the circumstances.

3d. Because he foresaw that, by complying with their request, it would be impossible for him to do what he intended, which was to speak to the Whole House—that is, the Five Nations—since the Senecas, who were the most interested in the affair, could not come to the fort at the first running of the sap, being engaged hunting too far in the interior of the country.

That if Onontio did not go to the fort in the month of August, as he had told them, it was owing to themselves and the diversity of opinions which prevailed among them; one party, such as the Ontagués, wishing him to go to Téchoueguen, near their village, and the Senecas insisting that they should meet at the fort, as he appointed, that being the place where the fire was lighted.

The House ought not be surprised at not having seen Onontio, nor find it strange that you come again and bring him a belt to serve for a cable to draw him alongside your village. He tells you anew that the fire being lighted at the fort, and you, yourself, having yesterday so urgently requested him, by your last speech, to keep it burning always there, he could not light it elsewhere without it running the risk of being extinguished.

That in addition to this reason, which ought to suffice, the House must recollect that it is not for children to designate the place where they desire to see their father, but for the father to assign to the children the place at which he wishes to speak to them.

[1] qu'il leur a toujours fait entendre qu'il ne le pouvait que par ceux qui leur ont porté les secondes paroles. The text is somewhat obscure. — Ed.

That this is what Onontio has done for ten years, without their failing to obey his voice.

That it would not be just that he should now change the custom, or that they should be less obedient.

That they ought to be obliged to him, and acknowledge his consideration for them in wishing to have his fire lighted at the fort, in taking the trouble to go thither almost every year, without making them come down to Quebec or Montreal, as was their custom when business was to be transacted with them, and in exposing himself to the fatigue and danger of ascending and descending the rapids, in order to spare them that trouble, of which Niregouentaron is now aware by his own experience.

That Onontio cannot, then, believe, if the Whole House entertain for him the consideration and friendship you assure him of, that the proposal you make to him to go to Techoueguen can be intended for this year, the season being so far advanced, the length of the voyage so uncertain, the squalls of wind so frequent, and the cold so near that the shores of the lake might be frozen, and the return of the bark into the harbor of the fort thereby prevented.

First word. A Belt of Wampum.

That, therefore, all that Onontio can at present tell you to say to the House by this belt, which he places in your hands to carry to it, is, that he is much rejoiced that you assure him of the continuation of its friendship towards the French and of its obedience to its father, as well as of its disposition to live at peace with the Kiskakons, the Tionontatés, and the Miamis, regarding them as its brothers and the children of Onontio, their common father. This he will again lay before the Whole House more fully next spring and at the first flowing of the sap, when he promises to repair to the fort; regretting deeply that the interview cannot take place now, in consequence of the great difficulties which, at this season, prevent him going to the other side of the lake, or his children coming to meet him at the fort in sufficient time to allow them to return to their villages.

Nevertheless he exhorts them by this Belt to remain always at peace, and not to soil nor dirty the earth any more; to wait with patience until they confer together, when they may be able finally to eject whatever bad stuff might have remained in the stomach.

Second word. Another Belt of Wampum.

That Onontio is already half cured of whatever pain he might have felt, by the assurance you give him of your willingness to entertain good intelligence hereafter with your Brothers, the Kiskakons, the Tionontatez and the Miamis; but he does not know why you will not completely relieve his mind by promising him to cease the war against the Ilinois.

That you must recollect that they, being likewise of the number of his Children, are consequently your brothers, and that it will give him great pain, he being the common father, to see them killing each other, without preventing them or being able to make peace between them.

That it is a part of the prudence and care of a father for his children to warn the Whole House that it is very difficult to observe that friendship and good understanding which it says it is desirous of preserving with the Kiskakons, Tionontatés and Miamis, whilst continuing the war against the Ilinois with whom the former have such intimate bonds of relationship, alliance and friendship, as they have promised themselves for a long time.

That as Onontio has given permission to several Frenchmen to go trading to those parts, it will be difficult for the House to distinguish and separate them from those other nations among

whom they would be found intermingled; this will expose affairs to further embarrassment and give Onontio new and more acute pain.

He therefore cannot sufficiently impress on his children, the Iroquois, not to undertake anything without considering well all the inconveniences and evil consequences which may follow on the one side and on the other.

That they ought to be satisfied with their success last year against the Ilinois, as it is a proof of their valor and courage.

That war does not bring success always to those who commence it; that it has its reverses as well as other things, and that it often happens to him who was the conqueror to be afterwards conquered.

That if, notwithstanding the advice and warnings Onontio gives them, they persist in their original resolve and continue the war without obtaining favorable success, let them remember, at least, that having foreseen all the accidents to result therefrom, he has never given his consent to it; on the contrary, that he has always recommended them not to undertake anything, but to have patience; that when they shall meet next spring they may mutually consider a remedy Onontio will prepare for them on his side, as you assure him his children, the Iroquois, will do on their part also.

Third Word. Third Belt of Wampum in form of a Chain.

But in order that you may be the better able to stay this hatchet, which you say is raised and suspended in the air, here is a Chain to bind it, and to prevent the arms of the warriors letting it fall.

You will accomplish this with greater ease if you remember what you said to Onontio respecting the Chain on the day before yesterday, though it was only at a private entertainment; that was, that this hatchet would never fall without his permission.

That the death of Annenhac must be regarded simply as an accident of which the Kiskakon was guiltless, inasmuch as he did not strike the blow; that moreover, though it was an Ilinois struck it, this ought only be considered a private quarrel between two individuals, in which the whole nation ought not to interest itself. Take yourself for an example: suppose that, being to-day among the French, it should happen that you might have a quarrel with some one and kill him, or be killed; it would not follow that the entire nation ought to assume a part in that quarrel.

Make use, then, if necessary, of these arguments when you will have returned to the House; these are the same that Onontio used last fall on the first news of the accident at Missilimakinac; and as you have always assured him that, though a great Chief, you would not fail to direct your mind to peace, when you could obtain it, employ your care and influence to procure for Onontio the satisfaction of beholding all his children at peace, and abstaining from War.

Fourth Word. A jacket with gold facings, a shirt, a pair of stockings, a hat, a pair of shoes, a black silk cravat with gold edgings, a scarlet ribbon, a gun, some powder and ball.

And to increase the desire which you said you felt to come down to Montreal to see Onontio, as your overcoat might have been torn in the Rapids, your shirt, shoes and stockings worn out, and your gun broken, here are others your father gives you to wear for love of him,

assuring you he will always love you as long as you will have a mind as upright as you manifest to him.

Fifth word. Two packages of glass beads.

Here also are some beads, which Onontio gives you for the wife of the deceased prince, and for your sister who is at the fort, and whom, you know, Onontio adopted as his daughter, in order that they may remember him until he shall see the former at the meeting next spring at the fort, whither he invites her, when he will have it in his power to give her greater evidence of his friendship, and also bewail there the death and cover the grave of Oniacony, the father of the latter.

A scarlet cloth *(une brayes)*, trimmed with gold, and a shift were likewise given to Niregouentaron for his daughter, for whom he evinces great love.

Major de la Forest to Count de Frontenac.

Letter of Sieur Delaforest, Major of Fort Frontenac, to My Lord Count de Frontenac, on the departure of Niregouataron, the Iroquois deputy, of the 16th 7ber, 1682.

My Lord,

I cannot sufficiently express to you the sentiment of gratitude felt by Teganesseren who is so well satisfied with the cordial reception you have given him, so surprised at the good cheer and valuable present with which you have honored him, that he is very impatient to arrive at his village to convey the news thereof to his whole house. He has requested me to inform you that he will not omit any circumstance that you have stated to him, and that he will acquaint father de Lamberville of what consequence it is that the Whole House have a knowledge of your sentiments, and that nothing be omitted of what you ordered him to tell them. Though it blows strong from the Southwest, we embark in order to be prepared to cross over at the moment the wind abates ever so little. I have three Frenchmen in my canoe, who promise to convey me to the fort in five days, if we have fine weather. By these I shall send the Indian to his village. He speaks continually of you, my Lord; that your speeches are pleasing, and that he was fortunate in being selected to convey the message to you, and that he shall remember Onontio as long as he lives. As we are five in my canoe, I can carry only six *minots* of flour. The canoe which follows me brings more. This will be sufficient, and furnish enough until some more be ground. If I learn any news of M. Delasalle, I shall communicate them to you. I request you, my Lord, to be fully persuaded of the execution of what you have recommended to me at parting, and that I am, with profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

(Signed) DELAFOREST.

State of Indian Affairs on the departure of Count de Frontenac. 1682.

Memoir, to illustrate the situation in which Count de Frontenac left Canada, in regard to the Indians, and principally the Iroquois.

No artifices have been left unemployed by Foreigners to attract to themselves the Beaver trade which the French pursue in Canada. Being preserved for the last ten years solely by the establishment of Fort Frontenac, situate at the northern extremity of Lake Ontario, every effort has been made to destroy that post, by continually exciting the jealousies of the Iroquois in its vicinity, and fain persuading them that it was a barrier which too closely confined them.

This nation, moreover very warlike, also aims at the subjugation of all the others, and at making itself feared by them, so that there is no difficulty in persuading it to go to war and to avenge itself when it has any cause therefor. This obliged Count de Frontenac, at the close of October, 1681, when he heard of the murder of a Seneca Chief, killed in the preceding month at Missilimakinac, in a private quarrel with an Illinois, to send forthwith to the Iroquois to make them suspend whatever resentment they might feel at this death until he should speak with them, desiring them, with this view, to repair at the end of August to Fort Frontenac, giving them to hope for satisfaction on the part of the Kiskakons, amongst whom the occurrence happened, and whom he would by that time have seen at Montreal, where they are in the habit of coming annually at that season. He advised the court thereof in his despatches of the month of November of the same year, 1681, after having conferred thereupon with Mr. Duchesneau and the Jesuit fathers.

Meanwhile, though the rendezvous for the Iroquois had been designated at Fort Frontenac for the end of August, it was represented to them that it was for the Spring, and they were persuaded to request Mr. de Frontenac to visit them at the first running of the sap, not at Fort Frontenac, but at Techoüegen, at the mouth of the Onondaga river, where their principal Village lies, or at some other place on the south side of the Lake, in the supposition that, were the invitation not accepted, they would become angry on account of his refusal, which was anticipated, and take occasion to resent it, either on the French who had given it, or, at least, on the Illinois.

Monsieur de Frontenac, advised of their demand by letters from Father de Lamberville, the Superior of the Iroquois missions, did not think proper to alter his original resolution, inasmuch as his consent, appearing to him contrary to the dignity of his character, would have rendered them more haughty, and caused them to imagine that he was afraid of them; since it would be going to seek them in their country instead of their coming to find him, as they had, up to that time, always done at the places he had designated for them. That it would, moreover, be far more expensive to make that journey in safety and in a becoming style; and it would, also, have been useless at that season, not having been able to see the Kiskakons, nor to ascertain what satisfaction these were willing to make the Iroquois for the death of their chief. Therefore, when informing that Father of a few of those reasons, he requested him to endeavor to remove from their minds the idea that he would repair to any other place than Fort Frontenac. But before sending him that answer, he communicated his letter and all the opinions he had received from other quarters to Mr. Duchesneau, whose sentiments he was very happy to obtain in writing, as well as those of the principal of the Jesuit Fathers, who are best informed of the manners of these Savages.

It can be ascertained, by the opinions of the one and the other, whether what was proposed was more suitable than what was concluded.

Father de Lamberville wrote anew that some of the principal Chiefs of the Iroquois, the most attached to the French, insisted continually that Mr. de Frontenac should repair to the south shore of the lake, at the end of May, and that, otherwise, they could not answer for their young braves not undertaking some aggression, or going, at least, against the Illinois, which would be very prejudicial to Sieur de Lasalle's discovery. As this second advice came with the others he had received, to the effect that he ought to take more precaution than in the other voyages, so as not to be exposed to any insult on the part of the Iroquois, some of whom, contrary to their custom, spoke very insolently, he advised Father de Lamberville that the time was too short to assemble the deputies of the Five Nations at Fort Frontenac in the spring; but if any of their chiefs were willing to come to see him at Montreal, he would go thither in the month of June, to speak to them and to await the Kiskakons, in order to go up to Fort Frontenac after he should have seen them and ascertained what satisfaction they were disposed to make.

Meanwhile, he caused more frequent reviews to be made in the neighborhood of Quebec and Montreal, where he sent arms and munitions of war, doubting not but the Iroquois and our neighbors would forthwith hear of it, and know thereby that the French would be on their guard, and prepared to receive those who would come to attack them.

He went afterwards to Montreal, had grain collected in order constantly to make manifest his intention to go to the fort, and with a larger escort than usual.

Notwithstanding these preparations, which might give the Indians reason to reflect, as those who were urging them to break with us were mainly seeking but to embroil affairs one way or the other, in the hope, if they could not oblige the Iroquois to be the first to declare war against us or our allies, that M. de Frontenac would commence hostilities, they caused some Iroquois to pillage on the North shore of the Lake some merchandise the French of the fort were conveying in a canoe to trade, as was their custom, at Seneca; the Indians seized some, also, on board the bark of the fort. Sieur de Laforêt, who is Major of that place, having gone afterwards to complain thereof to the Senecas, could not obtain any satisfaction, and returned without any one being willing to trade beaver for his goods. Two Indians were forced to avow publicly in their Council that they would not only go against the Illinois, but would attack even the French and likewise Sieur de Lasalle, should they meet him, adding insulting remarks against the person of M. de Frontenac, under the impression, created by those who urged them on, that the affair being reported to him he would feel piqued at it, and would resent and chastise them accordingly.

But instead of being affected hereby, concluding that it was a mere artifice of persons who by underground presents were influenced to make such speeches, and that they attacked the property of the people belonging to the fort, and were inimical to Sieur de Lasalle only on account of the protection M. de Frontenac extended to him in his discoveries, he resolved to continue his preparations and to take some precautions against the expeditions of the Iroquois; though, in truth, he did not believe that they entertained all the evil designs which were reported, inasmuch as for the last ten years they had invariably testified towards him both friendship and great submission.

And in order to do something which might come to their ears, he did not keep secret the new protection he had granted to all the Outaoüais Nations of the West, and the permission he had given them to construct new forts for their defence against all who might attack

them. He even proposed to Mr Dollier, Superior of the Seminary, to which the Island of Montreal belongs, to accompany him and Mr Perrot, Governor of that Island, the Major and others, in a tour around it to examine and mark the places where it would be proper to construct redoubts, for the concentration of the inhabitants, the better to protect them against the hostilities of the Iroquois.

But in commencing the tour of the Island of Montreal, he met Sieur de Laforest, Major of fort Frontenac, who was coming to see him [with] one of the principal war chiefs of Onondaga, whom the five Iroquois Nations had deputed, with four others, to the said fort, under the impression that M. de Frontenac would be found there, to assure him that they were desirous to live always in good understanding and friendship, not only with the French, but also with all the Outaoüacs, Kiskakons, Tionnontatés and others.

By the report of what transpired in the conferences with that deputy, and in those previously held with the Kiskakons and the Tionnontatés, these things will be more fully seen; also, whether M. de Frontenac was not borne out in declining to proceed on the repeated applications made to him by Mr. Duchesneau in several letters, as may be seen principally by that of the 28th July, 1682; and in observing the conduct he had followed at that interview, in which another, less respected among the Savages and less conversant with their manners and the intrigues of the country, might have committed himself to much useless expense, and adopted measures prejudicial to the Colony.

Reverend Father de Lamberville to Count de Frontenac.

Onondaga, this 20th September, 1682.

My Lord,

I received by Boquet the letters you were at the trouble to write me. I found therein a duplicate of the one I received a month ago, and which I had the honor to answer by Tegannissoren, who went with a Belt of Wampum to you, to draw your Canoe to the South shore of lake Frontenac. Had you been able to come here, assuredly your voyage would not have been without advantage; you could, at least, have saved the Oumiamis, one of whom, a prisoner, had been reserved for you. They will, most probably, be all destroyed, for though the brunt of the war must fall on the Illinois, the Oumiamis will be swept away, in passing along, and perhaps some other tribe of the bay des Puans; for, under the name of Illinois, the mischief-makers comprise the Oumiamis, the Pouteatimies, the Ousakis, etc. The Iroquois only wait for your Word. Though you could not have stayed the lightning that is about to strike the Illinois, some, nevertheless, entertained opinions conformable to yours, and told me that every thing would depend on what you would say; you would have been the preserver of the Oumiamis, whom I consider lost for want of a word from Onontio, who might have spoken to them, and whom they still expect.

Whatever Tegannissoren will relate here on his return will be attentively listened to, and that will be the crisis of affairs this year. It is he that I believe I named Nirégouentaron to you in my last. He loves the French; but neither he nor any other of the Upper Iroquois

fears them in the least, and they are all ready to pounce upon Canada on the first provocation they will receive.

Several insults which they have offered to the French, without any satisfaction being forced from them, persuade them that they are feared. They profit every year by our losses. They annihilate our allies, whom they convert into Iroquois, and hesitate not to avow that after they shall have enriched themselves by our plunder, and strengthened themselves by those who might have aided us, they will pounce all at once on Canada, and overwhelm it in a single campaign. They have reinforced themselves during this and the preceding year by more than Nine hundred warriors *(fusiliers)*.

Indians who have come from the fort have publicly stated here that you, the Intendant and M. Perrot, were recalled to France by the King. I answered, if that were so, you would, perhaps, make it known by Niregouentaron, who will bring your answer to their belt, and your orders. Though I had learned from another source that such a rumor prevailed, I did not wish to confirm it until I should have received your final orders in the capacity of Governor, if it be true that we are about to lose you.

In any case, My Lord, permit me to tell you that assuredly some person has belied us to you on two or three occasions, and that I have been sufficiently unfortunate as to have been included by him among the number of [1] those who, as well as myself, have never entertained a thought except to second, by our very feeble power, all the good intentions you have had and do still entertain towards Canada. What I did very recently, in order that a Oumiamis may be presented and sold to you, is a signal instance thereof; but the past is past, and I do not believe that you ever placed much reliance on the various representations which were made to you without sufficient foundation.

Permit me, if you please, My Lord, to renew here all the respect which I owe you, and all the thanks I have tendered to you and still must present for the various civilities you have been so good as to honor me with up to the present time, praying God, if the sea separates us, that I may at least have the happiness to be united eternally with you near the King of Kings.

This is the most substantial good that I can wish you as well as myself, who am, in truth and with much submission,

My Lord,

Your very humble and very
obedient servant,
(Signed) DE LAMBERVILLE.

Allow me, My Lord, if you please, to present here my most humble respects to Madame the Countess. My brother sends you, once more, his duty, which he begs you, most humbly, to accept.

[1] "your enemies. I beg to assure you, My Lord, that the gentlemen thus misrepresented are among the number of" A line such as this seems to have been omitted in the text. — ED.

Conference on the State of Affairs with the Iroquois.

At the Meeting held the tenth October, 1682, composed of the Governor, the Intendant, the Bishop of Quebec, M. Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, at Montreal, the Rev. Fathers Beschefer, Superior, D'Ablon and Fremin, Jesuits, the Major of the City, Messrs. de Varenne, Governor of Three Rivers, de Brussy, Dalibout, Duguet, Lemoine, Ladurantais, Bizard, Chailly, Vieuxpont, Duluth, de Sorel, Derpentigny, Berthier and Boucher.

It is proposed by the Governor that it is easy to infer, from the records Count de Frotenac was pleased to deposit in his hands of what had passed at Montreal on the 12 Sept. last between him and the Iroquois Deputy from Onontagué, that these people are inclined to follow the object of their enterprize, which is to destroy all the Nations in alliance with us, one after the other, whilst they keep us in uncertainty and with folded arms; so that, after having deprived us of the entire fur trade, which they wish to carry on alone with the English and Dutch established at Manate and Orange, they may attack us isolated, and ruin the Colony in obliging it to contract itself and abandon all the detached settlements, and thus arrest the cultivation of the soil, which cannot bear grain nor hay except in quarters where it is of good quality.

As he is not informed in the short time since his arrival from France of the state of these tribes and of the Colony, he requests the gentlemen to acquaint him with all they know of these things, that he may inform his Majesty thereof, and represent the necessities of this Colony, for the purpose as well of averting this war as of terminating and finishing it advantageously, should it be necessary to wage it. Whereupon the Meeting, after being informed by the Revd Jesuit fathers of what had passed during five years among the Iroquois Nations, whence they had recently arrived, and by M. Dollier of what had occurred for some years at Montreal, remained unanimously and all of one accord, that the English have omitted nothing for four years to induce the Iroquois, either by a great number of presents or by the cheapness of provisions, and especially of guns, powder and lead, to declare war against us, and that the Iroquois have been two or three times ready to commence hostilities; but that having reflected that, should they attack us before they had ruined in fact the allied nations and their neighbors, those would rally, and, uniting together, fall on and destroy their villages whilst they were occupied against us, they judged it wiser to defer, and to amuse us whilst they were attacking those Nations; and having commenced operations, with that view, against the Ilinois last year, they had so great an advantage over them that, besides three or four hundred killed, they took nine hundred prisoners; therefore, should they march this year with a corps of twelve hundred well armed and good warriors, there was no doubt but they would exterminate the Illinois altogether, and attack, on their return, the Miamis and the Kiskakons, and by their defeat render themselves masters of Missilimackina and the Lakes Hérié and Huron, the Bay des Puans, and thereby deprive us of all the trade drawn from that country, by destroying at the same time all the Christian Missions established among those Nations; and therefore it became necessary to make a last effort to prevent them ruining those Nations, as they had formerly the Algonquins, the Andastez, the Loups (Mohegans), the Abenaquis and others, whose remains are dispered among us at the settlements of Sillery, Laurette, Lake Champlain and elsewhere. That to accomplish this object, the state of the Colony was to

be considered, as well as the means to be most usefully adopted against the enemy; as to the Colony, that we could bring together a thousand good men, bearing arms and accustomed to manage canoes like the Iroquois; but when drawn from their settlements, it must be considered that the cultivation of the soil would be arrested during the whole period of their absence, and that it is necessary, before making them march, to have supplies of provisions in places distant from the settlements, so as to support the men in the enemy's country for a length of time sufficient to effectually destroy that Nation, and that we should act no more by them as had been done seventeen years ago, partially frightening, without weakening them. That we have advantages now which we had not then; the French, accustomed to the Woods, acquainted with all the roads through them, and the route to Fort Frontenac open, so that we can fall in forty hours on the Senecas, the strongest of the five Iroquois Nations, who alone can furnish fifteen hundred warriors, well armed; that there must be provisions at Fort Frontenac, three or four vessels to load them and receive five hundred men on Lake Ontario, whilst five hundred others would go in Canoes and post themselves on the Seneca shore; but this expedition cannot succeed unless His Majesty aid with a small body of two or three hundred soldiers, to garrison Forts Frontenac and La Galette,[1] to escort provisions and keep the frontiers guarded and protected, whilst the interior would be deprived of its good soldiers; that a hundred or a hundred and fifty hired men, must be distributed among the settlements, to help those who will remain at home to cultivate the ground, in order that famine may not get into the land; and that funds are necessary to collect supplies and build two or three barks, without which, and Sieur de Lasalle's vessel, it is impossible to undertake anything of utility. That it is a war which is not to be commenced to be left unfinished, because knowing each other better than seventeen years ago, if it were to be undertaken without completing it, the conservation of the Colony is not to be expected, the Iroquois not being apt to retreat. That the failure of all aid from France had begun to create contempt for us among the said Iroquois, who believed that we were abandoned by the great Onontio, our Master; and if they saw us assisted by him, they would probably change their minds and let our allies be in peace, and consent not to hunt on their grounds, nor bring to the French all the peltries they trade at present with the English at Orange; and thus, by a small aid from his Majesty, we could prevent war and subjugate these fierce and hot spirits, which would be the greatest advantage that could be procured for the Country. That, meanwhile, it was important to arm the militia, and in this year of abundant harvest to oblige them to furnish themselves with guns, in order to be put to a good use when occasion required.

Done in the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers at Quebec, the day and year above stated.

Compared with the original remaining in my hands.

Le Fe Bure de Labarre.

[1] Now, Prescott, C. W. See p. 77. — Ed.

Abstract of Letters received from Canada.

M. de la Barre: 4th. 8ber, 1682. Order for arms—power of Governors—Troops and Fortifications.

He thinks that the Iroquois wait only the opportunity to attack the French after they shall have defeated our allies, against whom they are marching.

He believes that with a little assistance he can defeat them; is employed laying up provisions, and when reinforced by the assistance he requires, will march into their country with twelve hundred militia in the spring of 1684, and bring thither all the Indians who are at war with, to destroy, the enemy.

They are 2,600 brave and disciplined men, but a few cannon will give him a great advantage.

If they perceive that a reinforcement is to be sent him, he is of opinion they will make peace. The Nepiseriniens have asked him for aid and shelter against the fury of the Iroquois, who are marching against the Hurons, which he has granted them; three hundred of them had afterwards arrived at Montreal.

Some funds are required for the construction of a small storehouse at the landing, to receive munitions of war which are to be conveyed farther on.

12 November.

When he arrived, as will be seen by the Memoirs he sends with the duplicate of the deliberation of the principal persons of the country, Sieur de Frontenac was engaged preventing the war with the Iroquois.

The Dutch have furnished these with guns at half the price of ours, and also with powder and lead.

They number at present over 2,500 excellent warriors.

They must be estimated at 1,400 in the field *(en marche.)*

He cannot proceed against them with a small nor with a large force, without stores of provisions.

He has ordered one of wheat at Quebec and at Montreal, which will not cost the King anything.

He has caused pork to be salted, on which there will be some loss.

Will have 150 guns drawn from the store to pay in part for the salting of these provisions.

Cannot withdraw 600 or 1,000 men from the country without diminishing the cultivation of the land one-half and causing a famine, but is thinking of collecting the grain.

Urgently asks for 200 hired men to repair this evil; 4 companies of marines, with blank commissions, to lead the van and escort the convoys; funds for a magazine of provisions, and for building two barges and two boats.

Proposes to fit out a vessel or barge *(flute)* to convey the men, and to give the command of it to Sieur de Hombourg, son of the late Attorney-General, a good seaman, to whom a commission might be given of Captain of a fire-ketch or frigate, with 200 men and three barks on the lakes Frontenac and Erié, the Iroquois will be kept so close that all their hunting will be broken up, or they will be obliged to abandon their posts, and to fear the allies. This reinforcement must arrive at the end of August.

Demands likewise the arms and ammunition contained in the Memoir which he sends, without which the country is lost.

Has sent a canoe express to the Iroquois to inform them of his arrival, with presents to induce them to come to see him at Montreal. That canoe will cost 400 francs.

Has no doubt but the said Iroquois will attack the French in the Spring.

Begs that all possible succor be sent promptly.

Has need of an Indian Interpreter.

Proposes Vieux Pont, who is in Canada, and that he have the pay of a Reduced Captain.

30th May.

Has dispatched a bark expressly to give notice that he cannot avoid going to war with the Iroquois, and that he must attack them next season, in case they do not themselves begin this year.

The Onnontagués had promised to give notice to the four other nations to lay aside the hatchet against our allies, but he had advices by an express messenger that they had changed their minds, and seven to eight hundred had marched against the Kiskakons, Hurons, Outawacs and Miamis.

The Onnontagués, who had promised to come with the Deputies of the five nations to see him in the month of June, seemed to think no more of their word, saying they would try to come in the middle of July with the Deputies from the Mohawks and Oneidas, believing they could not bring those of the Senecas and Cayugas.

Has had advice that the Senecas were preparing, with the Cayugas, to attack the French at the end of Summer, being urged by the English, who are desirous to cut off completely the trade of the Outawas. But Sieur Le Moyne was going, on his part, to them, to endeavor to avert this storm.

The English have debauched a large body of French deserters, whom they hire to find out for them the route of the canoes, and to open a trade with those people.

If these deserters fall into his hands he will have them tried by the Council of War.

He had just visited all the frontier posts to place them in a state of defence, and to encourage the country which is greatly alarmed.

He was sending Sieur D'Orvilliers to fort Frontenac with some soldiers, in addition to those he had already sent thither.

If the Senecas be the first to attack the French they will place the country on the verge of ruin.

He will incur some expense insending up flour, cannon and powder for the supply of the posts.

It is absolutely necessary to attack the said Senecas, who number about 2,000, or abandon the country.

In addition to the 200 men aforesaid, he demands four hundred more, and some experienced, brave and prudent officers.

The bark which he has ordered built at Fort Frontenac is on the stocks.

He is getting bark canoes made in every direction.

Requests that there be sent with the troops pork, clothing for the soldiers and blankets for each of them.

Demands funds also.

The country up the river is good, and, if it be preserved, people will be satisfied with this Colony.

Proposes to write to the Duke of York on the subject of Manatte and Orange further aiding and stimulating the Iroquois against the French.

Proposes that some title be conferred on Sieur D'Orvilliers.

Sieur de Barillon[1]

Sends the extract of a letter from Sieur de la Barre, complaining that the English supply arms to the Iroquois, the enemies of the French, and the answer of Sieur Jankuni[2] thereunto.

Finances and Trade.

The Colony [is] bounded by the English, who seek only to carry off the Trade, and the post of Orange affords them the means.

They have sold a quantity of merchandise to the Iroquois at a loss.

The place and fort at Manatte, under the dominion of the English, are peopled by the Dutch, who afford the Indians whatever they require, cheaper than we, and take their beaver at its full value.

They say that the French did not trade with, but robbed them.

The first design of the Iroquois has been to seize the Trade by destroying our allies and those who sell us the Beaver.

They commenced last year with the Illinois, against whom they proceed again this season, and wish to destroy all the tribes inhabiting the bay des Puans.

To seize the Kiskakons, who occupy Missilimakinac, stop all communication with the South Western countries, and deprive the French of more than half their trade.

The Outawacs, seized with terror, have united with the Miamis in a deputation to Sieur de Frontenac, as may be seen by the documents which he sends.

No beaver has been obtained except by those licensed, and the Kiskakons only have brought any this year.

As for Hudson's Bay, the company of Old England has pushed some small posts along a river that communicates with Lake Superior.

Will prevent the continuance of this disorder.

Licenses to that quarter must be given to reliable persons.

Perrot has pursued some trade which has excited jealousy.

Those licenses will prevent the English diverting the beaver from French hands.

Does not think much of the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi by la Salle, and the representations concerning it do not appear to be of much utility, and are accompanied by a great deal of falsehood.

Has no inclination for discovery, but to render valuable what has been explored; to prevent the English ruining the trade and to subdue the Iroquois.

Sieur de Meulles: 12 November. Order for Arms—Power of Governors—Troops and Fortifications.

The Iroquois wish to make war on the Illinois, and have sent an ambassador to Sieur de Frontenac to assure him that they were desirous of preserving peace with the French, but he is nothing better than a spy.

[1] Ambassador from the Court of France to England. — Ed.

[2] Sir Lionel Jenkins. See III., 7, 8.

It will be easy for the first named to destroy, in detail, all those who will oppose the design they entertain to become masters of North America, and, assisted by the English and Dutch, to oblige the French to quit the colony.

Is necessitated to make preparations to resist them and to prevent them attacking the Iroquois,[1] without which the revenue from the beaver would be destroyed.

By erecting some small fort in the direction of the Iroquois, the Indians might be prevented carrying their Beaver to Boston and Orange.

2 June.

Agreeably to M. de la Barre's [plan] for the war to be made against the Iroquois, demands 1,000 cheap muskets and as many swords, to be distributed among the colonists at the same price as in France.

Finances and Trade.

The House named des Ilets may be made use of as a manufactory, where the Indian girls may learn to live after the fashion of the French peasants, whereas at the Ursulines they learn only to say prayers and to speak French.

They would lead their husbands to such mode of life as might bring them to support and maintain themselves.

At their marriage might be given them a cow, a hog, some corn, and a little flax seed, whereby they might subsist.

Instruction in reading, writing, and in their faith, would not be omitted.

Wishes to know what will be done for those who have more than 12 children.

The Bishop of Quebec: 12 November.

It is of importance not to impair the edict prohibiting Huguenots settling in Canada, and especially not to suffer them in Acadia.

Captain Brockholls to Governor de la Barre.

[Entries, Sec: Office, Albany; 1682, 1683; XXXIII., 80.]

A letter from Captain Brockholls to the Governour of Canada.

S^r^

Yours of the 1^st^ and 15^th^ Aprill past by the hand of Monsier Salvoy Received the 25^th^ Instant and Congratulate your safe arrivall to your Governm^t^ of Cannada under the most Christian King. Your Amicable Proposalls for Good understanding and Friend Shipp between us to maintaine and Supporte Gen^ll^ Peace and Tranquility is most Gladly Imbraced and shall in all points as hitherto on our Partes be readyly Complyed with in the Accomplishm^t^ whereof

[1] *Sic.* Illinois.

shall use all Endeauour that Love may Rather be the Inducem^{t} then Armes and that all things Impedeing the same may be Remoued And to that end By the Correspondency that was between your Predecessor Mouns^{r} le Comte De ffrontenac and Sir Edmund Andross the late Governour here Complaining of many Runawayes from your Parts Orders were made and Published that if any of your nation Came to any of our Parts without a Passe they were to be taken up and Sent of to some of the ffrench Islands pursuant to which one man and one Woman were soe sent, but none Sold their Passage and Charge of Transportacôn being Sattisfied here and being Consented to by your Predecessor Can be no Vyolacôn or Breach of the Law of Nations soe that wee Doe not tollerate or Encourage any of your People to Come to us nor any of ours to goe to you unlesse by Speciall Lycense on Extraordinary Occasions which Shall Still be Observed.

Wee have hitherto by Gods Blessing on our Endeauo^{r}s Lived Peaceable and quiett with all our Neighbouring Indians without Effussion of Xtiân Blood nor Doe finde Any Ground for your Apprehensions of Warr with Maryland the Peace between them and our Indians Northward being Lately Ratified and Confirmed and Sattisffaccôn Given to Content for Injuryes Done.

The Rest Conteined in your Letters must Reffer till the Arrival of Côll. Dungen our Governour who hath had the honour to Command a Regim^{t} in the Service of the King of ffrance all the time of the Late warrs who have Advise of and Dayly Expect to whom they Shall be Communicated And need not Doubt of Suitable Answers And Resolves Accordingly In the meane time be assured that as it hath Alwayes been the Care of this Governm^{t} to Preserve Peace Prevent and hinder the Spilling of Xtiân Blood and to hold and Mainteine A Civill Correspondency with our Neighbours So the Same Endeavours and Practice shall be Continued Perticulerly towards your Selfe and Remaine.

S^{r}

Your Verry humble Serv^{t}

May 31th 1683. A: B:

Louis XIV. to M. de la Barre.

Fontainebleau, 5th August, 1683.

Monsieur de la Barre,

* * * * * * * * * *

I recommend you to prevent the English, as much as possible, establishing themselves in Hudson's bay, possession whereof was taken in my name several years ago; and as Colonel d'Unguent,[1] appointed Governor of New-York by the King of England, has had precise orders on the part of the said King to maintain good correspondence with us, and carefully to avoid whatever may interrupt it, I doubt not the difficulties you have experienced on the side of the English will cease for the future.

* * * * * * * * * * *

[1] Dongan.

I am persuaded, with you, that Sieur de la Salle's discovery is very useless, and such enterprises must be prevented hereafter, as they tend only to debauch the inhabitants by the hope of gain, and to diminish the revenue from the Beaver.

I recommend you to labor continually, in conjunction with the Intendant, for the establishment of trade between the Islands and Canada, and I refer, on this point, to what is more fully contained in your Instruction. Whereupon I pray God, &c.

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

As soon as I had dispatched my letters of the 30th May from Montreal by the vessel which the Intendant and I had sent you express, I received news from Paris of the 8th March, by which I learn that Count de Frontenac had confidently assured you that he had left this country at peace as far as regarded the Iroquois, and that all appearances rendered it probable that the King would incline rather to that opinion than to placing entire reliance on what I might write to the contrary on this subject, inasmuch as there was reason for supposing that this Count, having remained ten years in the country, was much better acquainted with the true state of things than I could be after a sojourn of merely six weeks; and that there was no probability of my receiving any assistance to sustain this unfortunate war. This induced me to adopt two resolutions, one to endeavor by all means to gain over and pacify the Iroquois, and the other to fortify the place exposed to their attack, with some Frenchmen and munitions of war, so as to be able to resist them and save this post this year, in order to afford you time to persuade his Majesty to adopt some positive resolutions on this subject. But as you are not informed of the cause which urges the Iroquois to declare war against us, it is necessary that I should, first of all, explain it to you according to the truth I myself have this year learned respecting it.

That nation, the bravest, strongest and shrewdest in all North America, having twenty years ago subjugated all their neighbors, turned their attention to the trade with the English of New York, Orange and Manatte; and finding this much more profitable than ours, because the Beaver (exempt from the duty of one-fourth which it pays here) is much higher there than with us, they sought every means to increase it; and as they perceived that they could not succeed better in that than by destroying the Outaouax, for thirty years our allies, and who alone supply us with two-thirds of the Beaver that is sent to France, they made a great outcry, among themselves, about the death of a Seneca Captain, who had been killed four years ago by an Illinois at Missilimakinack, in the fort of the Outaouax called Kiskakons; and after having excited all the five Cabins, declared war against those people, doubting not but they would easily master them. This done, they would absolutely intersect the path to the South, by which our French go trading with licenses, and prevent the Farther Indians bringing any beaver to Montreal, and, having mastered the post of Missilimakinack, establish a new one there of themselves alone and the English. And as the Union of all the Cabins was not extremely decided on this point, the three of Seneca, Onontagué and Cayuga, despatched five

hundred warriors in the month of May to attack the Ouatouax and seize Missilimakinak, giving orders at the same time to two parties of 150 each, whom they had sent against the Meamis, to come and join, on the return of their expedition, this party of 500 and reinforce it.

You perceive hereby, my Lord, that the subject which we have discussed is to determine who will be master of the Beaver trade to the south and southwest; and that the Iroquois, who alone supply the English with considerable beaver, have a deep interest in despoiling us of that advantage by applying it to their own benefit; and that, therefore, no matter what treaty we make with them, the cause always continuing, they will not fail to seize on the most trifling occasions to endeavor to render themselves masters of those people and those posts, and, by robbing us, destroy the Colony of the King of France in Canada.

I believe the English have a finger in this design of the Iroquois, because the latter refused coming to meet me in June, according to the promise they gave me to send a delegation as to one of the other Cabins, calling that of Orange the sixth.

In consequence, then, of the two resolutions I had adopted, I determined to send Sieur Le Moyne, a Montreal Captain, who is well known to the Iroquois, among whom he had been a prisoner, and thoroughly conversant with the language, to the said Nations to ascertain from them the reason why they had refused to come to see their new Father, after having promised me in the month of December to do so. And as I was well informed of the detach ments that were on the march against our allies, I gave him orders to propose, first, that whatever might occur during the trading season among the Ouatouäx, should not disturb the peace; that if any were killed on the one side or on the other, they should be bewailed; and if there were prisoners, they should be restored without being tortured.

Having observed much good-will among the Christian Iroquois, established among the Rev^{d} Jesuit fathers at La Prairie de la Magdelaine, I resolved to select four of the principal Chiefs of that Nation to accompany Sieur Le Moyne, to whom I entrusted a number of private presents, to gain over the most influential, having made, at the same time, some reasonable ones to those Christian Chiefs.

When I despatched this envoy, I sent from Montreal in six canoes thirty good men, with powder and lead, for Missilimakinack, to occupy the two forts, and wrote to the French who had licenses, to despatch one man from each canoe to join and reinforce those I was sending. Sieur Du L'hut, who had the honor to see you at Versailles last year, happening to be at that post when my people arrived, placed himself at their head, and issued such good orders that I do not think it can be seized, as he has employed his forces and some Savages in fortifying and placing himself in a condition of determined defence.

By despatches I recently received from that place I learn that he has not been attacked, because the Iroquois were aware that the French were well armed; but that one of the Cayuga parties had captured five Hurons of Tinontaté, whose lives they had spared, contenting themselves with bringing them to reside with them. They were some that Du L'hut had sent out to reconnoitre. The Senecas have demanded them back, to send them to me, as they say. This appears to me rather an excuse than a truth. Du L'hut, having been advised of the retreat of those Iroquois parties, proceeded towards the North to execute his design, which becomes more important every day. I hope he will press it to a successful issue. These are the news to the end of August. Advices from the head of the Bay des Puans inform

me that the Chevalier Baugy[1] was going to Sieur de la Salle's fort,[2] from which he was at a distance of only 4 to 5 days. His and Sieur de la Durantaye's[3] arrival in those parts calmed the movement of the Poutouatamis against the French, and all was peace.

Sieur le Moyne, after having at first run some risks, has managed his negotiation with so much address and spirit that he brought me, on the 20th July, 13 deputies from the Seneca Indians, who remained six weeks with me at Montreal, and brought word that the four other Nations would send their deputies in the fore part of August. He confirmed to me, at the same time, the news I had received of the march of the Iroquois war party against Missilimakinack and the Outaoüas; and that, had it not been for the proposition he had made, that this war should make no change in the state of affairs, the Senecas, Cayugas, and those of Onontagué had never hazarded coming to Montreal.

He likewise reported to me that it was not in vain that I had issued orders to cut in pieces the French deserters, who were disposed to point out and open to the English and Dutch the road to the Outaoüas, as he had met, near Seneca, two of those canoes, manned by eight Frenchmen, who took to flight, and flung themselves ashore at the first place they reached, and put themselves on their defence in the territory of those people; that he dared not attack them for fear of preventing the success of his negotiation, and that, therefore, having been the first to arrive at Seneca, they spread the alarm, saying that I was about to attack their villages, and that they had fallen in with my vanguard. So that, had it not been for an Onontagué deputy, whom he had sent on in advance, he would have been cut to pieces by the warriors of that nation, who were coming well armed to defend themselves. The occurrence at Orange, which I shall communicate to you, will show you the necessity of preventing the consequences of that desertion, which will not be difficult if the King will please to authorize me trying them by court martial; punishment being necessary to subdue people who recognize neither obedience nor authority. There are at present over 60 of those miserable French deserters at Orange, Manatte and other Dutch places under English command, more than half of whom deserve hanging, who occupy themselves all spring and summer only in seeking out ways to destroy this Colony. If strenuous efforts be not made to cut off this road, and to chastise those wretches, they will be the cause of the ruin of this country before the expiration of four years. On this head you will please to inform me whether the King will not allow me to judge them summarily by a Council of War. Otherwise, they will never receive exemplary punishment.

On the 14 August the Deputies of the other four Iroquois Nations arrived at Montreal. I had them entertained and gave them all possible good treatment. They were about 30, who, with the 13 Senecas, made 43 men and some women. They appeared to me quite tractable; and as my chief business was to bury the remembrance of the death of the Seneca Captain killed by an Illinois in the fort in which the Outawas, Kiskakons of Missilimakinack, were, I made considerable presents with that view, which they readily received, and then gave some to each of the Ambassadors individually. The Christian Iroquois of La Prairie de la Magdalene and the Mountain were present at all the Councils, and acquitted themselves very well. I also had some Algonquins and Hurons there. During the entire sojourn of those people

[1] Lieutenant of De la Barre's guards.

[2] St. Louis, in Illinois

[3] Olivier Morel de la Durantaye was a native of Brittany, and had been captain in the Carignan Salière's regiment. He commanded at Michilimakinac at this time. He was very popular among the Indians, and commanded those that subsequently seized McGregory and his party on their way from New-York to Michilimakinac. — Ed.

at Montreal, the greatest order prevailed and there was no drunkenness. The conclusion of our Council was, to report to their nations and approve what I demanded, namely, friendship for the Outaouäs, Algonquins and Hurons, and they promised to send me their warriors in the spring. This will be additional expense, but I must be certain of them until I receive your orders and his Majesty's intentions. Thus, here we are in some sort of repose, all these Iroquois having left on the 30th of August well satisfied and content, provided the warriors come this spring to confirm what the Chiefs have promised me.

You have herewith the statement of the expense I authorized for the Iroquois, both for their support at Montreal and for presents; the funds therefor being advanced by me or borrowed from divers individuals, I request you will be pleased to authorize repayment to me at the earliest, in order that I may be discharged.

Sieur de la Salle having abandoned Fort Frontenac last fall, some Montreal rascals wished to seize it in the beginning of spring. This obliged me to detach the 1st Serjeant of the garrison of this fort, with twelve soldiers, to keep guard there, and as it was absolutely necessary to furnish them with provisions, Sieur de Ber of Montreal had conveyed thither the contents of the annexed statement, the repayment of which you will have the goodness to order. Some flour will remain, which will supply food for the people during this winter, and as I hope to receive your orders in the beginning of spring by the first vessels which are to leave in March, you will communicate to me your wishes as to what is to be done with that fort, since you will perceive by the copies of Sieur de la Salle's letters that his head is turned, that he has been bold enough to give you intelligence of a false discovery, and that instead of returning here, to learn the King's wishes as to what he should do, he keeps away from me, with the design of attracting some colonists into the depths of the forest, more than 500 leagues from here, in order to try and build up an imaginary kingdom for himself by debauching all the Bankrupts and idlers of this country. At the commencement of May, I sent Chevalier de Baugy to communicate to him his Majesty's intentions, but he is at such a vast distance that I cannot have any answer from him.

You have herewith copy of the two letters I received from him of a pretty old date; if you will please order an extract to be made from them, and examine it, you will judge of the character of the personage better than I, and will order, with more correct knowledge, what you wish me to do with him. The state of affairs with the Iroquois does not permit me to suffer him to assemble all their enemies, that he may put himself at their head, for no other use to Canada than to draw those Iroquois down against us from that quarter. All the people who bring me news of him abandon him and do not speak of returning, and dispose of the peltries they bring as their own property. Therefore, he will not be able to maintain himself any longer at that post, which is over five hundred leagues from here.

As I am deprived of the honor of your orders this year, I request you to write to me next season by the vessels which will leave in March, in order that I may take advantage of the summer to prepare for their execution. This year we have had vessels here on the 20th May, and thus I would have time to proceed according to your intention; for it is certain that if you think it necessary to humble the Iroquois, as I consider the good and preservation of the country require, and if the King be pleased to send me whatever is necessary therefor, I must determine on a plan; and if you desire that I conclude a peace already commenced, an entirely different course must be adopted, and the Iroquois warriors attracted in June and presents made them. Wherefore, I beseech you that I may know in time what course I must take, otherwise I shall

find myself greatly embarrassed. I shall say nothing to you of the poverty to which I am reduced, as well because I do not receive my ordinary salary, as by reason of the advance I have been obliged to make for the Iroquois business and for the various journeys I was obliged to authorize, hoping you will have the goodness to assist me by your orders to the treasurer of the marine to send me funds in good season.

I have sent an express to New-York, to Manatte and Orange, and have written to Boston. My messenger has done nothing, because Sieur Dunken,[1] the new Catholic Governor, that the Duke of York sends thither, had not yet arrived, and my man had waited for him two months at considerable expense, from which I have relieved the King in the easiest manner. I have written to him recently by some trusty Indians, from whom I have not yet had any answer. The English of Hudson's Bay have this year attracted many of our northern Indians, who for this reason have not come to trade to Montreal. When they learned by expresses, sent them by Du L'hut on his arrival at Missilimakinak, that he was coming, they sent him word to come quickly and they would unite with him to prevent all the others going thither any more. If I stop that pass as I hope, and as it is necessary to do, as the English of that Bay excite against us the savages, whom Sieur De L'hut alone can quieten, I shall enter into arrangements with those of New-York, for the surrender to me of my guilty fugitives; they appeared well satisfied with me, but were desirous to obtain an order to that effect from the Duke of York. I judge, from the state of European affairs, that it is important to manage that nation, and I shall assiduously apply myself thereto.

What I have recently received from that quarter deserves a full explanation, and for that purpose send you a relation apart from my despatch, which, with the Map of the country that I have had prepared for you, will give you perfect knowledge of every thing, and the means of interesting his Majesty therein. The young man who made these maps is named Franquelin; he is as skilful as any in France, but extremely poor, and in need of a little aid from his Majesty as an Engineer; he is at work on a very correct Map of the country which I shall send you next year in his name; meanwhile I shall support him with some little assistance.

During the four months that I sojourned at Montreal, and visited the upper part of the Island and a portion of the River Iroquois at its rapids, to construct some forts there to warn us of the approach of the Iroquois in case of war, I found that all the people of those parts were indifferently inclined to obedience and little acquainted with justice, and no royal officers being in those places, that nobody thinks himself bound to obey the Bailiff of the Gentlemen of the Seminary; and as the jurisdiction of the latter ceases on crossing the river, all crimes, drunkenness, all sorts of excesses, robbery, concealing stolen goods, and desertion, are the ordinary practices followed by 200 lawless men *(libertins)* who reside on that Island and in its vicinity, so that to restrain them the court of the Provost marshal[2] ought to be transferred to this place from Quebec, where obedience is very well established.

But in doing this, it is necessary to increase the salaries of the policemen, in order that they may be in a condition to serve and to live on their wages. Here they have only twenty crowns *(ecus)*, which are equal to only 15 French currency, per annum. It were better to diminish the number and to reduce it to four, with a salary of fifty crowns French currency to each, than to leave the men on their ordinary wages, whereby they are rendered utterly useless.

[1] Dongan. — Ed.

[2] *Prevot des Marechaux* was a royal judge established in the provinces, who had jurisdiction over vagabonds, highway robbers, murderers and counterfeiters. He judged without appeal. *Richelet.*

During the whole of my sojourn in those parts, I received no complaint against Mr. Perrot, the Governor, and having closely investigated his conduct, I discovered only one charge to be well founded of those made to me at Quebec against him; wherefore I cannot refrain from telling you that M. Tronçon's probity must have been imposed upon by some false representations written to him by M. Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, who is a worthy man, of middling talent, and easily suffers himself to be misled by an envious and ill qualified judge, and by a thousand other good for nothing people, as I have experienced in more than twenty instances in which he came to me with complaints against this man and that. I communicate my opinion on this subject to Mr. Tronçon,[1] whose virtue and merit appear to me to be such that he will be very glad to know every thing correctly. Therefore, if you order me or the Intendant to do so, we would send you a report quite contrary to that made by M. du Chesneau against the said Perrot; for the most part of the witnesses told me, without being so required, that they were put under oath on that occasion, and afterwards whatever was thought proper was written down without any questions being asked them, and that they signed in the same manner, which is a strange mode [of destroying] a young gentleman's fortune.

Sieur Sorel, whom you have named as deserving that government, died in the month of November last; I believe you will do a favor to his widow to continue to her his allowance of 1683, if the estimate has not been already made, and it would be a very great advantage to the service if you would permit Sieur le Moyne to be put in the said Sorel's place; he has rendered considerable services in this country, but that which he has performed this month of July is so great, that it is proper, for his future encouragement when he may be able to do us better service, that you grant him that appointment. He is Captain of the town of Montreal, and has done more fighting against the Iroquois than any officer in Canada. I send you his son as bearer of my despatches; he is a young man very conversant with the sea, admirably well acquainted with this river, has already carried and brought several ships to and from France, and I request you to appoint him ensign in the marine. He is capable of doing good service, and it is of importance that you have in that line persons who are thoroughly acquainted with this country. Moreover, his father feeling deeply indebted to you, will be so much the more obliged to do the King good service on all the occasions that daily present themselves in regard to the Iroquois. I beg of you to have the goodness to grant or refuse this to him promptly, so that he may return to Rochelle without loss of time.

I have just received a report from M. Perrot, Governor of Montreal, that, on receiving information that the Captain of la prairie de la Magd^ne^ had been seduced by one of those wretches arrested last year for deserting to the Dutch or English at Orange (whom the gentlemen of Montreal caused to escape from gaol), and had left for New York with all his family, consisting of his wife and six children, he, in accordance with his zeal for the King's service, sent for his Major, the Sieur Bizard, to give him orders to pursue them with a sergeant and some soldiers. Sieur Bizard, imbued with the spirit of disobedience which reigns in that place, refused to wait on him, as you will see by the said report.

This act is of such grave consequence in the present state of the country, that if the King do not please to punish it, he must not expect his intentions to be any longer executed. This Bizard is a Swiss, steeped in wine and drunkenness, totally useless by his corpulency. Should the King please to put another in his stead, as I think requisite, I would propose to his Majesty the Sieur de Longueuil, a young man of 27 years of age, who, having been brought

[1] This gentleman was Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, which owned the Island of Montreal. — Ed.

up near Marshal d'Humieres, and afterwards appointed Lieutenant of Infantry, is acquainted with the profession and qualified to do good service. He is the son of M^r^ le Moyne, of whom I have written to you already.

'Tis necessary, after these things, that I speak to you of the Church. The Bishop and I have labored assiduously to establish parishes in the country. I send you the statement we have concluded on. We are under obligation for it to the Bishop, who is very well disposed towards the country, and who is deserving of all credit. What he demands for Acadia is just, but I did not wish to interfere in it until it pleased the King to regulate the affairs of that Colony. 'Tis best that you have the goodness to terminate them and to decide whether the Farmers (of the Revenue) of Canada are masters to regulate its fate without orders from his Majesty or you. I shall write fully to My Lord Colbert hereupon, as he spoke to me on the matter before leaving.

The subject of the Hospitals obliges me to trouble you on that point. No establishment is so advantageous to the country; and the zeal of the Nuns who manage them, especially that of this town, constitutes the refuge of the wretched, the succor of the sick, and the consolation of the afflicted. These Ladies are very poor, and require an additional number of Nuns; if it please the King to endow some for them, it would be a great advantage to the public and would not cost him any thing. You placed 3,000 livres at my disposal, in the list of gratuities in 1682, for the marriage of Indian girls. This has been a mistake, none of them marrying; and this fund having been always employed for the marriage of French girls, it is necessary, if you think well, to correct its destination in the estimate we have made, and to apply it to the endowment of two Grey nuns (*hospitalières*). If the King be disposed to grant some alms, these poor ladies are well worthy of it, being in debt and also in extreme poverty. I most humbly crave charity on that account.

I have brought here a skilful Physician and Surgeon, named Bourdon, who has been eight years with me at sea. He applies himself altogether to the care of the poor. If you will please allow him some gratuity it would serve as a good example and stimulate his zeal. You are master.

The Grey nuns of Montreal are reduced to poverty by the loss of their revenue in France. All their buildings are in ruin, as they demonstrated to me in the visit I paid them. They demand help from you, which is very necessary, and M^r^ Tronçon is to speak to you about it.

It would be very proper, when you send the estimates of 1683 of the officers maintained in this country, that you would notify them that the King desires them to second my intentions, with all their power, in those matters which will regard the war and whatever appertains to it. I am informed that Sieur Du Gué is to be proposed to you to be Governor of Montreal in the place of M. Perrot. I am obliged to inform you that he is dull, both of body and mind, and badly capable of the activity necessary in that government; that Sieur Bernier is better capable of filling it, should Sieur Prevost, Major of that town, not suit you. (This I say in case of a change.)

The fort of this town continuing in ruins, I caused the Masons, whom the Company sent to this country, to work at it, the expense whereof I send you, with the plan and condition in which 'twas found.

The Bishop, appearing to me resolved to have a Chapel built in the Lower Town, I made him a grant of the King's old Store, according to the orders contained in my instructions, so that that part of Quebec may have spiritual aid, like the Upper town, during the rigors of

winter. It has recovered from its fire; and the great assistance Sieur de la Chesnayes afforded to the inhabitants who were burnt out will soon reëstablish it. This man, to whom Canada is under such vast obligations, has need to be sustained by his Majesty. He owes the Farmers large sums, for which all the Country people are his debtors. It would be quite just that his Majesty grant him some terms, in order that he be not obliged to drive to extremities, at the same time, all his debtors throughout the colony, which would create great disorder. You will have the goodness, if you please, to have him reimbursed the freight of his bark that we sent you, the Intendant and I having promised him the payment thereof in our names.

The obligation I have been under to have powder sent to Missilimakinack and the Outaouax, has greatly reduced our supply. I therefore request you to send us, by the first vessels which will sail in March, two thousand weight fit for muskets or guns. I have been under the necessity of establishing a King's store at Montreal, where it is needed much more than here. I have hired it for 150^{liv}, French currency; 100^{liv} additional will be required for him who is to have charge of it, and is to clean the arms. I have caused a bark to be built at Fort Frontenac, which will be launched in April.

If the King make war on the Iroquois I shall be obliged to defray the expense of this vessel; if not, Sieur Le Ber will make use of it for trade and pay for it, when the sails and rigging that I demanded in my Memoir, and which are absolutely necessary, will be reimbursed.

Sieur de la Marque, who went to reconduct the Iroquois embassy home, has just arrived, and his report proves to me that those people are smarter and more cunning than folks are aware of. The Senecas have answered, with sufficient frankness, the propositions which were made them. But it is easy to perceive that the rest wish only to temporize with us, and to gain time; they have reinforced themselves again this year with 150 prisoners, and expect to acquire a much larger addition by the war they are about to wage in Virginia. They pretend to continually weaken the Illinois and Memis; and in order that I might better understand their intentions, sent me word that they would not go any more to Niagara, under pretence of avoiding occasions of quarrel, but in reality to let me know that they did not wish to have any more trade with us nor with Fort Frontenac. Thus, My Lord, in order to profit by the delay, there is no more time to lose, and the opportunity for attacking them is more favorable now than it ever will be. If the King conclude thereupon, have the goodness to send the five hundred men and munitions I ask for, and the funds for the provisions, in the month of April at the latest, and to advise me previously, in March, of his Majesty's intentions, in order that I arrange matters and use diligence in sending up the flour to fort Frontenac by canoe. A deputy from the English at Orange has visited the Iroquois; his negotiations I have not yet been able to learn, but they cause me considerable suspicion. To keep this country at peace it is necessary to extract this thorn from the foot. It will cause me the most trouble, but I shall willingly sacrifice my life for the King's service and for the safety of the whole of this Colony.

The words of the Senecas, which the said Sieur de la Marque reported to me on his return from them, are more frank than those the Iroquois are generally accustomed to use, but they are not the less suspicious. They appear to me to act like people who do not wish to wage war foolishly, but who are quite determined on waging it.

28. The men whom I sent to Missilimakinak and those who were detached from the licensed canoes, having done good service and saved that very important post at their own expense,

I was obliged to make them some recompense, and accordingly gave them permission to continue their trade during the year 1684. This will prevent me granting any licenses during that year, through fear of ruining the trade by the quantity of goods which would be introduced into the country, and derange prices among the Indians. Such favors as these from his Majesty could save him a good deal in time of war, were he pleased to place them absolutely at my disposal according to the terms of the order in Council of the 3d May, 1681. What I am about doing will not please all, but as 'tis for the best, I prefer the public good to every thing.

We live on friendly terms, the Intendant and I; but as there are spirits here who do nothing but make trouble, I beg you to reply to the Memoir of the differences and difficulties I send you. Your decisions will prevent the disorder which might arise, and you will be punctually obeyed. I write concerning these busy-bodies to My Lord Colbert, because the difficulty proceeds from the Farmers and from their ill conduct. They have refused to pay me my salary since the 1st May, 1682. I send you a petition on the subject, which you will be so good as to answer.

The Revd Jesuit Fathers at the Mission of Sault St Louis, adjoining La Prairie de la Magdelaine, who have gained for the King 200 good Iroquois soldiers, have experienced a sad accident—their church having been prostrated from top to bottom, by a squall of wind. A charitable donation from his Majesty would be well applied to repair this accident, and the maintenance of this Mission is of very great importance. These Fathers, whose conduct is highly edifying in this country, have been further afflicted this year, in the same manner that they had been the last, by fire, which burnt a part of their building in this city.

Should the King not resolve on war, it would be very necessary for me to make a short voyage next fall to Court, to return here early in the spring, in order to make you acquainted with the true state of the country and its interests, whereupon you will cause his majesty to adopt a final conclusion, after having been thoroughly informed thereon; all that has been written to you heretofore being distorted and little in harmony with the truth. I shall await your orders in this regard, without which I am unable to adopt any resolution.

A small vessel has just arrived from Hudson's gulf, 200 leagues further north than the bay. She brings back those who were sent there last year by order of Count de Frontenac. You will receive herewith an exact Map of the place. But divers little rencontres have occurred between our Frenchmen and the English, of which I send you a particular relation, in order, should any complaint be made to the King of England, and he speak of it to M. Barillon, the latter may be able to inform him of the truth. It is proper that you let me know early whether the King desire to retain that post, so that it may be done, or the withdrawal of the French, for which purpose I shall dispose matters in order to aid them overland beyond Lake Superior, through Sieur Du L'hut, and to send to them by sea to bring back the merchandise and peltries.

I send you two letters I have just received from the Bay des Puants and Missilimakinack, which it is proper you should read, since they will make you acquainted with the secret springs that move the Iroquois. Should the King determine that I wage war against these, as is necessary, it is time to think of sending some good officers with the troops; also a commission of Adjutant-General *(Mareschal de bataille)* for Sieur Doruilliers, whose knowledge of the places where he has been this summer, joined to his long experience, highly qualifies him therefor. Of those Officers maintained by the King, we have here but five fit to serve as Captains in

this war. Advanced years, or corpulency, render the others incapable of supporting fatigue of that sort. Do not neglect sending, at the same time, a blanket for each soldier; a kettle for every four; pork and brandy for their subsistence; all the remainder will be found in the country. I have deducted several things from the estimate which I sent your last year, and restrict myself to what is necessary, begging you to order the two thousand weight of powder for muskets by the first vessel at the beginning of March.

Internal peace would reign complete here were it not for the Recollets; having obtained from his Majesty, on the 28th May, 1681, a lot in a very inconvenient place, being in front of the Bishop's door and the parish church, and quite near the Jesuits' house, they have undertaken to build a regular Convent *(hospice)* on it, though that is not expressed in the King's patents. The Bishop wished to prevent it, and those fathers have resolutely determined *(se sont cabrez)* to persist, which places them at loggerheads with our Prelate. I shall say nothing to you of this matter, which is not within my attributes, save only that this place is not suitable for the purpose for which they pretend it is destined; and multiplying mendicant establishments in this country is not of advantage to a people so poor as that throughout the entire of this Colony.

Having been obliged to direct a census to be taken of the people of this country, I found that we have in all 2,248 men capable of bearing arms, and about souls. This is the actual truth, however people may write you to the contrary. The population will increase with time, women breeding considerably in this country and few children dying. Do not, if you please, neglect renewing the allowance for the marriages of French women.

We experienced serious embarrassment in the month of January last in regard to Dollars. They were here in some number, and a quantity of them being light caused considerable disorder among the lower classes. It not being customary in this country to weigh them, induced the Intendant and me to assemble an extraordinary session of the Council, at which it was resolved, subject to his Majesty's pleasure, to have the dollars of weight marked with a *fleur de lys*, and those which were light with some cypher fixing their value. This was done, and is now in operation without any noise or difficulty.

You are pleased to permit me to remind you that you have granted me your protection for my son. I beg you to allow some trifle of the merit of the services I have rendered the King to fall on him; and having served eight years as Captain, which rank he reached through all the grades, to do him the favor to distinguish him among those of his [rank], and to consider that, as I am not near you to beg this of you at a fitting time, your goodness must make up all deficiencies. From it, also, I solicit the allowance of the salary of 1500^{liv} as State Councillor, which it pleased the King to grant me, when I shall act as chief. As I cannot expect favors, except through you, I flatter myself you will not refuse me what I ask you — to communicate to me his Majesty's opinion of my conduct, and to direct this in all things, certain that you will be perfectly and willingly obeyed by

Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged servant

Quebec, the 4th November, 1683. LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

Representation on the Revenue and Trade of Canada.

Extract of the Memoir addressed to Messrs. the Partners of the Society *en Commandite* of the Farm and Trade of Canada, On the means of preventing the smuggling of beaver.

The Beavers can be prevented falling into the hands of the said Messrs. the Farmers by various routes; the first of which is

Cataracouy, or Fort Frontenac.

This post is situate on the border of Lake Ontario. It was erected in the year 1673 by Count de Frontenac, apparently for the security of the country, but, in fact, for the purpose of trading with the Iroquois; to serve as a place of refuge and entrepôt for the Coureurs de bois scattered among all the Outawas nations, and to carry on thence a trade in beavers with the Dutch and the English of Orange and Manatte.

Some years afterwards, Monsieur De La Salle went to France and induced his Majesty to concede to him the property of this fort, of which he was at the same time Lord and Governor, on condition of reimbursing the cost of its establishment, and keeping up a number of men for three years, which he fulfilled, and for which he has had his release from Monsieur Duchesneau, then Intendant of that Country.

Said Sieur De La Salle, who has not observed in his affairs all the management necessary, allowed himself to be since led away into useless discoveries, which have absorbed all the advances made by his creditors to maintain this establishment.

Monsieur de la Barre, who has succeeded the said Count de Frontenac in the government of Canada, having judged this post necessary to the success of the continual speculations of Sieur de la Chesnaye, who sent thither a great quantity of merchandise under the charge of Serjeant Champagne, on pretence of fortifying and guarding the said fort, which, 'tis said, is abandoned by Sieur de la Salle.

Information has already been received that the said Champagne had sent Beavers to the English. If this be not remedied, not only will all the beaver which the said Champagne will procure, go to them, but also a large amount, exceeding Thirty canoes, that said Sieur de la Barre has in the woods, in partnership with Sieur de la Chesnaye, under the charge of Du Lut, so notorious for his pernicious enterprizes.

The first thing which seems capable of arresting this disorder is, not to conceal anything from the Minister, whose intentions are opposed to such speculations.

The second is, that the said Messrs. Partners enter into association with the said Sieur De la Salle, who, in the unfortunate state of his affairs, will consider himself happy in obtaining this support; in that case, the company would have at that post a faithful and diligent clerk, who would see what is passing, and prosecute at the same time a somewhat considerable trade.

These are the only two means of remedying it; otherwise, the projects of the said M. de La Barre and the said Sieur De la Chesnaye will be quite as successful as they desire.

Fort Chambly

is the second place by which quantities of Beaver are diverted to foreigners; that is to say, to Orange, Manatte, and even to Boston. That post is erected on Lake Champlain, since the

last wars with the Iroquois, and belongs to Monsieur de Chambly, formerly captain in the troops sent to Canada, at present Governor of Martinique.

It is a Seigniory, very pleasantly situated on said Lake, from which rises the little river Richelieu, that discharges itself at Saurel into the River Saint Lawrence, after a course of about twenty leagues. There was formerly a pretty considerable number of settlers there, the greater portion of whom have removed, or are reduced to poverty because they have not been sustained; so that it is become the refuge of people who pay attention only to the Orange and Manatte trade.

It is over fifty leagues from Quebec, going up the River (Saint Lawrence) as far as Saurel, [and] the said River Richelieu. But it is only five leagues from Montreal, to which it has a pretty easy communication over a road made across the woods. The climate there is much more mild than at Quebec. The soil is fertile, and produces all sorts of good grain. It has a mill for the convenience of the inhabitants. Hunting and fishing are very abundant, so that a sober and intelligent man could easily settle himself there, more especially, as he could drive quite a considerable trade with the Indians were he to keep always on hand an assortment of suitable goods.

The said Sieur de la Chesnay, to whom Sieur de Chambly owes about 4,000 livres, sold the above Fort to Sieur de Saint Ours, Captain in the said troops, for the sum of 6,000^{lb}. The said Sieur de Saint Ours is poor and cannot even pay what he owes the [King's] Domain for that purchase; so that the said Sieur de la Chesnaye pretends to reënter in possession.

The said Sieur de la Chesnaye has a bad foundation for his claim. His sale is invalid, having no special power to make it; and, moreover, the said Sieur de Chambly donated the said Seigniory to Miss Tavenet, known to Monsieur de Puymoren (according to M. Boivenet's account), on condition, however, that she will not be at liberty dispose of it until after Sieur de Chambly's death, unless she agree to come to Canada and settle on the said Seigniory.

So that, should Mess^{rs}. the partners desire to prevent the Beaver trade which is carried on with the Indians in that direction, they cannot do better than to induce the said Sieur de Chambly for a certain sum [to prevail] on Miss Tavenet to sell them the Seigniory of Chambly; it can be had without any difficulty, under such circumstances, for the sum of 3,000 francs at most.

It is of so much the more importance that they should make this purchase, as the English of Orange and Manatte begin themselves to come to trade with the French; this has been the case not over fifteen days since, when the said Sieur de Saint Ours arrested three of them, who, M^{r}. De La Barre gave orders, should have liberty and permission to sell their merchandise. If the commencement of the trade be not prevented, it will cause much damage to the Revenue.

The arrival of the said English in our settlements is a consequence of the embassy of the Sieur Salvaye, who was sent last spring by M. de la Barre to the Governors of Manatte and Orange, with orders to adopt, with them, measures for the advantage of the Colony. Here the Governor's secret is not inquired into; but it is averred that the said Salvaye conveyed in this voyage more than eight hundred Beavers on the said Sieur de la Chesnaye's account, in return for which he brought back Dollars and Wampum. This is another disorder which cannot be remedied except by making the Minister thoroughly understand the importance of removing it.

If Mess^{rs}. the Partners cannot purchase the said post of Chambly, another expedient can be had recourse to in order to prevent trade in that direction; namely, to obtain from his

Majesty authority for the Collectors to dispatch a canoe every month from Quebec or some other part of the Colony, with two or three men, who will themselves go to Orange, which is the frontier post, with some furs, in order to avoid suspicion.

These men would act as spies and would ascertain every thing that might pass, and on their reports those could be prosecuted who might be discovered contravening the King's order, which it is absolutely necessary that the said Mess^rs^. the Farmers should obtain and send to this country for publication. Otherwise, the want of it will always be felt.

Remonstrance of Sieur de la Salle against M. de la Barre's Seizure of Fort Frontenac.

Memoir to render My Lord, the Marquis de Seignelay, an Account of the condition in which Sieur de Lasalle had left fort Frontenac during the time he was engaged on his Discovery. 1684.

Count de Frontenac, being invested with the government of New France, found there a general breaking up of the French, who were scouring the woods with impunity, and going to the English to sell the peltries of our allies, on whom the Iroquois threatened to make war unless they would carry the Beaver to them by Lake Ontario and afterwards to New-York.

The irregularity of the former was repressed and the designs of the latter defeated by the construction of the Fort which M^r^ de Frontenac caused to be erected in the way of the one and the other. The advantage the country derived therefrom at first caused this fort and the lake to be called, in token of acknowledgment, by the name of Frontenac.

The late Lord Colbert gave the property and government of it to Sieur de Lasalle, on condition of paying on account of the King the cost thereof, which amounted to eleven thousand livres, for which he has a receipt, and nine thousand livres on account of individuals, whom he has likewise satisfied.

He sent thither from France, and supported there at his own expense, as many as fifty men, among whom there have ordinarily been two or three Recollets, as appears by the extract of the audit.

Sieur de Lasalle then directed his attention to the increase of the buildings and clearances; encircling the place with a strong wall on the land side, and strengthening the palisades towards the water. He erected French and Indian houses there, had cattle conveyed thither, and barks constructed which navigate every part of the lake, keep the Iroquois in check, deprive the English, without violence, of a part of the trade, and close the passage to the deserters, agreeably to the express orders M^r^ de Frontenac had received.

Things were in this state in the year 1679, when Sieur de Lasalle departed on the design which he executed by order of the late Lord Colbert; and although he has since suffered a loss exceeding Fifty thousand écus, he has always carefully preserved this post, the importance of which he understood, and in command whereof he left Sieur de Laforêt, who was its Major.

He was unable to return to Quebec, in the month of October, 1682, after having completed his discovery, having been prevented by severe illness, which delayed him nearly four

months. He sent a petition to Mr de Frontenac, whom he still supposed to be Governor, and whose protection was more important to him, inasmuch as the Iroquois entertained great respect for his Excellency; begging him to attend to the safety of this fort, and should the garrison he had left there not be sufficient, to place such a one there as he might consider adequate, the pay of which would be furnished him by Francois Noir, merchant of Montreal.

Mr de Frontenac handed this petition to Mr de Labarre, his successor in the government, who promised to attend to it; but instead of doing so, he, after Mr de Frontenac's departure, recalled the garrison from that fort, which would have been abandoned had not the said Francois Noir, empowered by Sieur de Lasalle, absent, reconducted thither a sufficient number of men and articles necessary for their support and the preservation of the post. He took, before leaving, all necessary precautions, and executed all the regulations laid down to prevent the Coureurs de bois having any excuse to go up there to pursue their trade elsewhere. The proofs hereof, as well as of the good condition in which he left this post when about to return to Montreal, exist in due form.

Mr de Labarre, who entertained views which have since become manifest, ordered him to Quebec, and having frightened him with threats, forced him to surrender the property he had conveyed to Sieur de Lasalle's fort into the hands of the men named Lachesnaie and le Bert, at the first cost thereof in Montreal, without regard to the expense incurred for transportation nor to the risk run of losing the whole in the rapids to be passed to get there; he even wished that the profit derived by the said François Noir, in the name of Sieur de Lasalle, the proprietor of the place, should be paid to the said Lebert and Lachesnaye, saying that his Majesty had given him power to take away the lands and to grant them to whomsoever he thought proper, and that he took them from Sieur de Lasalle, and that therefore no more remained.

Every one was surprised at this proceeding, the reason for which could not be divined, unless that he had the same interest in the affair as Lachesnaye and Lebert; that it is publicly known that they have between them more than one hundred canoes trading on their account in the woods, over and above the twenty-five which his Majesty permits to be sent thither for the advantage of individuals. Sieur de Lasalle met as many as sixty-six of them on his way, of which not one belonged to the twenty-five he had power to license, and the passports for which were talked of with so much ostentation, that eight, conducted by Desloriers, Gibaut, Lacroix, Sainte-gemme, the Auvergnats, Turpin, Couture and their comrades, being sent under pretence of carrying provisions to Sieur Chevalier de Baugy, were encountered by Sieur de Lasalle about one-third of the way, so loaded with trading goods that, being unable to take in provisions for themselves, they had perished of hunger had he not succored them. These are independent of the other canoes which had preceded him, and which were already dispersed in every direction.

As soon as Lachesnaye and Lebert were authorized by M. de Labarre, they drove from Fort Frontenac whatever soldiers had been placed there by Sieur de Lasalle, and prevented Major de Laforêt to return in command there unless he became their partner. Not being willing to consent to this, in consequence of the knowledge he possessed of the injustice committing towards Sieur de Lasalle and his creditors, he has been obliged to return to France. Two clerks have been put into his place there to trade; into his fields, in which crops were planted, the cattle were put to pasture; some of these have since been killed. His grain and other provisions have been consumed, although Mr de Labarre caused flour to be sent up there in the King's name, the return of which has been signed by Mr de Meulle, Intendant, and sent

to my Lord as having been employed in his Majesty's service, notwithstanding a part of that flour had been traded for Mr de Labarre's profit, and the remainder paid for by Sieur de Lasalle and his company.

His houses, barks, rigging, sails, boats, canoes, furniture and utensils have been made use of without any sort of indemnification. The fort has been left exposed to the insults of the Iroquois, without any other defence than that of a kitchen boy and another person to take care of the cattle, at a time when people were writing to my Lord that they were on the eve of war.

This was to justify the dispatch of all those canoes, and more than four hundred men, the best qualified to repel the Iroquois, and who ought not to have been sent to a distance, had any reliance been placed on the information which had been given, as veritable as it was specious. But such confidence was placed in the friendly disposition of the Iroquois, after the confirmation of the peace in 1682, and the hostages left by them with Mr de Frontenac, that at this very time the people who ought to guard the fort were sent to carry beaver to New England, and returned with dollars and with goods adapted to the trade. The men named Dulignon, Gilles, Méneret, Lehoux, Salvaie, and several others who have been employed in those journeys, have in going and returning passed through the country of the Iroquois, where Mr de Labarre would not have risked his property had he thought there had been any disposition to a rupture.

Sieur de Lasalle's creditors, who lent him, after his losses, wherewithal to sustain his enterprize, in vain represented the injury they suffered in dispossessing him of that fort and leaving a property he had made over to them, in payment, to be enjoyed by persons who had no right to it.

But in order to prove more clearly that the pretended abandonment, by which Mr de Labarre excuses the wrong he has inflicted on Sieur de Lasalle in seizing fort Frontenac, is a mere pretext, and that the true motive was to get all the profit of it, he acted in the same manner in regard to fort Saint Louis, to which he sent, in the spring of 1683, more than thirty canoes loaded with goods, conducted by Chevalier de Baugy, Ladurantaye, and the man named Duluth, well known as chief of the Coureurs de bois, to carry off the peltries of the Indians assembled there by Sieur de Lasalle, and to deprive him of the means of getting paid for his advances, and that under pretext of orders which Sieur de Lasalle would have received as he ought, had any other than a simple letter been brought him wherein Mr De Labarre informed him that he considered his discovery useless, for reasons which show, plainly enough, how little he knew about it. He afterwards caused all those, whom he (La Salle) had sent for assistance, to be arrested, preventing them to return and find him, causing the property entrusted to them to be seized, accusing them of desertion, notwithstanding they carried letters from the said Sieur de Lasalle, who on arriving at Quebec, found it to be out of his power to make use of the goods he had laid aside for a voyage to France, inasmuch as they still lie abandoned in the places where M. de Labarre's people had them forcibly put.

It was a cause of no less surprise to see Mr de Labarre, who was aware that Sieur de Lasalle held a commission from the King to make an establishment at the Illinois, abandon him of his own motion to the Iroquois, to whom he declared at Montreal in full council, without any complaint on their part, that they might kill him and the people who had collected near his fort, without that being of any consequence. He ought, it appears to me, at least have warned Sieur de Lasalle and his people to retire, rather than deliver them to the Iroquois, whose different parties, that had gone in search of him after that permission, had undoubtedly

murdered him, had he not escaped in consequence of the fortunate defeat one of them had experienced.

On returning from his discovery and arriving at Quebec, all that Sieur de Lasalle could obtain from M^r^ de Labarre was the restitution simply of his fort, without any indemnity for what had been taken from him and for the wrongs inflicted on him and his creditors.

And although he had all the vouchers in support of the foregoing, he dare not importune my Lord about the matter, had he not had the goodness to demand a Memoir from him of it, the truth of which cannot be denied, whatever M^r^ de Labarre may say to the contrary.

Wherefore, my Lord is most humbly supplicated to be pleased to have the proofs examined, which Sieur de Lasalle is ready to present, and after having ascertained the vast losses inflicted on him, his creditors and M^r^ de Laforêt by such violences, to grant the indemnity therefor on the profits of the canoes which are in the wilderness contrary to the King's orders, and particularly on those that are at fort Saint Louis and in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac, the revenue from which belongs to Sieur de Lasalle, according to His Majesty's concessions, and in case my Lord considers it necessary to have the affair investigated on the spot, to send the order and power for that purpose to the Intendant, who can have entire cognizance of it.

Representation of Sieur de la Salle of his outlay on Fort Frontenac, and of the Trade of that post.

Memoir touching the expenses incurred by Sieur de Lasalle at Fort Frontenac. 1684.

Sieur de Lasalle purchased fort Frontenac, in 1675, on the following conditions:

1. To repay the sum of ten thousand francs expended on the construction of the little stockade fort which Count de Frontenac had caused to be built there, receipt whereof he has from M^r^ Duchesneau, then Intendant of New France.

2. Inasmuch as Sieurs Lebert and Lachesnaye had the use of it two years after that, and expended on it about nine thousand livres whilst Sieur de Lasalle was in France, he was obliged to pay them; that appears by an account of the late Sieur Bazire, partner of Sieur Lachesnaye, whom Sieur de Lasalle left in New France.

3. The late Lord Colbert, moreover, obliged Sieur de Lasalle to keep twenty men there at his expense for the term of two years, and a permanent garrison equal to that of Montreal; which he did, as appears by the extract of Count de Frontenac's reports, and the expense thereof has been very great, and exceeded eighteen thousand livres a year, as well for men's wages as for the flour which cost eleven livres the minot, delivered at said fort, whither it was necessary to have it conveyed from Montreal, no grain having been got in during the first four years, through divers accidents which prevented advantage being taken of the fertility of the soil that has since proved very productive.

4. As the Iroquois who dwell around Lake Frontenac, which is one hundred leagues long and twenty wide, carry their peltries to New York, he, with a view to deprive the English of some of them, caused decked vessels to be built, in order that the Iroquois, finding at their

door and on their road the things they required, might prefer this accommodation to the low prices of the English. Considerable advantage would have been derived from this, had not the various shipwrecks which occurred in the years 1678 and 1679, and domestic robberies, destroyed the means thereunto. No time has been lost in building two new vessels since, one of 35 @ 40 and the other of 25 tons.

The expense of these amounts to nearly nine thousand livres; and this is not surprising, inasmuch as the freight from Montreal to fort Frontenac, of iron, rigging, tow, sails, tar, pitch, anchors and other naval stores, is two sous per pound weight, because the difficulty of the rapids, in addition to the distance of the places, requires an increase in the wages of the hands.

5. More than one hundred arpens of land have been cleared, which are now under tillage, and produce very good grain. Each arpent, it is known, is worth one hundred and ten livres in the remaining part of Canada, and it has cost more at Fort Frontenac for reasons already stated.

6. A considerable number of cattle had been conveyed from Montreal. This expense is easily calculated by the distance of seventy leagues, and the difficulty of the roads, which had not been opened and it was necessary to construct in very difficult places. The cattle have been reduced to twenty, through the disorder caused by M^r^ de Labarre at Fort Frontenac since he seized it.

7. Sieur de Lasalle has likewise settled several inhabitants, whom he had conveyed at his own expense, with their families, and fed and provided with every necessary during two entire years.

8. He has greatly increased the accommodations, built very fine barns and stables, with a Mill, which is ready to be raised.

9. He had it inclosed by a strong wall on the land side, which he should have finished on that of the water had he not been prevented by the business of his discovery. It is ninety-three toises in length,[1] three feet thick, and fifteen feet high.

10. He has been, moreover, obliged to pay for the flour Mr. de Labarre sent thither at the King's expense, and which is entered in the statements.

11. There is a house at the mouth of the Niagara river, the most important on the whole lake, to cut off the trade of the English, and which the barks of the fort can reach in two days; it costs about two thousand livres. It is all that remains from the fire which happened at the little fort that had been constructed there.

The situation of this fort is very advantageous, both on account of the fertility of the land, the abundance of game and fishing, and the mildness of the climate, which is much more temperate than in the other parts of New France. Winter is shorter there by half, and much milder, insomuch that sowing there is done at leisure, and sufficient time would still remain for the cultivation of hemp and flax. Near there are some very fine pastures, capable of feeding considerable herds of cattle, the hides and tallow of which would be of very great advantage.

Around the lake are to be found wild apple trees, chestnuts, and nuts from which the Indians extract very good Oil; also, divers sorts of grains, mulberry, plum and cherry trees, and all sorts of building timber, stone and other necessary materials.

Its harbor is very fine, the mouth safe, the bottom excellent, sheltered from all winds; the navigation very good throughout the entire lake, in various parts of which convenient harbors are to be found.

[1] 93x6—558 feet. — Ed.

Almost all the peltries of the English pass by this lake, except those which come from the direction of the Illinois, whence the Iroquois bring them by the River Ohio; so that were Fort Frontenac and the establishment at Niagara supplied with provisions, they could be turned aside and made to go down to Quebec, and, by that means, all the Beaver placed at the disposal of the French, from whom the other nations would be obliged to purchase it. The barks are highly necessary there, as well to facilitate freight as to head off those Indians who may take other routes.

There are likewise, all round this lake, numbers of elk, bears, otters, martins, wild cats *(pecans)*, wolverines *(loups-cerviers)*, large and small deer, the grey moose, etc., whose skins can be had at a low price in consequence of their being little valued by the English, and difficult to be transported to them, as the Iroquois go thither most frequently by land.

This post being preserved, there is nothing to be feared from the expeditions of the Iroquois against our Colony, because, by means of the barks, their settlements can be surprised whilst unprepared; they not having any knowledge of our approach across the lake, and consequently no leisure to retreat, or to profit by the advantages they possess in their way of making war, to which they will never have recourse as long as they see themselves menaced by danger so imminent, and which would be to them inevitable.

It is still of great importance to arrest in that direction the pretensions of the English, who have approached there through Pennsylvania, the extremity of which abuts almost on the Iroquois country.

It has already prevented, and will hereafter prevent, the accomplishment of the designs of the English, who have attempted by means of the Iroquois to attract the Outaouacs to themselves. They were to go to them by the route leading from Lake Huron to the village called Teïaïagon;[1] and would have effected it had not Mr. de Frontenac interposed this fort, whose usefulness is acknowledged by the whole country, as well in preserving the trade and peace as in arresting the lawlessness of our deserters, who had in that direction a very easy way through which to withdraw to the foreigners.

It is the part of New France from which most can be expected for the establishment of various leather and woolen manufactures, as cattle can be raised there at much less cost than in colder places, where the length of the winter causes great expense in feeding and housing them during that season. That which was required to be incurred for the conveyance of necessaries from Montreal to Fort Frontenac is much diminished, now that provisions are to be had on the spot, and since vessels there can go down twenty-five leagues to meet the canoes bringing supplies thither, and which must still be used on account of the rapids that interrupt the navigation in four or five places. It could easily be reduced still further, because, each intermission being short, were settlements granted to persons who would keep wagons for facilitating transport at places which are not navigable, and bateaux to go from one rapid to the other, the expense would be much diminished, and the products of Lake Frontenac and its environs easily brought down.

The canoe men now get eight francs the hundred weight in place of twelve, the price paid before the barks were constructed. Two men carry, at each voyage, twelve or thirteen hundred weight, and employ, ordinarily, twelve to fifteen days in going up, and four or five in

[1] In Coronellis' map of 1688, this Indian village is laid down about the present site of Port Hope, Canada West; but in Charlevoix' and later maps, it occupies what is now Toronto. Possibly, the village was moved from the former to the latter point. — Ed.

coming down; so that they can make ten to twelve voyages, and, consequently, transport from twelve to thirteen thousand weight from the opening of navigation in the month of April to the end of November, when it is closed by the ice at Montreal.

They are obliged, when returning, to bring back, gratuitously, as much peltry as the canoes can hold, so that the return voyage does not increase the expense.

This consists, then, precisely:

1st. In the freight and risk of the cargo from France to Montreal. The freight is fifty livres the ton, which amounts to six deniers[1] the pound; the insurance six to seven per cent.

2d. In the minor expenses of loading and unloading, packing and carting, which are inconsiderable, and common to every thing brought to New France.

3d. In paying the carriers from Montreal to fort Frontenac at the rate of eight livres the hundred weight, as already stated.

4th. In the maintenance of the garrison, the food for which may be had on the spot. This garrison may be also of great service in securing the trade. Twenty men are sufficient for it; these should be permanent, with as many others as would be coming and going in the barks and canoes, and would attend to sowing and the harvest without any expense, because they would willingly engage themselves to do so, provided they were promised to be employed, in preference to others, at trading, at which they could make considerable gains without injuring those at whose disposal they were, inasmuch as it is customary to send them out on half the profits they can realize over and above the price of the goods. This interest obliges them to be more attentive, and they expend on their return whatever they have made in necessaries, which they purchase at the store. So that the expense of the garrison, of a commandant and a serjeant, will not exceed four thousand livres which will be easily made out of the profits realized by the traders at the places not accessible by barks.

5th. In the refitting of the barks and wages of six sailors and a pilot; for the repair of the barks one ship carpenter only is necessary, who could act as seaman and pilot. His wages will amount to three hundred livres, and the rigging as much more, yearly; the wages of six sailors to twelve hundred livres a year.

Those two posts will be furnished with sufficient merchandise by sending thither to the value of twenty thousand livres per annum, expended in France on goods suitable to the trade; and sixty voyages of the canoes will be necessary to convey them there, at the rate of forty livres per voyage, increasing the price of the merchandise two thousand five hundred livres or thereabouts.

The freight from France to Montreal at the rate of thirty tons, at 50lb the ton, will amount to fifteen hundred livres.

The insurance on the principal at 7 per cent comes to fourteen hundred livres.

The minor expenses to one hundred crowns (*écus*).

The expense of barks, pilots, carpenters and seamen to four thousand livres, so that the advances and expenses will amount to the sum of thirty-three thousand five hundred livres.

But it is to be remarked that the payments to the canoe men, sailors, soldiers, and for the repair of the barks, are made in goods at this country's rate, which is ordinarily double that of France, and therefore such expense will be less than is noted, provided care be taken to have constantly on hand sufficient bread to be sold to the Indians. The grain which will be raised will pay a great portion of this expense, as it is certain there can be distributed,

[1] A *denier* was the twelfth part of a *sous*. — Ed.

yearly, as much as two hundred minots of it at the rate of forty pounds per minot; a beaver worth four francs being easily given for a four or five pound loaf. In addition to this, an armorer and a smith at each post, by repairing the arms and axes of the Indians, may make at their trade over one thousand francs each per annum, clear of all expenses.

To drive a profitable trade, twenty thousand livres must be expended in France in the purchase of the following assortment:

Five pipes *(tonneaux)* of brandy at the rate of two hundred livres the pipe. Five pipes *(tonneaux)* of Wine at 40^{li} the pipe; 2,000 ells of blue Poitou Serge at 2^{li} the ell; 1,000 ells of Iroquois blanketing at 2^{li} 10^{s} the ell; 1,800 white shirts *(chemises)* at 30 sous; five hundred pairs of stockings at 1^{liv} 5^{s} the pair; 2,000 pounds of small kettles at 1^{liv} 5^{s} the pound; two hundred pounds of large black glass beads at 10^{s} the pound; a thousand axes for the trade at 7 and 8 sous the pound; 4,000 pounds of powder at 10 and 12 sous the pound; 7,000 pounds of ball and 3,000 pounds of lead at 120^{liv} the thousand; 1,200 guns at 10^{liv} each; 2,400 *flattins* at 30 sous the dozen; 100 dozen steels *(Battes-feu)* at 1^{liv} 5^{s} the dozen; 50 dozen of large tinned looking-glasses *(miroirs fer-blanc)* at 1^{liv} 10^{s} the dozen; 50 pounds of vermilion at 3^{s} the pound; 250 ells of scarlet stuff *(écarlatine)* at 4^{liv} the ell; and 400^{lbs} of tobacco at 17 sous.

These things, carried to the Indians, will produce as follows:

They get a pint of brandy for a beaver; and consequently, were only two and a half pipes *(tonneaux)* of it sold, allowing the remainder for the expense of the fort and the pay of the soldiers and sailors, to whom it is sold at one hundred sous the quart, the ten barrels, retailed to the Indians at the rate of one hundred quarts to the barrel and of four beavers per quart, would produce four thousand beavers, at four livres a piece, or an equivalent in other peltry, which would amount to sixteen thousand livres, and leave, consequently, fifteen thousand livres profit.

The wine would also serve to pay the expenses of freight and wages, at the rate of 40 sous the quart.

The ell of Poitou serge sells for six francs to the Indians, and that of Iroquois blanketing for eight livres, and consequently on these two articles there would be a profit of thirteen thousand livres.

The shirts sell for at least one hundred sous, and the stockings for eight livres, so that on these two articles there is more than four thousand livres gain.

Kettles sell at four francs the pounds, and consequently there would be 5,500^{liv} profit on that article.

Glass beads sell at eight francs the pound, and axes at thirty sous a piece, so that these two articles would leave a profit of two thousand livres.

Powder sells at 40 sous the pound, and lead at twenty sous, which would make on these two articles over thirteen thousand livres.

Guns sell 24^{liv} each, and therefore would produce 2,400^{liv} more than their cost.

Tobacco sells at eight francs per pound; it would therefore give over 2,000^{liv} profit.

On the scarlet stuff *(écarlatine)* one-half would be gained, which would be worth one thousand livres.

The profit is proportionably greater on the other small articles, such as knives, vermilion, steel, etc., so that with 20,000^{liv} properly employed, twenty thousand ecus[1] profit could

[1] An old coin, valued at sixty sous. — Ed.

be made a year, clear of all expenses, now that all that was necessary to be incurred for buildings, barks, clearances, conveyance of provisions and such like, has been expended by Sieur de Lasalle, who would not have failed to realize great profits, though he might have been obliged to labor for them, were it not for the heavy losses he has suffered rather through the envy of those who were jealous of him than in consequence of his own ill fortune or by reason of tempests.

M. de Seignelay to M. de la Barre.

Extract of the Minister's letter to Monsieur de la Barre, dated Versailles, the 10th April, 1684.

"Maladministration of this Governor, covetous of authority; still more so of gain — reproaches of the King and the Minister."

I cannot sufficiently express to you how much his Majesty has been surprised at the conduct you have observed towards a *habitant* who wished to remove to the English, whom you wanted to hang of your own authority, and who, having escaped, was hung in effigy at Montreal. His Majesty could not comprehend how a man like you, who are acquainted with the laws of the Kingdom, could have desired to assume unto himself a power of life and death in cases not military, and on which his Majesty has not yet pronounced. And although he sends you an Ordinance to the effect that inhabitants not domiciled, who will desert, shall be judged by the Council of war, at which the Intendant shall always be bound to assist, his Majesty wishes you to examine this matter again with him, because it is to be feared that constraint only augments among the people the desire to remove to the English and Dutch, where they will enjoy more freedom.

II. It is impossible to imagine what you meant, when of your own authority, without calling on the Intendant, and without carrying the affair before the Sovereign Council, you caused to be given up to one Guillin a vessel captured by the men named Radisson and des Grozeliers; and, in truth, you ought to prevent the appearance before his Majesty's eyes of this kind of proceeding, in which there is not a shadow of reason, and whereby you have furnished the English with matter of which they will take advantage; for, by your Ordinance you have caused a vessel to be restored, that according to law ought to be considered a Pirate, having no commission; and the English will not fail to say that you had so fully acknowledged the vessel to have been provided with requisite papers, that you had it surrendered to the owners, and will thence pretend to establish their legitimate possession of Nelson river, before the said Radisson and des Grozeliers[1] had been there.

[1] For particulars regarding these two men, consult *Charlevoix' Histoire Nouvelle France*, I., 476, *et seq.* — Ed.

M. de Seignelay to M. de Meules.

Extracts of the Minister's letter to Monsieur de Meules, Intendant of Canada.

Versailles, the 10th April, 1684.

I. You cannot too much encourage the Gentlemen of the Montreal Seminary to increase the establishment of the Indian villages in the neighborhood of their settlements. His Majesty continues to allow them the grant of 6m liv., which he gives them every year.

He has also granted 500 liv. for the Indian women of Montreal at the Mountain. He does not wish them to be placed with the Ursulines, and has given orders to send over three women to teach them to knit, and three others to teach them to spin and to make lace, so as to be able to introduce these manufactures into the country, which will be an advantage to the Colony.

The Colony of New France having need of strengthening and increasing itself by peace and the facilities and advantages which the inhabitants will derive from their commerce and agriculture, his Majesty writes to Monsieur de la Barre that his intention is not to make war if he can avoid it. Yet, as circumstances may arise in a country so distant as Canada which would oblige it to be proclaimed, he empowers the said Sieur de la Barre to begin it, provided he certainly finds himself in a condition to terminate it advantageously in a year's time.

In regard to the expense to be incurred for this war, his Majesty's intention is that it be most carefully economized; and he has discovered even that the expenditure incurred last year by the said Sieur de la Barre was made entirely contrary to form, since those expenses ought to be incurred on the authority of your orders, in regard to which, however, you ought not to interpose any difficulty, when the Governor demands it, in the interest of his Majesty's service.

He is pleased to grant for the expenses to be incurred during this year, and until the dispatch of next year's vessels, a sum of 15 thousandll. Apply yourself sedulously to economize it, and send me an exact account of the expenses you will incur, and all the vouchers in support of them.

II. He has granted the government of Montreal to Sieur de Callieres; and as he has served a long time in the Infantry, and is intelligent, he can assist Monsieur de la Barre in case he find it necessary to wage war against the Iroquois.

III. I recommend you to pay strict attention to the care of said soldiers, to review them frequently, to observe that the Captains frequently exercise them, and to inform me punctually as well of their conduct as of that of their lieutenants.

His Majesty is not willing that either the one or the other have any servant on the Company's roll.

IV. You are not justified in the pretension to enact ordinances to oblige the inhabitants to keep arms in their houses; and when the said Sieur de la Barre was pleased that you sign with him the ordinance he issued in this regard, he felt a deference for you that he was not obliged to have, since that ordinance is an attribute of his principal function, which regards the defence of the country and the military command, and your duty in this matter ought to be, to have his ordinances executed, and to fine those who would fail therein.

V. His Majesty has been informed that the said Sieur de la Barre has taken possession of Fort Frontenac, which is the private property of Sieur de la Salle, and that the men and cattle belonging to the latter have been driven off, so that the lands attached thereto have remained uncultivated; and though it is scarcely probable that this information is well founded, should there be any truth in it I write to Sieur de La Barre that his Majesty wishes he should attend to the reparation of the wrong he might have done to Sieur de la Salle, and with that view that he restore all the property belonging to him to Sieur de La Forest, who returns to the said country by his Majesty's order. Do not fail to render him all the assistance he may require to maintain the establishment which the said de la Salle has made at the said fort. In regard to the walls you propose for the bastion *(pour fair batir la tour)*, his Majesty does not consider that expense necessary.

VI. You will find three ordinances annexed hereunto.

The first prohibiting merchants and inhabitants of New France from exporting to foreign countries any beaver and other peltries.

The second prohibiting foreigners carrying on with said country any trade in said peltries, and obliging the French who will go trading, to take out licenses, and to give security that they will return to the ports of the Kingdom.

And the third to oblige those who will trade in peltries at Hudson's Bay, Isle Percée and other parts of New France, except Acadia, to carry them to Quebec to receive payment for them, and the fourth [to be] retained by the Farmers [of the revenue], as is customary. It is highly important that you carefully attend also to the execution hereof.

You will find appended hereunto an edict for the punishment of the French who will remove to Manatte, Orange and the places belonging to the English [and] Dutch, which you will cause to be enregistered in the Sovereign Council after having communicated it to Monsieur de la Barre.

M. de Seignelay to M. de Meules.

Extract of a letter from the Minister to M. de Meules.

Versailles, the 10th April, 1684.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I write also to him (M. de la Barre) that his Majesty has not approved of his conduct in regard to a Colonist who was desirous of removing to the English, and whom he would have hanged of his own authority, and who, having escaped, has been hanged in effigy at Montreal, he not possessing the power of life and death in cases not Military, and on which his Majesty has not yet given an opinion. And, although his Majesty sends you an ordinance purporting that the inhabitants, not domiciliated, who will desert shall be judged by the Council of war, at which you will always assist, he desires you will again examine into that affair with Sieur de la Barre, because he believes that constraint only stimulates the desire among the Inhabitants of removing to the English and Dutch, where they will experience more freedom.

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You will find, also hereunto annexed, an Edict for the punishment of the French who will remove to Manatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, which you will cause to be enregistered in the Sovereign Council, after having communicated it to M^{r} de la Barre.

Ordinances against Emigration from Canada to the British Colonies.

Ordinance prohibiting all Frenchmen removing to Manhatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, on pain of death against those who will not be domiciliated. Versailles, the 10th April, 1684.

By the King.

His Majesty being informed that several vagabond and loafing Frenchmen, who had immigrated to New France, have removed to Orange, Manatte and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, and that under divers pretexts they incite settlers there to leave their residences and to desert, for the purpose of settling in the said places of Orange and Manatte, which would prevent the tillage and clearance of the lands, and cause eventually the entire ruin of the Colony; it being necessary to remedy the same, his Majesty hath forbidden and doth expressly prohibit all Frenchmen who have immigrated to New France quitting the country and removing to Manatte and Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, on pain of Death against those who will not be domiciliated; his Majesty wills that their trial be had and perfected before the Council of War, which shall, to this end, be composed of the number of 7 Judges, Captains or Lieutenants of the troops he maintains in said country, or other militia officers who are there, whereat shall assist the Governor and Lieutenant-General, and the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in the said country; and in regard to the Frenchmen settled and domiciliated in New France, who will be convicted of the same desertion, his Majesty wills and orders that their trial be had and perfected by the Sovereign Council of Quebec, and that they be punished according to the rigor of this day's Edict. His Majesty Orders and Ordains, &c., &c.

Edict for the punishment of Frenchmen who will remove to Manatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch. Versailles, 10th April, 1684.

Louis, &c., To all present and to come, Greeting: Being informed that divers of our subjects settled in our Country of New France, and who have lands there to them belonging, keep up an intercourse with vagabond and loafing Frenchmen who have deserted to settle at Manatte, Orange and other places under the dominion of the English and Dutch, and that they have been led, by this example of *feucantise* and licentiousness, to abandon the cultivation and clearing of their lands, which would inevitably bring ruin on the Colony, were it not promptly remedied; Wherefore we have, by these presents signed by our hand, expressly

forbidden and prohibited all Frenchmen, inhabiting New France, removing to Orange, Manatte and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, without our permission or that of those who have authority from us to grant it; We Will that those of our subjects who shall become ringleaders, and who, as Chiefs, will have undertaken to desert and remove to the said English and Dutch, be condemned to Death; and in regard to those who shall be taken deserting individually, or who shall have followed the said leaders, that they be condemned to the galleys for life. We enjoin our Judges to condemn them to the said penalties agreeably to these presents. We give in Command, to our beloved and faithful Councillors, the persons holding our Sovereign Council of Quebec, that they cause these presents to be read, published, enregistered and executed according to their form and tenor. For such is Our Pleasure. And in order that it be a thing forever firm and Stable, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents, without at all in other respects Our right and that of Others [infringing], &c.

Commission for Sieur de la Salle.

Commission for Sieur de la Salle: Versailles, 14th of April, 1684.

Louis, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, Greeting: Having resolved to cause some expeditions to be undertaken in North America, to subject to our dominion divers savage tribes, and to convey to them the light of the Faith and of the Gospel, We have been of opinion that We could not make a better choice than of Sieur de la Salle to command in our name all the Frenchmen and Indians whom he will employ for the execution of the orders We have entrusted unto him. For these and other reasons Us moving, and being moreover well informed of his affection and fidelity for Our service, We have by these presents, signed by Our hand, constituted and ordained, commission and ordain, the said Sieur de la Salle to command under Our authority, as well in the Country which will be subject anew to Our dominion in North America, from Fort St. Louis on the River of the Illinois, unto New Biscay, as well among the French and Indians, whom he will employ in the expeditions We have entrusted to his care, cause them to live in union and concord, the one with the other, keep the soldiers in good order and police according to Our rules, appoint Governors and special Commanders in the places he shall think proper, until it shall by Us be otherwise ordered, maintain trade and traffic, and generally to do and exercise for Us in the said country all that shall appertain to the Office of Commandant, and enjoy its powers, honors, authorities, prerogatives, preëminences, franchises, liberties, wages, rights, fruits, profits, revenues and emoluments during Our pleasure. To execute which, [We] have given and do give unto you power, by these presents, whereby We Command all Our said Subjects and Soldiers to acknowledge, obey and hear you in things relating to the present power. For such is Our Pleasure.

In Witness whereof, We have caused Our privy seal to be affixed to these presents. Given at Versailles, the 14th April, 1684, &c.

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

* * * * * * * * * * *

An amdassador from the Senecas arrived here at the time I received the news of their attack. He manifests every kind disposition at the moment those people destroy us. This obliged me to secure his person and suite without his being aware of it as yet, treating him in other respects very well, in order to try and be able to withdraw, by means of him, the Rev[d] Jesuit Fathers, who are in great peril in the Iroquois Missions. I have had no negotiation with him as yet, so as to gain time to be able to have troops and provisions conveyed to Fort Frontenac for its security above all things.

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Were his Majesty to please to write to M. Barillon, that he may obtain an order from the King of England, prohibiting Colonel Dunkuen to assist, with arms and ammunition, the Iroquois who attack us, I believe it would be of very great utility in this war. He has written me a very civil general letter, and I have sent a man expressly to compliment him, him, and to ask of him the same thing which he doubtless would grant me if he had an express order on this subject from the King his Master,

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Your most humble and
Most obedient servant,

Quebec, the 5[th] June, 1684. (signed) Le Febur de la Barre.

Reverend Father de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

My Lord,

I come at the beginning of the year to renew to you my respects, and to testify to you the joy I feel that your arrival in Canada has averted the scourge of war from the Colony. The three Burgomasters who visited you have acted here agreeably to your intentions. They again held, eight days since, great Councils with the Captains and warriors, at which they have resolved to give you satisfaction on the proposals you made them; they say they must not contravene the orders of their father, who has spoken to them so authoritatively and with so many proofs of benevolence, and who has uttered no menace or angry expression.

The man named Garanontié has spoken by a Wampum belt to the Chief of the warriors, and has turned the musket towards the Chaouennons. Our father Onontio, he said, merits obedience; he desires that his allies should not be hereafter insulted. He told me that if you wished to protect the Oumiamis, they will be enumerated among your allies, and that there is a strong disposition to satisfy you. Presents conjoined with kindness and courtesy are arms which the Iroquois scarcely ever resist; on the other hand, threats or even war would have been equally fatal to the Colony. You know better than I that a few bandits in Italy have disabled troops six times more numerous than theirs, and that the Burgundy dairymen formerly gave considerable trouble to the Prince. Soldiers who would prove good in the centre of a plain would be thrown into disorder in such forests as these here, and besides that, the Iroquois, daring and well armed, and who makes war like a thief, would have inflicted

considerable injury on the French. The prudence of a Chief goes hand in hand with his valor and intrepidity. The country is indebted to your prudence for its preservation; a premature war would have indubitably reduced it to extremities.

Sieur de la grand Guele, who has been entirely won over by your liberality and the kind bearing with which you received him, is become your creature. He appears to be your man of business with Garakontie. He panegyrized you a few days ago when addressing the warriors, and exhorted the one and the other to act in a friendly manner to all your allies whom they will meet in the hunting grounds to which they are about to proceed; to assemble here again in the spring, and to form a numerous war party, the chief of which is called Hannatakta, to whom I gave a present in your name. He it was who last year opposed the Cayugas and Senecas, in order to keep the promise he caused to be made to you that he should not go to war that year against the Illinois and Oumiamis, which he faithfully observed. I say that he will possibly go to Montreal to pay his respects to you, and to observe nigher than here what sort of a man you are *(comme vous avez l'esprit fuit)*. (These are his words.)

As Sieur de la grande Gueule says he will go to see you this summer to speak of divers matters in answer to the message you entrusted to him, and particularly about the affair of the armorer, I have not inquired of him, for you, what he desired this year, which is the first of the pension you are so good as to allow him.

The man named Oreouahé, of Cayuga, told me also he intended to visit you at Montreal. It is he who made Father de Carheil[1] to withdraw from Cayuga, and who treacherously brought the six Tionnontatés there. He is exceedingly proud. Sorrennoa and he are the two greatest Chiefs in Cayuga. It is of this Oreouahé that the English of Albany (formerly Orange) made use to prevent Sieur Penn purchasing the land of the Andastogués,[2] who were conquered by the Iroquois and the English of Maryland.

I believe he will be better pleased with you than with the English, after he shall have the honor of an interview with you. I told him that if he should wish to see Father de Carheil again where he was going to, you will send for him to Montreal. He has great influence among the Cayugas; has conceived profound esteem for you as a great Captain, which he also piques himself to be. Your dexterity and experience in winning over all those various characters will attach him to you, as I believe, most intimately, and he will be convinced that

[1] Reverend Etienne de Carheil arrived at Quebec on the 6th of August, 1666; went in 1667 to Onondaga, whence he removed, in November of the following year, to Cayuga; he left that place in 1671 on account of sickness, but on recovering his health returned thither. The obduracy of this tribe rendered his situation here particularly discouraging, and he was obliged to leave altogether, as above related. He was at Detroit in 1687 or 8. In 1690, we find him at Michilimakinac, where he gave information to the authorities of Canada, of some secret negotiations between the Ottawas and Senecas, for which see his letter in Charlevoix' *Histoire Nouvelle France*, I., 568. He it was who converted to Christianity the great Huron Chief Kondiaront, or the *Rat*, who used to say that there were but two men of talent in Canada — Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. He spent sixty years on the mission, and spoke the Huron and Iroquois languages with as much ease as French. Though the Indians looked up to him with great respect, his labors as a missionary were not crowned with all the success he desired. He resided at Quebec in 1721, where he died, in July, 1726.

[2] This tribe, called also Andastés by the French, occupied the Upper part of the Susquehanna river, from seven to ten days' journey from Western New-York. *New-York Documentary History*, I., 393. The precise date of the subjugation of the Susquehannas by the Five Nations is still undetermined. Mr. Gallatin thinks it occurred between 1664 and 1680. In *Deed Book*, VI., 28, in Secretary's office, Albany, is a Commission to Col. Coursey, from the Governor of Maryland, dated 30th April, 1677, in which it is stated that "the said Susquehannos have *lately* desired to come to a Treaty of Peace with his said Lordship [Baltimore], and have (as I am informed) Since ye said Overture submitted themselves to, and putt themselves under the prottection of the Cinnigos [Senecas] or some other natyon of Indyans residing to ye Northward of this Province." It would hence appear that their conquest occurred about 1676. — Ed.

the Onontio of Canada is quite a different thing from the Burgomasters of Orange, whose civilities in his regard are the never-ending subject of his praise.

It is reported that the chiefs of Mohawk having been to visit the Governor of New England, he has exhorted them not to kill nor burn people any more, and to become Christians; and on their asking him to continue the sale of powder to them, that he replied, it should be continued so long as they would not wage war against Christians.

An Iroquois of the village where I reside killed another Englishman at the end of Autumn, towards Virginia. Six or seven houses were pillaged at the same time by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondages and Cayugas. The English of New York, with whom they trade, dare not even censure them for the many insults they repeatedly inflict on their brethren; so much so that the Iroquois are astonished at it. The apprehension of losing the trade, for some years, has condemned them to a cowardly silence.

Next summer the Governor of New York is, as 'tis reported, to come to Mohawk, and to speak there to the Iroquois. We'll see what he'll say. He has sent a ragged ship's flag to the Mohawks, to be hoisted there. These are the armorial bearings of England. That flag is still in the public chest of the Mohawks; I know not when it will see the light.

I pray God, My Lord, long to preserve your person, and to heap his blessings on it. I am always with profound submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

February 10th, 1684. JEAN DE LAMBERVILLE.

The most influential Captains here, who decide affairs of war with the Ancients, had intended to go and pay you their respects, and to agree with you on the boundaries of the territory of your allies; but as you named only two of them to me, and they apprehended that the jealousy of some who might not have been invited would excite murmurs against them, they have postponed until next year the deliberation on this matter. 'Tis certain that the Iroquois are extremely sensitive to any mark of esteem and friendship evinced towards them, and any little underhand present is to them a preservative against all the bad impressions sought to be made on them.

M. de Meulles to M. de Seignelay.

Quebec, 8th July, 1684.

My Lord,

You will please permit me to give you an account, by every opportunity, of what occurs in this country, principally on the subject of the war which we are obliged to wage against the Iroquois, the sworn enemies of this Colony. We are making all sorts of preparations here to enable us to transport conveniently, as far as Lake Ontario, a body of people sufficient to form a small army. We have purchased the greatest number of canoes possible; but not finding enough of them, we have been obliged to have pine bateaux made, 25 feet in length, which will assuredly create some trouble about thirty leagues above Montreal, where, there being extraordinary rapids, the greatest number of men possible will be employed in towing

each bateau. We expect to be able to have twenty to twenty-five hands there; and after the bateaux shall have passed those rapids, we are assured that they can proceed without difficulty the remainder of the way as far as the Senecas.

A fortnight or three weeks since, the General sent to Fort Frontenac a fleet of twenty-five canoes, containing nothing but flour and pork. We expect to send up, within eight or ten days, a larger one, with everything requisite for the munition and subsistence of troops. Everybody proceeds willingly to this war. There was some sort of noise at the beginning, but I easily appeased it by my presence and an ordinance that I was obliged to have published, which has had a very good effect; being certain that since that time no one has murmured. Every one was beginning to complain publicly; I believe had they had less confidence in me, that it might have caused a sedition in the country. They openly stated that they were going to War only to preserve the Beaver of five or six merchants of the Lower town of Quebec, who monopolize all the trade; and that it was very vexatious that four or five hundred persons should have been sent into the woods, and to witness the departure of two barks in time of war, each containing thirty-five to forty young men, without families, and among the strongest and most robust, on a trading voyage to Hudson's Bay, whilst fathers of families, who have nothing but their hands wherewith to support their wives and children, are obliged to abandon and leave them in the greatest necessity. Though all this reasoning be true, it is still of the greatest consequence not to allow the people the liberty of expressing their opinion.

I consider myself bound in conscience to inform you that never has anything so extraordinary been heard as we see daily practised in this country. This empire may be said to be divided between the King and the Governor; and were this to last long, the Governor's share would be far greater than that of his Majesty. Those who were sent this year by the General to Fort Frontenac to trade, have already divided with him ten to twelve thousand crowns. Last year he had a bark constructed, which he made his Majesty pay for and which cost considerable, in the design of going to trade in Lake Ontario with the Senecas, the Indians of Niagara, and all the other Indians around that lake; which is so true that Father Garnier,[1] a Jesuit, who was a Missionary to the said Senecas, after being informed secretly of our intention to make war, escaped in the said bark, which was anchored in a little River seven leagues from their village, and where all the Iroquois used to come to trade. Had not two barks, at present at Fort Frontenac, been trading, they would have saved us half the expense that we are obliged to incur for the conveyance of munitions and provisions to the said fort, because they would have come to the head of the rapids, which is within thirty leagues of Montreal, and in place of the Canoes being obliged to go to said Fort, they would have discharged their freight into the said barks, and have made two voyages instead of one; and what costs ten to twelve livres per hundred weight freight, would have cost at most only four francs, or one hundred sous. But this presumed necessity, since two years, for barks at Fort Frontenac, which obliges Carpenters to be hired, and a great quantity of iron, cordage, sails, and many other things to be transported thither at a vast expense to his Majesty, was merely with the design of prosecuting trade, as clearly appears on this occasion, inasmuch as, at the time we are under the necessity of waging war, not a bark nor a soul was at the said Fort, although last year very great provision had been made there, so much so that, in addition to the bark, there were seven or eight Canoes trading at the Falls of Niagara for the interested of the said Fort,

[1] Supra, p. 171, note 2.

which is the place where the savages pass on their return from hunting. The said Fort was so destitute that several Senecas, going there in the month of May, after having traded their peltries there, demanded some brandy from the man named Champagne, who is the store keeper and warden. But, apprehending some disorder on the part of the said Iroquois, through drunkenness, he refused them any, which obliged them to force the said Fort, to make themselves masters of it, and even to pillage it; but knowing nothing of the insult offered the fourteen Frenchmen in the Illinois country, and supposing we were at profound peace, they restored all the merchandise, after having given Champagne and the handful of people there a sound drubbing, and drank as much brandy as they pleased; which clearly proves that the General uses this Fort only as a store for the trade throughout Lake Ontario.

Another very considerable trade is also carried on in the direction of [New] England, and under pretence of sending letters to Colonel Dongan, Governor of the said country, two persons, on the part of the General, divert, to the prejudice of his Majesty's Revenue, as many peltries as they can, in that direction, to get dollars in return. This is done so publicly, that there are at the present moment in Quebec two English or Dutch men in daily intercourse with the General and Sieur de la Chesnaye, a merchant of this town, for the purpose of adopting effectual measures. It has appeared extraordinary to me that, having the honor to be Intendant in this country, those two strangers had all this time been without visiting me; but that occurring with the General's approbation, and not wishing to excite any difficulty, I considered it my duty to suffer everything. In a word, My Lord, this war has been determined on in the General's Cabinet, with six of the richest merchants of the country. Had it not been of advantage to their designs, he would have found means to accommodate every thing; but the merchants having given him to understand that they were exposed to continual pillage; and having an extraordinary amount of merchandise in the woods, in nearly two hundred canoes, equipped since last year, that it was more advantageous to make use of every means, and to employ the people of the country to wage war against the Senecas, after which, he hopes to realize in safety extraordinary profits. For of two things, one will happen; either we shall have a considerable advantage over the said Indians, as there is reason to hope, if the General march to their village with the troops we have levied, being almost assured that they will not stand before us; or a peace, which will secure all things for a season. These are, assuredly, the sole motives of the war; having for its object and principle nothing but self-interest, and to surprise the Court by specious reasons, in giving a very fine coloring to all his actions. He has said himself, there was good fishing in troubled waters; which, undoubtedly, gives us to suppose that he will make use of this war for some extraordinary stroke for his own advantage. Perhaps, My Lord, you will have reason to complain of my silence; but I thought my duty obliged me to express my opinion to the General and then remain silent. I shall speak when you please; but until then, you will permit me to obey and submit to the orders you prescribed, and his Majesty laid down for me in my Instructions, which is to suffer everything, and to acquaint the Court thereof. I had rather that you should reproach me with having suffered too much than with having excited quarrels and wars in the country, and, by my intrigues, divided the Colony as it has hitherto been. I shall take the liberty of remarking, My Lord, to you in passing, that it had been better for the country that we both should have been at logger-heads, than to suffer what is occurring every day to the ruin of the people; but I believed I could never err in adhering so closely as I have done to my orders, which I always regarded as an absolute command

from his Majesty, since my instructions direct me, in positive terms, to suffer even what the Governor might do contrary to the King's service. The law I have prescribed to myself, My Lord, so as to give the country peace, has obliged me to observe silence before the whole world regarding what I take the liberty of mentioning to you, and not to confer with any person about it, except in so far as I am obliged to do to acquaint myself of everything, in order to give you private information thereof. Be persuaded, My Lord, that I take the liberty of communicating to you only facts incontestable and known to all the world. This is the third or fourth letter which I have the honor to address you on this subject. I await your resolution with much impatience, in order to conform myself entirely thereunto. If you condemn my proceeding, impose silence on me, and you will never hear me speak on the subject; but his Majesty having invested me with my present office, and entertaining, as I do, the feeling of honor I have professed all my life, and being under so many obligations to you, I considered I ought not to conceal anything from you.

Though I had the honor, My Lord, to entertain you with the preparations we are making for the war, and the great expenses to which the General subjects his Majesty, I shall, without being a prophet, take the liberty to tell you, my Lord, that I do not perceive any disposition in the Governor to make war on those Savages. I believe he will content himself with paddling as far as Cataracouy or Fort Frontenac, and then send for the Senecas to negotiate peace with them, and make a fool of the people, of the Intendant, and of his Majesty (were it allowable so to speak with all due respect), which proves that he sacrifices everything to his interests. He takes with him Sieur de la Chesnaye, who is the richest merchant of this city, and his sole counsellor. The first time we spoke of this war, and when it was determined on, he promised me to write to Michilimakinak to send down at least two hundred of those Frenchmen who are by his orders trading in the woods, who were to bring with them four or five hundred of our Indian allies. He lately said that the letters have been lost on the way, which shows that it is a game that will cost his Majesty, in my opinion, thirty thousand crowns *(écus)*. I could not refuse to grant him whatever he asked of me for the expenses of this war, otherwise he would have held me responsible for everything; but I so conducted myself, and exerted myself so particularly to furnish him whatever he required, that he has no reason to make me the least reproach.

Sieur Perrot, Governor of Montreal, who has been interdicted by his Majesty, and one Sainte Helene, son of Sieur Lemoyne, after searching for each other, fought fifteen days ago at Montreal, in the public square, on account of some reports which had reached their ears, and were both wounded. The general took cognizance of this affair as judge of the point of honor. I willingly permitted it, and contented myself with telling him that insults, blows and cudgellings among gentlemen appertained to the Marshals of France and Governors-General, inasmuch as they were punished by fine, imprisonment and reparation of honor, but that his Majesty had referred to the Sovereign Courts duels and even all single combats, whether accidental or otherwise; and lest they should design in this instance to fight, which has already formerly happened, you will have the goodness, if you please, My Lord, to advise me of your intention in the premises, and to take the trouble to send me his Majesty's last declaration relative to duels, and to be so good as to inform me if it concern the Sovereign Council or the Intendant. I believe that it is the Sovereign courts in France; but if it be the same thing here, be assured that no person will ever be punished, it being certain that the Council is connected with, or closely related to, all the gentlemen and the most prominent persons of the country.

I shall finish this letter, My Lord, by telling you that the General departed yesterday, the tenth of July, with a detachment of two hundred men. All Quebec was grieved to see him embark on a war expedition *tête a tête* with the man named La Chesnaye, which appeared very extraordinary to the Bishop, to all the Jesuits, and to every honest man in the country, and causes all to say that it is a mere deception, and that both of them are going to arrange everything, and, in a word, to do and conclude what shall be to the advantage of their own trade. The General has undertaken the war without consulting any one in the country but the merchants, as I have had the honor to inform you. He will also conclude peace by the same council. Were all his actions as manifest in Paris as they are here, he would run considerable risk of his person; and nobody has ever heard of a subject undertaking war and peace without consulting Military men and those of most influence in the colony. The King himself, [who] has his Council, does not do so except by the ministry of his ambassadors. The whole country is in despair on beholding this mode of proceeding, and the greater portion complain that I do not say more than I do; but as I only possess the privilege of remonstrating with the General, they are not aware how far I am restricted. This will oblige me to observe constant regularity in the performance of my duty. Had I contradicted him in the least tittle, he would not fail to impute to me all the evil that might happen, for I am certain that there are no bounds either to his words or to his actions. I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient
Servant

This 12 July, 1684. De Meulles.

Louis XIV. to M. de la Barre.

Extracts of a letter addressed by the King to Monsieur de la Barre, from Versailles, the 31st July, 1684.

Monsieur De la Barre,

By your letters of the 5th June last, I have seen the resolution you have adopted of attacking the Iroquois, and the reasons which impelled you thereunto; and though this be a grave misfortune for the colony of New France, as it will interrupt the trade of my subjects, divert them from agriculture, and expose them to frequent insults on the part of the Iroquois Savages, who can often surprise them in distant settlements, without it being in your power to afford them any assistance, yet I fail not to approve your adopting this resolution, inasmuch as by the insult they offered to the fifteen Frenchmen whom they plundered, and by the attack on Fort Saint Louis, you have reason to believe that they seriously meditated a declaration of war. And as I wish to put you in a position to sustain and terminate hostilities with diligence, I issue orders for equipping the ship *L'Emerillon*, on board of which I cause to embark three hundred soldiers, quartered in the ports of Brest and Rochefort, with the number of Officers and Marines contained in the rolls you will find annexed; and this aid, with that sent you by the last vessels from Rochelle, and of which you have been advised by my former letters, will afford you the means to fight at an advantage, and to utterly destroy

those people, or at least to place them in a condition, after having been punished, to accept peace on the terms you will impose on them.

In regard to this war, you must observe that, even should you prosecute it with advantage, if you do not find means to do so promptly, it will no less cause the ruin of the colony, the people of which cannot subsist in the continual alarm they will be of an attack from the savages, and in the impossibility of attending to their trade and agriculture. Therefore, whatever advantage you may be enabled to reap for the glory of my arms and the total destruction of the Indians by the continuance of this war, you ought to prefer a peace which, restoring quiet to my subjects, will place you in a position to increase the Colony by the means pointed out to you in my preceding letters.

I write to my Ambassador in England to obtain orders from the Duke of York, forbidding his Commander at Boston to assist the Indians with troops, arms or ammunition; and I have reason to believe that [these] orders will be dispatched as soon as application shall be made for them on my part.

I am [by no means] well pleased to inform you that, from all I learn of occurrences in Canada, the fault you have committed in not punctually executing my orders in regard to the number of twenty-five licenses to be granted to my subjects, and the vast quantities of them you have issued in every direction, in favor of your own people, appear to me to have been the principal cause of what has happened on the part of the Iroquois. I hope you will repair this fault by putting a prompt and glorious termination to this war.

You have incurred expenses for the reëstablishment of the Fort of Quebec, and for divers other things, without the participation of Sieur de Meulles, which I have not approved, as that was not within your attributes, but in those of the Intendant, to whom you ought to communicate the necessity for this kind of expense, which ought to be ordered and authorized by him.

It also appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war proceeds from the man named Du L hut having two Iroquois killed, who had assassinated two Frenchmen on Lake Superior; and you perceive how much this man's voyage, which could not be of any advantage to the country, and has not been permitted except for some private persons' interest, has contributed to disturb the repose of that Colony.

As it tends to the good of my service to diminish, as much as possible, the number of the Iroquois, and moreover, as these savages, who are very strong and robust, will serve usefully in my galleys, I will that you do every thing in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war and have them embarked by every opportunity that will offer, in order that they be conveyed to France.

II. I stated to you, in my letter of the 14th April last, that I wished you to afford every protection to Sieur de La Forest, and that you interpose no obstacle to his voyage. I again repeat, that my intention is that you allow him to execute the orders he has received, and that you afford him the necessary means to proceed in safety to the place of his destination.

I will, also, that you leave the possession of Fort Frontenac to Sieur de la Salle, or to those people who will be there on his behalf, and that you do nothing adverse to the interest of that man whom I take under my particular protection.

M. de Seignelay to M. Barillon.

Versailles, 31st July, 1684.

Sir,

The King has been informed that Mr. de la Barre, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty in New France, has been obliged to declare war against the Iroquois; and as there is nothing to prevent the prompt termination of that war to the advantage of the French Colony, if aid in men, arms and munitions be not furnished to those savages by the English Commander at Boston, the King orders me to write to you that his intention is that you apply to the Duke of York for precise instructions to that governor, prohibiting him from giving any aid to those savages, but, on the contrary, that he act in concert and entire correspondence with the said de La Barre in all that will be to the common advantage of both Nations.

It will be well that you procure a duplicate of those orders, so that I may send it by a vessel about to sail immediately from Rochelle.

I am, &c.

Return of the Troops at Fort Frontenac.

Review made at the head of our little Army, composed of the King's Troops, of the Militia of the Country, and Indians that have joined us, in presence of all the Officers, Volunteer Noblesse who have been so good as to accompany us, and of the Serjeants-Major commanding the Brigades of Militia.

In the bark *La Generale*, gone down to La Galette, the 6th of August, 1684, to unload the hundred *(cent)* of the Canoes.

Monsieur de Saint-Michel, commander of said bark.
The Pilot, La Fontaine.
Messier.
Blondeau.
René, King's carpenter.
Boisjolly, La Montagne, la Fleur, Arnault, Labrie, Soldiers.

General Return of the King's troops, according to the review made thereof in presence of the General, the 14 August, 1684.

Monsieur Du Tast, First Captain.
Sieur de La Groye, Lieutenant.
In said Company—2 Serjeants, 41 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Monsieur de Cahouet, second Captain, present.
Monsieur de Saint-Basile, Lieutenant, left sick at Montreal.
In the Second Company—1 Serjeant, 43 Soldiers, 1 Drum.

Chevalier Aubry, 3d Captain, present.
Sieur de La Rouarie, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 1 Serjeant, 41 Soldiers.
Five soldiers in the bark, as above, 5.
Total, 4 Serjeants, 130 Soldiers, 2 Drums.

Return of the Soldiers of the Vanguard, commanded by Monsieur Dugué.

Monsieur de Longueil, Major,
The Captain of Montreal,
Sieur Mantet, Lieutenant, } present.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 34 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Monsieur D'Aumeny, Captain of the lower end of the Island, present.
Sieur de la Fleur, Lieutenant.
In said Company—12 Serjeants, 39 Soldiers.
Monsieur de Chailly, Captain of the upper end of the Island.
Sieur de Saint Missel, Lieutenant, absent on duty.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 35 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
A man from the Convoy, 1.
Monsieur de Sueves, Captain of the Côtes de Sorel, etc.
Sieur du Verné, Lieutenant.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 45 Soldiers.
Total, 10 Serjeants, 193 Soldiers, 2 Drums.

Return of the Corps of reserve.

Monsieur de Villebon, Brigade-Major.
Monsieur de Godefroy de Saint Paul, Captain of Three Rivers, present.
Sieur de la Bretonnière, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 1 Serjeant, 24 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Five Soldiers from the Convoy, 5.
Monsieur du Tilly, Captain of the Côte de Beaupré.
Sieur Lieutenant.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 56 Soldiers.
Monsieur de Beauvais, Captain of the Côte de Batiskan, present.
Sieur de Montplaisir, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 37 Soldiers.
Monsieur Duchesnay, Captain of Beauport, present.
Sieur Traversy, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 2 Soldiers,[1] 35 Soldiers.
Monsieur de la Ferté, Captain of the Côte du Cap-Rouge, present.
Sieur de Mezeray, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 49 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Total, 9 Serjeants, 216 Soldiers, 1 [2] Drum.

Return of the Rear-guard, commanded by Monsieur D'Orvilliers.

Monsieur de Lotbinière, Colonel, commanding the Quebec regiment.
Monsieur Dupuy, Major.

[1] *Sic.* for Serjeants. — Ed.

Sieur Desambaux, Aid-Major.
Monsieur de Beaulieu, Lieutenant of the Colonel's company, present.
In said Company— 2 Serjeants, 75 Soldiers.
Monsieur de Beaumont, Captain of the Island of Orleans, present.
Sieur Thibierge, Lieutenant, present.
In said Company— 4 Serjeants, 70 Soldiers, 1 Drum.
Monsieur Dumont, Captain of the Côte de Lauzon, present.
Sieur Vincelot, Lieutenant.
In said Company— 3 Serjeants, 59 Soldiers.
Total, 9 Serjeants, 204 Soldiers, 1 Drum.

In the Fort.

The Reverend Father François,[1] a Recollet Friar, Colin, Interpreter,
Sieur Bertet, La Fleur,
Sieur Prenouveau, Le Vasser,
Pertuy, locksmith, Baptist, servant.

Carpenters.

M^rs^. Moyse, Petitit Trein, Montroux, Pelletier, Bastien, Le Petit Breton, Caulker,
LAnglois, Mesnier Cassan, Cassan, Jean de Quebec, Marmande,
Soldiers of Monsieur Dutast's Company omitted therein.
La Grenade, Soldier of M. Cahouet's Company omitted therein.
Jean Bardineau, Gregoire, farmer of the fort, his wife,
Pierre Pruneau, and five children, for three persons.
Jean Dubois,
Bisestre, Mechanic,
Making, in all, twenty-nine persons.

Done and concluded at Fort Frontenac, the Fourteenth August, 1684.

LE FEBURE DELABARRE.

Presents of the Onondagas to Onontio at La Famine, the 5th 7ber, 1684.

Endorsed by the Minister: These are to be kept secret.

The Onnontagués, whose mediation between the French and the Senecas the General accepted, having repaired to a place called La Famine, about 25 leagues from their country, Hateouati, who is Orator of that Nation, spoke by fifteen presents, not only on behalf of the Senecas, but of the other four Iroquois Nations also. After having taken God to witness the sincerity of his heart, and having assured Onontio of the truth of his words, he spoke in this wise:

[1] Rev. FRANÇOIS WASSON. He came to Canada in 1681, and was six years among the Iroquois at this post. *Le Clercq: Gaspesie*, 561, 570. He was succeeded by Father Luke Buisset. — ED.

1st Word of the Iroquois.

I give you a beverage devoid of bitterness, to purify whatever inconvenience you may have experienced during the voyage, and to dispel what bad air soever you may have breathed between Montreal and this place,

2d Word.

I take from you the hatchet with which you threaten to strike the Senecas. Remember he is your child, and that you are his father.

3d Word.

M. Lemoine, your ordinary envoy, having come last year, and speaking to us in your name, cut a deep ditch, into which he told us you and we should cast all the unkind things that might occur; I have not forgotten this word, and in obedience to it request you to throw into that ditch the Seneca robbery, that it may disturb neither our Country nor yours.

4th Word.

I again set up the tree of peace, which we planted at Montreal in the conference we had the honor to have with you last summer.

5th Word.

I exhort you, Father, to sustain it strongly, in order that nothing may shake it.

6th Word.

I again tie up *(je rattache)* the Sun,[1] which was altogether obscured: I dispel all the clouds and mists that concealed it from our sight.

7th Word.

The robbery committed by the Senecas on your nephews is not a sufficient motive to make war against them. Where has blood been shed? I promise you that satisfaction shall be afforded you for the loss the French have experienced by the pillage of their merchandise.

Answer of Onontio to the words of Hoteouaté.

As I have placed in your hands the mediation with the Senecas, I wish truly to do what you ask me. I therefore lay down my Hatchet and refer to you to obtain a reasonable satisfaction.

Answer.

That ditch is well cut, but as your young men have no sense, and as they make this a pretext for committing acts of hostility anew, after having cast the Seneca robbery into that ditch, as you desire. Stop your young men, as I shall restrain mine. I cover it up forever.

Answer.

It is not I who think of throwing it down: it is your nephews who have seriously shaken it. I strengthen it.

Answer.

'Tis well that you promise me satisfaction: deceive me not. The first thing that I expect of you is, that you restore me the two Etionnontaté prisoners who are with the Seneca, and a third who remains at Cayuga.

[1] A figurative expression, meaning to renew a firm Peace. *La Potherie.* — Ed.

8th Word.

Onontio, my father, I am always uneasy and cannot pluck up courage, whatever kindnesses you have the goodness to show me. What disquiets me is to behold soldiers, hear these drums, etc. I pray you return to Quebec, so that your children may sleep in peace.

Answer of Onontio.

I depart to-morrow and quit this country, to show you what deference I pay to your demands.

9th Word.

The fire of peace and the halls of our Councils were at Frontenac or at Montreal. The former is a poor country, where the Grasshoppers prevent me sleeping, and the second is very far away for our old men. I kindle the fire of peace on this spot, which is the most agreeable that we can select, where there is good fishing, hunting, &c.

Answer.

I accept the selection you have made of this place for our conferences, without, however, extinguishing the fire which I have lighted at Montreal.

10th Word.

Our warriors as well as our other chiefs have accepted the peace. I bear their words by this belt.

Answer.

You need not doubt the obedience of my soldiers; endeavor to make yourselves obeyed by your own. To prove to you that I firmly uphold the tree of peace, I sent to Niagara to cause the army to return which was coming from that direction.

Eleventh Word.

You told us, last summer, to strike the enemy no more. We heard your voice. We shall go no more to war in that quarter.

Answer.

Remember that the Maskoutenek is brother to the Oumeami. Therefore strike neither the one nor the other.

12th Word.

He has killed some of my people this spring, in divers rencounters; but as you bound my arms I allowed myself to be struck, without defending myself.

Answer.

That's well; you need not pursue the Oumeami who struck you; I shall send him word not to commit any more acts of hostility.

13th Word.

Regarding the Illinois, I am at war with him; we shall both of us die fighting.

Answer.

Take heed, in firing at the Illinois, not to strike the French whom you meet on your path and in the neighborhood of Fort St. Louis.

14th Word.

Restore to us the Missionaries whom you have withdrawn from our villages.

Answer.

They shall not be taken from you who are my mediators; and when the Senecas will have commenced to give me satisfaction, they shall be restored to them as well as to the other Nations.

15th and last Word.	Answer of Onontio.
Prevent the Christians of the Saut and of the Mountain coming any more among us to seduce our people to Montreal; let them cease to dismember our Country as they do every year.	It is not my children of the Saut nor of the Mountain who dismember your country; it is yourselves who dismember it by your drunkenness and your superstitions. Besides, there is full liberty to come and reside among us.

The General has added two presents to the above.

By the first he said: You see the consideration which I have for the request you have made me. I ask you in return, if the Seneca, Cayuga, or any other commit a similar insult against me, that you first give him some sense, and if he will not hear you, that you abandon him as one disaffected.

By the last belt he exhorted them to listen not to evil counsels, and told them to conduct Tegannehout back to Seneca, and to report the above conclusions.

M. de la Barre's proceedings with the Five Nations.

Memoir of M. de Labarre as to what had occurred and had been done regarding the War against the Senecas.

Having been obliged to leave early in June, agreeably to the resolution adopted by the Intendant, the Bishop, the heads of the country and myself, to wage war against the Senecas for having, in cold blood, pillaged seven ~~hundred~~ canoes belonging to Frenchmen; arrested and detained the latter, to the number of fourteen, as prisoners for nine days; and afterwards attacked Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois, where Chevalier de Baugy gallantly defended himself; and having also resolved, at the same time, to seize Teganeout, one of their chiefs, and his twelve companions who had come to ratify the peace made last year; and had left their country before they heard of this attack; a circumstance that would have obliged me not to treat them ill, but merely to secure their persons; we considered three things proper and necessary to be done: First, to endeavor to divide the Iroquois among themselves, and for this purpose to send some persons expressly to communicate my sentiments to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who are Missionaries there, and to request them to act; secondly, to send to the Outaouacs to engage our French to come to my assistance by the South, by Lake Erie, and to bring as many as they could of the savages, our allies; and thirdly, to advise Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, of what we were obliged to do, whilst at the same time I should throw a considerable reinforcement of men into Fort Frontenac to secure it. Being arrived at Montreal the tenth of the said month, we sent for M^r^ Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of said town and of the Indian Mission at the Mountain, and the Reverend Father Brias, Superior of the Mission of the Sault Saint Louis, who, after having concurred with us, furnished seven Christian Iroquois, friendly to the French and pretty shrewd, two of whom we sent with some Belts of Wampum to the Mohawks, and two to the Oneidas, to say to them that we were resolved to observe peace made with them—that we were very

willing to live there as with friends—and that we requested them not to interfere in the war we were about to wage against the Senecas, who had cruelly insulted us in the instance of the Frenchmen whom they had plundered and seized, and of Fort Saint Louis which they had attacked since, and in violation of the peace made last year at Montreal; we sent the three others to Onontagué to explain the same things, and finally I dispatched Sieurs Guillet and Hébert to the Outaouacs to advise Sieurs Ladurantaye and Dulhut of my design and of the need I had of their assistance, and sent my orders to the Reverend Father Enjalran, Superior of said Missions, to operate there and to send instructions to different quarters according to his usual zeal and capacity, whilst I dispatched Sieur Bourbon to Orange or Manatte to notify Colonel Dongan of the insult the French had received from the Senecas, which obliged me to march against him, whereof I gave him notice, assuring him that if he wished to revenge the twenty-six Englishmen of Merilande, whom they had killed last winter, I would promise him to unite my forces to his, that he may obtain satisfaction for it or avenge them.

On the twentieth of the same month I dispatched Sieur Dutast, first Captain of the King's troops, with five or six picked soldiers and six mechanics, carpenters and masons, with provisions and munitions of war, to throw themselves into Fort Frontenac, and put it, in all haste, beyond insult; after which, having caused all to embark at la Chine, I proceeded from Montreal, on Saint John's day, to return to Quebec, where I had requested the Intendant to make out the detachment of Militia which could follow me to the war, without inconvenience to the country. I arrived there on the twenty-sixth, having used great diligence on the route, and found the people ordered and some canoes purchased, but as they were not sufficient for the embarcation of all, we caused fifteen flat (bottomed) pine bateaux, each capable of conveying fourteen or fifteen men, to be constructed in a hurry.

I divided all my small force into three divisions; placed myself at the head of the first, or vanguard, which I commanded. I left the management of the second to M^r^. D'orvilliers, ancient Captain of Infantry; the third, composed of troops from the Island of Montreal and environs, was commanded by Sieur Dugué, ancient Captain of Carignan. Sieur D'orvilliers had been, since the fore part of Spring, reconnoitring Lake Ontario and the Seneca Country, to see where the descent should be made, and in what direction we should march to their two principal villages, of which he had made a faithful and exact plan. I selected Sieur de Villebon-Beccancourt,[1] formerly Captain of the King's Dragoons, as Major of the Brigade I commanded, so that, acting in my place, as I was obliged to have an eye to all, I could confide in him; he succeeded therein with all possible diligence and experience. I left Quebec the ninth of July, at the head of Three hundred militiamen, accompanied by the said Sieur de

[1] Chevalier DE VILLEBON was son of the Baron de Bekancourt. After this expedition he returned to France, and was sent in 1690 to Port Royal and proceeded thence to the River St. John, where his vessel was captured whilst he was absent up the river. He went to Quebec, whence he repaired again to France, and, in consequence of his representations at Court, came out in the following year with a commission of Governor of Acadia, with which he arrived at Quebec in the beginning of July, 1691, where he was detained until September, and did not reach Port Royal until 26th November following. After taking possession of that place, he removed to the River St. John. In 1692, Governor Phipps sent three armed vessels and 400 men to seize him, but the attempt failed. In 1696, he assisted at the reduction of Fort Pemaquid by Iberville, and, on his return to Fort Naxoat, on the River St. John, with his Indians, was taken prisoner by the English, but was released shortly after; he then proceeded to his fort, where the English, under Colonel Hawthorn, followed and attacked him on the 18th of October; but his defence was so gallant as to oblige the enemy to retire. He continued on the River St. John until 1700, in the month of July of which year he died. *Charlevoix.*—ED.

Villebon, and arrived at Montreal the sixteenth, where I was joined by Sieur D'orvilliers on the twenty-first, who brought me, in addition to Two hundred and fifty militia, some bateaux to embark the King's troops. Thus, after having issued every possible order for the conveyance of provisions, in which I had much difficulty in consequence of the scarcity of canoes and of experienced persons to conduct them in the portages of the rapids, I detached Sieur de Villebon to lead the van with my brigade and the two Companies of King's troops, and ordered them to pass the first and second portages, where I should join them, so that on the thirtieth I passed their encampment, beyond the said second portage, and we proceeded next day, both brigades together, Sieur D'orvilliers bringing up the rear with the third, one day behind us. On the first of August, being in Lake St. Francis with about two hundred canoes and our fifteen bateaux, I was joined by the Reverend Father Lamberville, Junior, coming on behalf of his brother, from Onontagué, and by the Reverend Father Millet from Oneida. By the annexed letters from Onontagué you will learn that these people, having been joined by the Oneidas and Cayugas, had obliged the Senecas to appoint them mediators as to the reparation they should agree to make me for the insult which had unfortunately been committed against the French in the month of March, and prayed me to send M^{r}. le Moine to them, with whom they could terminate this affair. This obliged me immediately to dispatch a canoe to Fort Frontenac in all haste, to send me from there the new bark I had built in the winter, in order to freight her with the provisions I brought, and to send the Canoes in which they were loaded to fetch others from la Chine.

On the second we arrived at the Portage of the Long Sault, which I found very difficult, notwithstanding the care I had taken to send fifty men ahead, to cut the trees on the bank of the river which prevented those passing who were to drag the Canoes and bateaux; because the stream being voluminous and the bank precipitous, the people were beyond their depth the moment they abandoned the shore, and were not strong enough to draw said bateaux; this necessitated my sojourn at that place, where, having been joined by the Christian Iroquois of the Sault and of Montreal, they undertook, for a few presents of Brandy and Tobacco, to pass the said bateaux and the largest Canoes, which they fortunately accomplished in two days without any accident.

On the morning of the fifth, I found the new bark arrived at La Galette where I had all the provisions discharged from the canoes before eight o'clock in the morning; and these dispatched at the same, on their return, to la Chine to be reloaded. The strong winds from the South West, which constantly prevailed all this time, and obstinately continued during the remainder of the month, were the cause of the great diligence that the bark had made, and likewise delayed our march so much that I could not arrive at the Fort with my canoe alone until the ninth. I was joined there by Father de Lamberville, whom I dispatched next day to his brother at Onontagué, whom I instructed to assure that Nation that I had so much respect for their request and for that of the other two, that I should prefer their mediation to war, provided they procured me reasonable satisfaction. Three things obliged me to adopt this resolution: the first, because it appeared by letters I had received from Colonel Dongan, in answer to the message by the man named Bourbon, that he was very far from the good understanding of which his Majesty had assured me; but much disposed to interfere as our enemy in this matter. The second, because I had few provisions, and I did not see that any effort was made to forward flour to me with any diligence from Montreal; and the third, because the wind prevailed so strong from the South west that my

bark did not return from La Galette, and I could not dispatch another to Lake Ontario to notify the army of the South, which was to arrive forthwith from Niagara, of my arrival at Fort Frontenac with that of the North. I afterwards reviewed all our troops, as annexed,[1] and Sieur le Moine having overtaken me on the same day with the remainder of the Christian Iroquois who had not previously arrived, I dispatched them on the sixteenth to Onontagué, and placed in his hands Tegancourt, the Ambassador from the Senecas, whom I had arrested at Quebec. Seeing the wind always contrary, I sent, on the preceding day, eight of the largest Canoes that I had, to the bark at La Galette, to bring me ten thousand weight of flour, bread beginning to fail, which caused me a good deal of uneasiness, and created considerable murmurs among the troops and the militia.

Finally, on the twenty-first, my canoes arrived with what I sent them for. I set to work immediately, with all possible diligence, to have bread and biscuit baked; and sent off forthwith the King's troops, D'orvilliers' and Dugué's two brigades, and two hundred Christian Savages to encamp at La Famine, a post favorable for fishing and hunting, and four leagues from the river of Onontagué, so as to be nearer the enemy, and able to refresh our troops by fishing and the chase, as we were short of provisions, intending to join them myself with about three hundred Frenchmen, whom I had remaining.

On the twenty-fifth, the Canoes I had detached from La Galette to Montreal arrived, but in far less number than I had looked for, and brought me only eight or nine thousand weight of flour, instead of twenty thousand, I expected, and which I left ready for loading when I departed. I caused bread and biscuit to be immediately made for the support of our troops, who were at the aforesaid place called La Famine. On the twenty-seventh, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a canoe of M^r^. Lemoine's children arrived from Onontagué with Tegancourt, who reported to me that the Onontagués had received orders from Colonel Dongan, which he sent by one Arnaud, forbidding them to enter into any treaty with me without his express permission, considering them the Duke of York's subjects, and that he had caused the Arms of the said Duke to be raised three days before in their village; that the Council had been convened at the said place of Onontagué, to which Sieur Lemoine had been invited, and the matter having been debated, these Savages got into a furious rage, with some danger to the English delegate; said they were free, and that God, who had created the Earth, had granted them their country without subjecting them to any person, and requested Father Lamberville the elder to write to Colonel Dongan the annexed letter; and, the said Sieur Lemoine having well sustained the French interests, they unanimously resolved to start in two days to conclude affairs with me at La Famine. On the receipt of this news I immediately called out my canoes in order to depart, and was accompanied by a dozen of others, having caused six of the largest to be loaded with bread and biscuit for the army.

After having been buffeted by bad weather and high winds, we arrived in two days at La Famine. I found there tertian and double tertian fever, which broke out among our people, so that more than one hundred and fifty men were attacked by it; I had also left some sick at the Fort, which caused me to dispatch, on arriving, a Christian Savage to Onontagué to M^r^. Lemoine, to request him to cause the instant departure of those who were to come to meet me. This he accomplished with so much diligence, though he and his children were sick, that he arrived on the third of September with fourteen Deputies; nine from Onontagué, three from Oneida, and two Cayugas, who paid me their respects, and I entertained them in the

[1] For this paper see p. 234.

best manner I was able, postponing the talk about business until the morrow morning, when matters were fully discussed and peace concluded after six hours' deliberation, three in the morning and as many after dinner; Father Brias speaking for us, and Hotrehouati[1] and Garagonkier for the Iroquois; Tegancout, the Seneca, was present, the other Senecas not daring to come in order not to displease Colonel Dongan, who sent to promise them a reinforcement of four hundred horse and four hundred foot, if we attacked them. The treaty was concluded in the evening on the conditions annexed,[2] and I promised to decamp the next day and withdraw my troops from their vicinity; which indeed I was obliged to do by the number of sick, that had augmented to such a degree that it was with difficulty I found enough of persons in health to remove the sick on board the canoes; also by the scarcity of provisions, as there was no more than the trifle of bread I had brought them. I allowed the Onontagués to light the Council fire at this place without extinguishing that at Montreal, in order to be entitled to take possession of it by their consent when the King should desire it, and thereby exclude the English and Colonel Dongan from their pretensions.

On leaving the Fort, I had ordered one of the barks to go to Niagara to notify the army of the South to return by Lake Erie to Missilimakinack; she had a favorable passage; found it had arrived, only six hours previously, to the number of seven hundred men, viz., one hundred and fifty French, and the remainder Indians. I departed on the sixth, having had all the sick of my troops embarked before day (so as not to be seen by the Indians) to the number of one hundred and fifty Canoes, and twelve flat bateaux, and arrived in the evening of the same day at Fort Frontenac, where I found one hundred and ten men, of the number I had left there, already departed, all sick, for Montreal. Having given the necessary orders as to the number of soldiers to be left there for the security of that post, until the arrival from France of Sieur de Laforest, its Major, I started, about nine or ten o'clock in the morning, on my return. Shortly after my departure, the bark arrived from Niagara with some French officers of the army, who brought me news from it at night, and assured me that the chiefs of all the savages had accompanied them to the Fort, desirous to see me, and would visit me at Montreal, where I was to wait for them. The Reverend Father de Lamberville, the elder, came likewise with these Gentlemen on account of some difficulties he was very glad to arrange for Onontagué, whither he returned.

We worked some hours together; I then sent him back to the Fort with some of the arrived French; the others being desirous to leave and come down again into the Country.

After having waited some time for Messrs. du Tast and de Cahouet, to whom I gave one of my canoes and two of my guards, well acquainted with the navigation, to pilot their bateaux and troops in safety through the rapids, I resumed my journey down the river. I likewise took on board one of my canoes the Sieur Le Moine, whose fever had seriously augmented, and who had served the King in this affair with so much zeal and affection, aided by the intimate knowledge he had of the Iroquois language, that it may be said the entire Colony owe him a debt of eternal gratitude.

Finally, in my return of three days, I accomplished what cost us thirteen in ascending, and found in the stores at Montreal and la Chine, forty-five thousand weight of flour, which, had we received it, would have enabled us to have made a longer sojourn in the Upper country.

Done at Quebec the 1st day of October, 1684.

LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

[1] Outréouati, otherwise called *Grande Gueule* (Big Mouth). *Belmont.* This is La Hontan's famous Orator, *Grangula*, whose name he manufactures by merely Latinizing the French. — ED.

[2] See p. 236.

Abstract of the preceding Memoir of M. de la Barre. 1st October, 1684.

[Omitted, the Memoir being already printed in full.]

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

I address you these lines in advance, deferring an account of all my conduct, the receipt of his Majesty's orders, and the answer to those you were pleased to honor me with, until the return of the ships by which I shall take leave to send you the Captain of my guards to report to you, verbally, what, in writing, would be too long, and to enable me to reply to all the impostures by which it is sought to blacken me in his Majesty's and your estimation. I write now to inform you that our war has not been bloody, and that I concluded with the Senecas a peace, which apparently will be of some durability, and as honorable as possibly can be with Savages.

That Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, has forgotten the orders he had received from the King, his Master, and has pushed matters against us to such an extremity, that the consideration of the affairs of Europe alone retained and prevented me marching against him who fain would assume to be sovereign lord of the whole of North America, south of *(au dessous)* the river Saint Lawrence, and has caused the arms of the Duke of York to be raised in the Iroquois villages (in which they were not every where similarly respected) at a moment when I was only six leagues distant, having traveled nearly two hundred to get there.

As I am arranging all the proofs of these things, to be transmitted, I refer the details to my Captain of the guards, and content myself with informing you that the four companies of marines have safely arrived, and in good condition; that Monsieur de la Salle's people are departing for the Fort of the Illinois where I furnish them the aid you have ordered; and that, until I can send you an exact answer, you may rely on a perfect obedience to all the orders I shall receive from you, which will doubtless insure me, against the falsehoods and calumnies retailed to you to my prejudice, a protection in favor of your most humble and most obedient servant

(S^{d}) LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

Quebec, the 7th October, 1684.

M. de Meulles to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

I thought you would be somewhat impatient to learn the success and result of the war the General had undertaken against the Iroquois, which rendered it necessary for him to call a

part of the people of this Country together and make all necessary preparation, at his Majesty's expense, for that expedition. The troops have been as far as a place called La Famine, thirty leagues beyond Fort Frontenac. The army consisted of nine hundred French aud three hundred Savages, and from the Niagara side there was an army of six hundred men, one third of whom were French, and the remainder Outawacs and Hurons, amounting in all to eighteen hundred men.

What Indians there were, evinced the best disposition to fight the Iroquois to the death. Sieur de la Durantaye, who brought the last six hundred men from Missilimakinak, has informed us that he learned from a Miami Chief that more than a thousand Illinois were coming to our aid, on learning that we were about to fight the Iroquois; to such a degree are they their irreconcilable foes. Certainly, never was there remarked a better disposition to fight and conquer them, and purge the country of that nation which will be eternally our enemy. All the French breathed nothing but war, and, though they saw themselves obliged to abandon their families, they consoled themselves with the hope of liberating themselves by one victory from a Nation so odious as the Iroquois, at whose hands they constantly dread ambushes and destruction. But the General did not think proper to push matters any further, and, without any necessity, sent Sieur Lemoyne to the said Iroquois to treat of peace at a time when every one was in good health, and when all necessary provision was made of food, &c., to dare every enterprize; and finally, after various comings and goings on one side and the other, the General concluded peace, such as you will see by the articles I take the liberty to send you, as written by the hand of his Secretary.

This peace, My Lord, has astonished all the officers who had any command in that army, and all who composed it, who have testified so deep a displeasure and so sovereign a contempt for the General's person that they could not prevent themselves evincing it to him. I assure you, My Lord, that had I strayed ever so little from my duty, and not exhibited exteriorly, since his return, the respect I owe his character, the whole world would have risen against him, and would have been guilty of some excess.

The said General excuses himself because of the sick, and even says that the troops lacked food; to which I feel obliged to answer, being certain that he seeks every pretext and has recourse to every expedient to exculpate himself and perhaps to put the blame on me.

'Tis certain that there was a great number of sick among the Militia he took with him to Fort Frontenac, who were in perfect good health on arriving there; but having encamped for a fortnight in Prairies between the woods and a pond, it is not surprising that some fell sick. Again, he made them stay at La Famine in places that were never inhabited, entirely surrounded by swamps, which aggravated the sickness in his army; and had he remained there longer, he would not have saved a man. This has caused all to remark that he did not care; that he had not the least desire to make war; that he made no use of these long sojourns, except to employ them in his negotiations. Had he seriously wished to attack the said Iroquois, he would not have wasted ten or twelve days at Montreal, fourteen or fifteen at Fort Frontenac, and as many at La Famine; he would have remained merely a day or two, and have used the greatest dispatch possible to fight the Iroquois, and not uselessly consumed all his provisions; he would have, indubitably, surprised the said Iroquois, who were not expecting this attack, especially as the greater number of their young men had been at war in the beginning of the spring.

He says he lacked provisions; though that were true, he would be the cause and could not but accuse himself of imprudence, as I had supplied him, generally, with whatever he required

of me, of which the whole Country is a witness; and with a little precaution, or, rather good faith, he would have had everything in abundance. He had determined not to leave until the 15th of August; he departed on the 15th July. That did not prevent me furnishing all he required of me; such as bateaux, canoes, arms, ammunition, and all the provisions he desired. This is so true, that there yet remained at the end of the Island of Montreal, at a place called la Chine, thirty-five thousand weight of flour and five of biscuit, which he found on his return, and which he had requested me to retain for him at Montreal. Had he not halted, and had he been disposed to push into the Iroquois Country, the first convoy of provisions which accompanied him had sufficed; for the greater number of the Militia, unwilling to wait for the King's supplies, had laid in their own private stock, the most part of which they brought back with them, as all the Captains in command will certify. This convoy consisted of eighteen canoes full of biscuit, pork, brandy, and, apparently, other things which I do not precisely know, having been loaded at Montreal whilst I was at Quebec, where I was issuing orders for the provisions that the General had demanded of me, and for saving the harvest of those who had gone on the expedition.

If it had been the General's design to make war, he should not have caused the cargoes of the eighteen canoes I have mentioned to be put into barks thirty leagues from Montreal, above the Rapids, instead of letting the voyage be continued by the canoe men who were paid to go Fort Frontenac, and who had already accomplished the roughest part of the road, and who, without a doubt, would have arrived in three days at the Fort. This was represented to him by all the officers, who stated to him that the barks required wind, which, being contrary, would keep them more than three weeks from arriving, which turned out to be true. Notwithstanding all these reasons, he absolutely insisted that all the said provisions should be put in the barks. Some have assured me that the canoes of said convoy were partly laden with merchandise, and, not being very desirous to let the circumstance be known, that he had caused the barks to precede the canoes, to put the goods secretly into them, and keep the knowledge of the fact from every body. In this way he made use of these canoes to convey that merchandise to the Fort at the King's expense, which has always been his practice for two years, ever pretending certain necessity to transport munitions of war, and making use, by this means, of these conveyances for which the King is made to pay under pretext of keeping the Fort in good order. It is impossible to conceive the quantity of Brandy that he has caused to be conveyed thither during eighteen months, whereof I have had most positive information, and of which I had the honor to advise you in my last.

Others supposed that he had the said provisions put on board those barks in order to obtain time, and, by this address, to negotiate a peace with the Iroquois, as he had sent Sieur Lemoyne to them, who is a very brave man, and who was in despair at all this negotiation, stating openly that they ought to be whipt. All the delays at Montreal, the Fort, and at La Famine, caused the useless consumption of a portion of the supplies, which however did not fail, other convoys having been received from time to time; but they were always wasted, without anything having been done.

After the said General had determined in his own mind on this war, he sent the man named Bourbon, an inhabitant of this country, to Colonel Dongan to advise him that he was obliged to wage war against the Iroquois, requesting him not to afford them any aid; which he confided to me eight days after the departure of the said Bourbon. This obliged me to tell him that I was astonished that he should have thus proceeded; that the Iroquois having

insulted us, and did I intend to fight with and destroy them, I should not have deemed it proper to inform neighbors thereof who have an interest in our destruction, as he afforded thereby an opportunity to Colonel Dongan, who is an Englishman, and consequently our born enemy, to give underhand information of our designs to the Iroquois, and convey secretly to them all that may be necessary for their defence against us. I asked him if he did not perceive that the English would never desire our advantage, and that they would contribute all in their power to destroy us, though at peace as regards France; that they would always be jealous of the Fur trade prosecuted by us in this country, which would make them protect the Iroquois always against us.

This Bourbon negotiation gave Colonel Dongan occasion to use some rhodomontade, as the General has informed me; and assuredly it was that obliged him, having this information, to send an Englishman, who was in the habit of negotiating with the said Indians, to raise the Duke of York's arms among the Onnontagués, which is an Iroquois village, wishing by that act to take the first possession of the country. We have not heard talk of any other movement on the English side, and it is even certain that they will never cause us any apprehension in that quarter, and that they could not prevent us achieving that conquest this year, had the General been willing to fight.

You can hardly believe, My Lord, that the General has alone undertaken the war without having consulted any person, neither officers of the army, nor gentlemen, nor the people of the country who are the most interested, nor any individual whomsoever, except Sieur de la Chesnaye, with whom he acts in concert for the entire destruction and ruin of the country. He has again made peace in this manner without any communication with any of the officers or others of those who were near his person. What seemed a wonder in the country is that one individual, a subject of his Majesty like others, should of his own will make war and peace, without having consulted, or demanded the opinion of any person. His Majesty never acted thus. He has his Council of War, and when he is about to commence hostilities he demands advice of his Council, communicating to them the reasons which he may have to do so, and even causes the publication of manifests throughout the Kingdom, wishing to lay before his people the justice of his undertakings. But the General has treated of peace like a sovereign with the said Iroquois, having employed none of those who were nigh him, and who were acquainted with the Iroquois tongue, except as Interpreters. He dared not consult the officers, being certain that they would all have concluded on war, and but little was necessary to make them select a Chief from among themselves to attack the enemy.

The said general proceeds at the head of a small force to make war against the Iroquois, and far from doing that, he grants them all they ask. His principal design was to attack the Senecas, who instead of showing him any civility, did not even condescend to come and meet him, and gave an insolent answer to those who proposed it to them—if people had any thing to say to them, let them take the trouble to come and see them. There came altogether on this embassy only a certain sycophant who seeks merely a good dinner, and a real buffoon, called among the French la Grande Gueule, accompanied by eight or ten miserable fellows, who fooled the General in a most shameful manner, as you will perceive by the articles of peace I have the honor to send you, and which I doubt not he also will send you. They will assuredly excite your pity. You will see he abandons the Illinois, among whom M. de La Salle is about to establish himself, and who are the occasion of this war, inasmuch as

the Iroquois went to attack them even in Fort Saint Louis, which Sieur de la Salle had erected among them, and of which the General took possession, having ousted and driven away those whom Sieur de La Salle had left in command there, and sent hither de Baugy, his lieutenant of the guards, who is still there.

When he concluded this peace he already had his Majesty's letter eight days in his possession, but so far from conforming to its intentions, he consents to the slaughter of the Illinois, who are our allies, and among whom His Majesty designed to plant a new Colony or some powerful establishment under M. de la Salle's direction.

I consider it also my duty to inform your Lordship that the General left La Famine the moment peace was concluded, without taking the least care of the troops, abandoning them altogether to their own guidance, forbidding them on pain of death to leave the place until a long time after him, fearing to be surprised by the Iroquois, and having (so to say) lost his wits, caring little what became of the army. Certain it is that he went up to the Fort without taking information about any thing, and returned in the same manner.

The worst of this affair is the loss of the trade, which I find inevitable, because the Outawas and other Savages who came to our aid, will hereafter entertain no respect for us, and will regard us as a people without courage and without resolution.

I doubt not, my Lord, but the General sends you a letter which he received from Father Lamberville, the Jesuit, who is a Missionary in an Iroquois village at Onnontagué, whence those Ambassadors came with whom peace was negotiated. The Father, who had learned the General's intentions from Sieur Le Moyne, has been wise and sufficiently discreet, anticipating his design, to write to him in accordance with his views, and to ingeniously solicit that which must flatter and highly please him. But one thing is certain, that all the Jesuits at Quebec, and particularly Father Bechefer, have openly stated there for six weeks that the Country was destroyed if peace were concluded; which is so true that, having communicated to him the two letters I wrote to the General, he highly approved of them and advised me to send them to the Fort. I shall take leave to send you copies of them, requesting you, most humbly, to be persuaded that I speak to you without passion, and that I state nothing to you but what is most true and reliable, and this only because I feel obliged to let you know the truth as regards all things, without which you will never have the least confidence in me.

I should wish, My Lord, to avoid explaining myself in this manner, fearing you might infer that the General and I were greatly disunited, which is quite contrary to the manner in which we live together; since it is certain that we never had, personally, the least difference, wishing in that to conform myself to your desires and his Majesty's orders, aware that it is the most assured means that I can take to be agreeable to you. This is the sole ambition I have in the world, and to prove to you that no person can be, with more profound respect and greater devotedness than I,

My Lord,

Your most humble and
most ob: Servant.

This, My Lord, is only incidentally. I defer informing you of what has occurred in this Country during this year, until the departure of the vessels.

Quebec, the 10th 8ber, 1864. DE MEULLES.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

My first duty on arriving in this government, which I derive from you, is to tender you my most humble thanks for it. Please, My Lord, to permit that I make satisfaction therein by this letter, since I was not sufficiently fortunate to be able to do so *vivâ voce* before my departure from France, which occurred whilst you were so gloriously occupied in the King's service before Genoa.

I have been perfectly well received here, My Lord, under your auspices, and with great demonstration of joy by all the inhabitants, particularly by the gentlemen of the Seminary, and by M. Dollier, their Superior, who is a man of great merit and exemplary virtue, as are all the other Clergy of that Seminary, with whom I hope to live in perfect union, and to satisfy all the inhabitants of the Island by causing the King's orders to be punctually executed.

I found the troubles of Canada appeased by the arrangement which M. de la Barre entered into with the Onnontagués, who form a part of the Iroquois, on their promise to oblige the Senecas (another tribe, the principal and bravest of the Iroquois nation) to repair the damage they had done the French by the pillage of seven canoes, freighted with merchandise. But as the said Senecas have not been a party to this treaty, and the Onnontagués have declared to M. de la Barre that the entire Iroquois nation reserved unto itself the power of waging war against the Illinois as long as a single one of them would remain on earth; and inasmuch as the Illinois are under his Majesty's dominion since M. de la Salle's discovery and the construction of Fort Saint Louis, which he built in their country; the most intelligent in these parts believe this peace between us and the Iroquois uncertain, until they be obliged to leave the Illinois undisturbed.

It is reported here that these Iroquois have already departed to attack the Illinois, and to endeavor to exterminate them before the arrival of M. de la Salle, who, they learned, was on his way to their relief by the Grand River. It would be a serious loss to us should they succeed in this design, as the best allies we have among the Indians are the Illinois, who, on hearing of the war between us and the Iroquois, were coming to our aid with a thousand picked Warriors, the bravest that they had. Monsr. de Tonty, who commanded them in M. de la Salle's absence, having returned to this country by M. de la Barre's orders, had started on his way to Fort Saint Louis, but the ice forced him to come back and wait until the spring.

In addition to this bad disposition of the Iroquois, we have further to apprehend that it is fomented by the English, who evince a willingness to protect them as if dependants on their Colonies. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted that they have always been subject to France since the first discoveries made by Sieur de Champlain and other French Captains, who took possession thereof in the name of our Kings, which has never been disturbed or contested up to this time by the English.

These considerations, My Lord, oblige us to be on the alert, and cause me to take the liberty of representing to you that, in case of war, it will be necessary to give some one in the country a commission to command the troops and militia here, under the orders of the Governor General, who cannot be every where in so vast an extent of country as that of New France; and that, finding myself here on the frontiers of the French Colonies bordering on the Iroquois, and of the English of New England and New York, who are the only enemies to be feared, I consider it my duty to offer you my most humble services on this occasion, and to request you

to employ me in this War, by doing me the honor of granting me some title to command the troops and militia, under the Governor General's orders, beyond the limits of my government, as the Major will suffice for the guard of the Island whilst we shall be in the field; beseeching you to believe that I shall endeavor to give you a good account of this War, and of what shall be intrusted to me. The services I have rendered for 20 years, without intermission, in his Majesty's glorious campaigns, entitle me to some experience in war superior to that of the officers of this country, who have not been employed for a long time.

I learn, My Lord, by a letter I received from M. de la Barre, the arrival of the reinforcements you sent him, with some Naval Captains to command them; but as these gentlemen are not apparently destined to remain long in this country, their profession qualifying them rather for sea than for land service, without mentioning the expense they will thereby entail on his Majesty, I am not prevented hoping that you will have the goodness to consider me on this occasion as being one of your most devoted creatures, and one who desires nothing, with greater passion, than to signalize himself under your orders, so as to deserve the honor you have conferred on me by selecting me. I leave to my brother to communicate to you a fuller detail of what I write to him of the affairs of this country, and am, with all due zeal and gratitude,

My lord,

Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged Servant,
The Chev^{r} De Callieres.

Montreal, in Canada,
this 9th Novemb^{r}, 1684.

M. de la Barre to the King.

Memoir to the King in answer to his despatch of the 10th April last.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Your Majesty will have seen, by the despatches I have sent you by the Express bark on the 5th June, what necessitated me to wage war against the Iroquois, and to march against them for that purpose, to which the general clamor of all the people of this country, as well great as small, very much contributed. Your Majesty will perceive, by the proces verbal annexed, that I did not wish to engage in the matter except on a certainty; and that, learning as well from the despatches as from the Messengers of Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, the declaration of the English, I took advantage of my march to conclude a peace, which I think will be of some durability; those people being undeceived in the belief they had entertained that the French could not reach them in the Southern countries, in consequence of the greatness of the distance and of the vast number of portages to be passed to go there. This has caused an expense to your Majesty which appears to me pretty considerable, but, in my opinion, it will save a much greater for the future, and will impress on your Majesty the necessity of the King of England sending precise orders to his Governors of New York, or of your Majesty's authorizing the carrying the war into his territory; without this it is, at present, impossible to reduce the Iroquois, who will have a door open for their retreat into the country occupied by the English, and a reinforcement of their troops almost hard by them, whilst we shall be obliged to travel 200 leagues in order to attack them. I perceived the difficulty attendant on

this war to be so great, especially as regards the transportation of supplies, arms and munitions of war, that I do not comprehend how all the inhabitants of the country have evinced so impatient a desire for it; because, when once commenced by them, it cannot so soon be terminated, and the Iroquois cannot be reduced, except after many years, possessing, as they do, so convenient a retreat among the English; also, because operations cannot be carried on except with a large body of Regulars and of Indians, and not of Militia; and because it is certain the Colony will be exposed to daily incursions, which will altogether endanger the safety of the country.

* * * * * * * * * * *

As I send Sieur Doruilliers, Captain of my guards, expressly to Your Majesty to render an account of what has happened at our pretended War expedition, and of the quality of the Seneca Country, to which he had been purposely to reconnoitre early in the Spring, he will also inform you of the conduct of Colonel Dongan (Governor of New-York) towards us, and of the difference that exists between his professions and his conduct in regard to the Iroquois, and especially the Senecas, to whom he sent an offer of 400 horses and an aid of as many infantry, at the same time that he had the Duke of York's arms planted in their villages, and dispatched Sieur Arnault,[1] his ambassador to the Onontagues, Oneidas and Cayugas, to forbid them in express terms, as subjects of the Duke of York depending on him and his government, from entering into any treaty or conference with me without his special orders. This having caused a great noise among the said Savages, hastened them to conclude their treaty with me, as Your Majesty will be able to see by my proces verbal, and the Rev. F. de Lamberville's letter of the 29th August last; so that nothing more remains for me to do than to await Your Majesty's decision how I must act with the said Colonel; whereunto you will please send me your orders, without which I shall suffer everything, and with which I shall be able, without much expense or risk, to have this Colonel spoken to in another language.

* * * * * * * * * * *

It remains for me to request your Majesty's orders in regard to the English, as well those of New-York as those settled on Hudson's Bay. I fear they have attacked the French posts last year in Nelson's gulf, and that Katisson,[2] who I learn is at their head, has opposed force and violence to the justice of their cause, of which Your Majesty shall be informed. Whether I must oppose force to force, and venture by land against those who might have committed some outrage against your subjects by sea, is a matter on which Your Majesty will please furnish me with some precise and decisive orders, whereunto I shall conform my conduct and my actions.

Quebec, the 13 Novemr, 1684. LE FEBUR DE LA BARRE.

[1] ARNOLD CORNELISSEN VIELE, a citizen of Albany, and a well known Indian interpreter. For his services in the latter capacity, he obtained a grant of land from the Mohawks, September, 1683, a little above Schenectady. The tract was called Wachkeerhoha, and was on the north bank of the Mohawk river. — ED.

[2] Radisson.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

July 10th 1684.

Sir,

A general Assembly of all the Iroquois will be held here, at which it is intended to unite against you, and to inform the Senecas that you wish to persuade the four Iroquois Nations not to aid them in case of war. I am surprised that M. le Moyne or some other persons have not told you that all these villages were confederated, and that one could not be attacked without becoming embroiled with the others.

Did affairs permit, I should have much wished to tell you my thoughts on a great many things. My brother will inform you of all when he will have the honor to see you. The Ontagues who have been spoken to, would like much to settle matters; this is the reason my brother goes to you, whilst I still keep them disposed to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid, if possible, an infinitude of evils which will overtake Canada; and as I know not whether you desire war without listening to proposals for peace, I wish to understand whether it is not fitter that I withdraw, if possible, rather than give occasion to the Iroquois to say that I deceived them, by propositions for peace. The Onontagues and other nations say that it grieves them to take up arms against you who are their neighbor, and who form almost one country with them.

They acknowledge that the Senecas are proud and insolent on account of their great number of warriors; but that if you desire to maintain peace by some satisfaction which they will induce the Senecas to make you, it will be very acceptable, so as not to be obliged to come to extremities that will be very disastrous. If war occur, Sir, all those who have houses apart from fortified places must at once abandon their dwellings, for the grain and the houses will be burned, and otherwise many will be brought away prisoners to be cruelly tortured and insulted. I always think that peace ought to be most precious to you, and that all the advantages that can be held out, ought to cause you to shrink from war. A delay in order to arrange every thing more leisurely, and after having received assistance from France, would extricate you from much embarrassment which will follow from all sides. Pardon me if I give free expression to my thoughts; you will not disapprove at least of the zeal with which I am, with much respect and submission,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed) De Lamberville.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

11th July, 1684.

Sir,

A troop of Senecas, on their way to buy their supplies and munitions of powder, lead and arms, are two days [distance] from here. They are expected in order to talk fully of affairs, and to endeavor to preserve peace by inducing them to give you satisfaction. I believe, if you

are really desirous to come to an arrangement by which an effort will be made to satisfy you, and wherein will be prescribed the boundaries of the war and of trade, you would have leisure to provide with less trouble and embarrassment for the security of Canada, either by erecting Forts at La Famine or towards the Senecas under the pretext of establishing a blacksmith or at La Galette, according as you may think proper.

I do not believe that you will derive any advantage this year from the war, if you wage it; for not only will almost the whole of the Iroquois prosecute it in Canada, but you will not find the Senecas in their villages, in which, they give out, they will not shut themselves up, but conceal themselves in the grass and prepare ambuscades every where for you. On your declaration to the Iroquois that you had no ill-will except against the Senecas, they convoked a general Diet here at which they will conclude on a league against you, if you will not accept the propositions of peace to which the Onontagué wishes to obtain the consent of the Seneca who has already placed in security the old grain, and constructed a retreat in the woods for the children, women and old men, of which you will be ignorant.

The Warriors are to prowl every where, killing without, if possible, being killed. If their Indian corn be cut, it will cost much blood and many men. You must also resolve to lose the harvest of the French grain to which the Iroquois will set fire. As for the French settlements, the Iroquois suppose that they are all abandoned, and that the people have retired within the forts; otherwise they would be a prey to the enemy.

It is the opinion that if you begin the war, it will be of long duration, and that to feed those in Canada you will have to bring provisions from France. The Iroquois believes that he will destroy the Colony in case of war, for he will never fight by rule against us, and will not shut himself up in any fort in which he might be stormed. Thus they are under the impression that, no person daring to come into unknown forests to pursue them, they can neither be destroyed nor captured, having a vast hunting ground in their rear, towards Merilande and Viginia, as well as places adjoining their villages, wholly unknown to the French. If winter were not so cold in this Country, that would be the time to wage war, for one can then see all around, and the trail cannot be concealed, but every thing must be carried—provisions, arms, powder and lead. You cannot believe, Sir, with what joy the Senecas learned that you would, possibly, determine on war; and, on the report the savages bring them of the preparations apparent at Kataroskouy, they say, that the French have a great desire to be stript, roasted and eaten; and that they will see if their flesh, which, according to them is saltish on account of the salt the French make use of, be as good as that of their other enemies whom they devour.

The envoy of the Governor of New-York, who is here, promises the Iroquois goods at a considerable reduction; 7 @ 8 lbs. of powder for a Beaver; as much lead as a man can carry for a Beaver, and so with the rest.

Everything considered, Sir, if you will be content with a satisfaction we shall endeavor to obtain for you from the Senecas, you will prevent great evils which must fall on Canada in case of war; you will divert from it famine and many misfortunes; especially will much confusion and great suffering be spared the French who will fall into the hands of the Iroquois, who, as you are aware, exercise the direst and most brutal cruelties on their captives. There is, besides, no profit in fighting with this sort of banditti, whom you assuredly will not catch, and who will catch many of your people that will be surprised in every quarter.

The man called Hannatakta and some others of influence told me they pitied you. These are their words; they besought you not to force them to wage war against you; that the five

Nations would be obliged to unite against you; that the French and the Iroquois being so near the one to the other, the war would be too disastrous to you, because, say they, our mode of fighting, of harrassing, of living, of surprising and flying to the woods, will be the ruin of the French, who are accustomed to fight against towns capable of defence, or against armies who appear in the plains; if there be misunderstanding it ought to be settled. All the Iroquois are persuaded that before going to war you will try the ways of mildness, and tell the Senecas to appease your anger for what they have plundered; that if you begin by a desire to wage war, and will not act as a father towards your children, they have already declared beforehand that they will all unite against you.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

July 13, 1684.

My Lord,

I have the honor to write to you by Father Millet, who passes here in retiring from among the Iroquois. They cannot be persuaded that you have determined on waging war against them, not having demanded any satisfaction of them for the merchandise of the Frenchmen whom the Senecas plundered. To turn away the scourge of war and the miseries which must follow it, especially among the French, who will find themselves attacked by all the Iroquois, if any hostile act is committed against the Senecas, I have strongly urged the Onnontagues to give you satisfaction according to the Instructions the Christian Iroquois, your deputies here, had. To-morrow a great number of Senecas are expected, with several Cayugas and the Ambassadors from the two Lower nations, to talk about business.

The Senecas, consequent on the declaration you made to them that you would proceed to their country, have concealed their old grain, prepared a distant retreat in the depths of the forest for the security of their old men, their women and children, and conveyed whatever they have of value out of their villages. The Warriors, in great number, have heard this news with much joy; they are determined to fight, not in their forts, for they have none, and will not shut themselves up anywhere, but under cover behind trees and in the grass, where they will try to do you considerable injury, if you want war. The Onnontaguez—men of business—wish to arrange matters, especially having lost none of their men; only some goods. Must the father and children, they ask, cut each others' throats for a few clothes? The children must satisfy the father, to whom they owe honor and respect.

Further: last year I guaranteed by two belts of Wampum—one presented to the Senecas and the other here—that if the Iroquois army should meet the French, who were towards Illinois, and any acts of hostility follow on one side or the other, they should mutually arrange the difficulty without it leading to any consequences; and is what we are endeavoring to persuade the Senecas to do. Father Millet, to whom I communicated all, and who has just passed, will tell you everything, and how apropos it would be that M. Le Moine should come here to fetch those chiefs and warriors under the pass you will give them through him. He can come here in all surety and without any fear, and conduct them to your rendezvous near Seneca or to the Fort, in order to settle matters in a friendly manner.

The Iroquois say, they will not commit any act of hostility against you, unless you commence either by attacking the Senecas or by refusing to accept all satisfaction; for, they remark, it is painful to come to blows with their Father. They all say that their mode of warfare will be disastrous to you, but that the respect they entertain towards you, and which we also insinuate among them, withholds them until they are forced, they add, to wage a sorrowful war, despite themselves, against you. They wish, first of all, they say, to avoid the reproach of not having kept their word which they gave. I told the above to M. le Moine.

My brother[1] expects to leave with your deputies to carry to you the result of the Iroquois Diet, where the Onontagué, who assumes to be a moderator, pretends to force the Senecas to disavow what two of their Captains caused their warriors to do, and to quieten again your mind; that is, they say, by some satisfaction which may afford you an honorable pretext to pay a friendly visit to Kaniatarontagouat[2] and not to appear there as an enemy.

I forgot to inform you, that the Iroquois say they have accepted the satisfaction they received for the death of their captain, Hannhenhax, killed by the Kiskakons, and that it would seem very strange to them that you should refuse the satisfaction they wish to induce the Senecas to give you for the pillaged merchandise which, in their estimation, is next to nothing compared with that important [council] fire in your children's cabin. I pray God that He conduct matters for His glory and the country's good, and that He preserve you as long as is the wish, My Lord, of

Your very humble and most obedient
Servant,

J. De Lamberville.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

18th July, 1684.

Sir,

The Council convoked at Onnontagué was, at length, held on the 16th and 17th of July. You will see by the Memoir I inclose in this letter what you said to the Onontagués and what they reply by three Belts. Since you spoke, or I have made you speak, to the Senecas assembled here in a body, Chiefs and Warriors, and their answer, we have spoken to them by three Belts, and they have answered you by nine.

These are twelve Belts which your ambassadors take to you. I know not if you will accept the trifling pains we have taken to cause satisfaction to be given you, and to extricate you from the fatigues, the embarrassments and consequences of a disastrous war, and procure at the same time freedom of trade; for the Senecas informed me at night, by express, that they would give you more satisfaction than you expected, because they wished, through respect for you, not to wage war any more against the Oumiamis, if you so wish it, and even against any other nation if you insist on it. In fine, they do not wage war save to secure a good peace. They return without striking a blow, without shedding blood, etc.

[1] Rev. Jacques de Lamberville. — Ed.

[2] Now Irondequoit Bay, Monroe Co., N. Y.

The Seneca Iroquois offer you more than you would have believed. The Onontagués considered their honor engaged to this meeting, and have put all sorts of machinery in motion to induce the Senecas to condescend to place their affairs in their hands.

On the first day of the Council every thing was almost despaired of, and the plenipotentiaries, all excited, came to see me, saying they gained nothing on the Senecas, and that up to that time they too willingly accepted war; that they rejected the presents which you and they had made them. They sent back to me for more belts, only to combat the obstinacy of the Senecas; the chiefs and warriors acted with great zeal, so that having gained the Oneidas and Cayugas over to their side, they came to high words. Meanwhile, the Deputies succeeded one another to sound me on the state of affairs and to learn the true cause of the withdrawal of our Missionaries. Finally, I told them that the real cause was—that the displeasure they perceived you felt at being disparaged by the Senecas, and in which they also participated, had caused their withdrawal until the Senecas should satisfy you. At length the Onontagués have persuaded these to confide in them and to place their affairs in their hands—that if you did not accept their mediation, they would unite, according to their policy, with all the other Iroquois against you. La Grande Gueule[1] and his truimvirate have assuredly signalized themselves in this rencounter. My brother, who will inform you of every thing, will relate matters more in detail. Meanwhile we await your orders which you will please convey to us by M. le Moine, whom the Onontagues request you to send instantly to them at Choüeguën in all security and without the least fear.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontague this 17th August, 1684.

My Lord,

Your people have brought my brother back here with the greatest possible diligence, having been wind bound three days at one island. In order not to cause you any delay, which could only produce a useless consumption of provisions by your army, they arrived here with Sieur le Duc at midnight, and having passed the rest of the night in conferring together, we had the Chiefs and Warriors assembled at daylight, after having obtained information from La Grand Gueule and Garakontie.

We declared our intentions in the presence of several Senecas who departed the same day to return to their country, where they will communicate your approach. They carry one of your belts to reassure those who are alarmed by your armament.

The Onnontaguez have dispatched some of theirs to notify the Oneida, the Mohawk and the Cayuga to repair to Ochouegen[2] to salute you and to reply to your proposals. They wish so much to see M. Le Moine here, whom you promised them would come, that it appears that nothing could be done had he not arrived. Also, as you advised them not to be troubled at the sight of your barks and Gendarmes, they likewise give you notice, not to be surprised when you will see faces painted red and black at Ochouegen.

[1] See note supra, p. 243.

[2] Oswego. — Ed.

I gave a Cayuga some letters for you 8 or 10 days ago. I do not know if he will have delivered them. I believe I advised you that Colonel Dongan had the Duke of York's placards of protection *(des sauvegardes)* affixed to the three Upper Iroquois villages, and that he styled himself Lord of the Iroquois. Here, a drunken man tore these proclamations down and nothing remains but the post to which the Duke of York's escutcheon was attached.

I gave La Grande Gueule your belt underhand, and have remarked to him the things you wish him to effect. He calls himself your best friend, and you have done well to have attached to you this *hoc*, who has the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois.

The overcoats *(capots)* and shirts which you have been so good as to send to be used on occasions, are a most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion. An honorable peace will be more advantageous to Canada than a war very uncertain as to its success. I am of opinion, whatever Messrs the Merchants may say, that the war would be very prejudicial to them, and that you do them a good turn by inducing the Iroquois to give you satisfaction.

I am, with all sort of respect and submission,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE, Jesuit.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontagué, this 28th of August, 1684.

My Lord,

M. le Moine's arrival has much pleased our burgomasters, who have exhibited towards him many attentions, and have promised to terminate matters with you in the manner you desire. The Onnontaguez have called the Deputies of each Nation together, as I have advised you. The Cayugas came here the first, with 2 young Tionnontatés to restore them to you; we expect the Senecas, and as we were hoping that the Oneidas would arrive to-day, one Arnaud, whom Father Bruyas is well acquainted with, came here on horseback from Mr. Dongan to tell the Iroquois that he did not wish them to talk to you without his permission, being complete master of their country and of their conduct towards you; that they belonged to the King of England and the Duke of York; that their Council fires were lighted at Albany, and that he absolutely forbade them talking with you.

Two words which we whispered in the ears of your pensioner, La Grande Gueule,[1] caused us to see at once how unreasonable, in his opinion, was so strange a proceeding as that of M. Dongan, after having himself exhorted the Iroquois to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid a disastrous war which would have very bad [consequences]. When M. le Moine and I will have the honor to see you, we shall give you the particulars of these things, and how, we being two or three days' journey from here, La Grande Gueule made use of high words against

[1] See note, supra, p. 243.

this messenger, exhorting all the warriors and chiefs not to listen to the proposals of a man who seemed to be drunk, so opposed to all reason was what he uttered.

The said Messenger has produced three strings of Wampum. The 1st and 2nd are from the Mohawks and the Oneidas, who have promised Mr. Dongan that they would not go to meet us; and the 3d was for the Onnontaguez, to exhort them to give their string of Wampum also as assurance of the same thing. The latter have answered, by La Grande Gueule, that they esteemed themselves too highly honored by your having granted them the embassy of M. le Moine, and by your having placed the affairs of the peace in their hands, to commit so cowardly an action and so grave a fault as that which seemed to be desired they should perpetrate. After many disputes the Onnontagues counseled among themselves, and concluded to inquire of M. le Moine if he would not wait the permission M. Dongan wished the Iroquois to have from him to talk with you, and if he would not tarry, and you remain at the Lake, ten days more, so as to learn M. Dongan's final will. This is a piece of Iroquois cunning, not to embroil themselves with M. Dongan, and to follow entirely what M. Le Moine should say, whom they well knew would not wait so long, matters having advanced to the point at which they are, and knowing, moreover, that delay was directly contrary to your instructions. The Iroquois requested M. le Moine himself to communicate their opinion to the Cavalier, which he certainly did in an excellent manner, as you will be glad to learn when he will give an account of his negotiation.

He has thought proper to send you one of his canoes at once to inform you hereof, and to assure you that as soon as the Seneca deputies shall have arrived here, he will endeavor to to have them dispatched hence at the earliest moment to be conducted to you. If not, he will leave with the Senecas who are here.

Tegannehout has acted his part very well and harangued strongly against Mr. Dongan's Messenger and in favor of Onontio. Good cheer and the way you regaled him were a strengthening medicine which has sustained his voice, when it might perhaps have failed in any other who had not experienced proofs of your friendship such as you did him the honor to give him. He will return with M. Lemoine.

The Cavalier says that, before returning to his Master, he wishes to speak to the Senecas who are expected here. I caress Tegannehout somewhat, in order that he may win those of his Nation over to his opinion, and not suffer them to yield to the solicitations of Sieur Arnaud, to whom the Onnontaguez have given two wretched belts to tell M. Dongan that they could not do otherwise than as he himself had urged them to do; to wit, to settle matters peaceably with you; and to soothe his spirit if he were dissatisfied with them for not going to Albany whence they had returned very recently. A letter which he has given to M. le Moine is sent you.

Whatever Sieur Arnaud may say, we have not neglected to send for the Oneida deputies whom we expect to-morrow. Monsieur le Moine will use the greatest possible diligence to return to you, inasmuch as his delay is not very agreeable to himself.

I am always, My Lord,

Your most humble and most

obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontaé, this 27th Sept., 1684.

My Lord,

I return here after having been delayed ten days in the Lake by very strong head winds. A day before the Iroquois deputies met here, the Senecas sent belts to the 4 Iroquois villages, to declare to them that, should you disembark in their Country, they would attack you. Six or seven hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* were preparing to go to the assistance of the Iroquois, as the Outaoutes were aiding the French. Some Seneca scouts have been as far as Kaionhouague,[1] where you have concluded the peace, to be certain of the place at which your army had encamped. The Onnontagues were, for several days, under the impression that they had killed me. Tegannehout's arrival in his country will have calmed the minds in communicating the peace to them from you. No news have as yet been received from Seneca. Some say they will shortly come here to confer on important matters. If any one come here from the Fort I shall inform you of whatever I shall have learned.

Sieur Arnaud, Mr Dongan's deputy, has not reappeared here since my departure from Onnontaé, though he had assured me that he should return in ten days. 'Tis said that his delay is caused by his not having found his master at Orange, and that he has gone to Manath to inform him of the proceedings of the Onnontagues and of your arrival at Gainhouagué.[1]

I had the honor of writing to you from the Fort, whence I sent you a Wampum belt from the Tionnontatés. I have given Sieur Hannataksa the belt of Wampum and the red Calumet in your name, and told him that you would be ever obliged to him if he would turn his arms to the left of Fort Saint Louis,[2] where the Illinois are mingled with the Oumiamis, in order to give no cause of complaint.

Uncertain as I was regarding matters on the side of the Senecas, and fearful that they would create confusion on arriving here, I made some presents, in your name, to some captains who could best curb their insolence, so as to prevent the brewing of the storm.

Your man of business, I mean La Grande Gueule, is not astonished at any thing; he is a venal being, whom you do well to keep in pay. I assured him that you would send him the jerkin you promised.

The Cayugas who are gone to the borders of Merilande and Virginia to fight, have sent home some of their warriors to say that the English had killed three of their men, and that, having taken five Englishmen alive, they had cut their throats after subjecting them to some bad treatment, and that their little army is still in the English Country.

After having spoken to you of others, I must acquit myself of a part of my duty, by thanking you very humbly for all the kindness you have been pleased to shower on me. I should have wished you, in addition to the good health in which it pleased God to preserve you in the midst of an army weakened by diseases, greater satisfaction for the trouble you have taken for the public good. Many individuals assuredly know that, if you had not accepted what was considered a very favorable peace since no one had been killed on either side, the Colony would have been exposed to the mercy of the Iroquois, who would pounce, in different directions, on defenceless settlements, the people of which they would carry off in order to pitilessly burn

[1] See Note 1, III., 431. — Ed.

[2] Peoria, Ill.

them. I pray God, who knows the sincerity of your intentions, to be your reward and to heap His blessings on you to the extent of the wishes of him who is entirely,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

I told Colin that you would remember him and his comrade.

The Tionnontatés have sent to thank the Onnontaguez for having, by their obliging disposition, gained you over to treat for peace, and thus preserved the lives of many, and [to say] that they were attached to Onnonthio. Sieur de la Grande [Gueule] has pronounced your panegyric here, and professes to keep the promise he made you, to cause the articles of peace to be observed. Some furs are to be collected this fall. He is treating on this subject with Hanagoge and Garakontié. There is no news yet from the Senecas.

Reverend Jean de Lamberville to M. de la Barre.

Onnontagué, this 9th Octobr, 1684.

My Lord,

Your sending three canoemen here, from Montreal, shows you to be in reality a man of your word. Sieur de la Grande Gueule has been informed by an express, who is gone to find him at his fishery, eight leagues from here, that you have written. I shall cause him, when he returns, particularly to recollect his promise to you, to have satisfaction given you. I have spoken, in his absence, both privately and publicly, to influential persons, and obtained promises from the chiefs and warriors that they would send two strings of wampum to the Senecas, in three days, to remind them of the word which the leader of those who pillaged the French canoes had himself brought here from those of his own nation, that they had accepted all you had concluded at La Famine. I told them what you had concluded and had ordered me to acquaint them with. The report about the thousand Illinois is a mere rumor, without any foundation, and M. du Lut told me at Katarokoui that he did not believe the truth of this news; besides, there was not any apprehension that they had dared to undertake anything, having met neither Frenchmen nor Outaouas; all of whom could make a demonstration of more fuzileers than they.

A party of 40 warriors will leave here in six days to attack the Illinois whom they may find among the Chaouennons. I have presented the Captain a shirt in your name, to exhort the Senecas, through whom he will pass, to keep their word with you. He has assured me that he will not lead his troops towards the quarter you forbade him. I notified him, as well as the others, that you had dispatched a canoe to inform the Oumiamis and the Maskeutens that you had included them in the peace, and that they could remain secure at the place where they had been before they were at war with the Iroquois. The Senecas shall be equally notified of this in a few days. You may rest assured, My Lord, that I shall spare no pains to have that satisfaction given you which you expect from the Iroquois. The Frenchmen who

came here told me that, whilst you were at La Famine, a false alarm that the Iroquois were coming, had reached Montreal, where there was nothing but horror, and flight and weeping. What would so many poor people have done in their settlements, if merely six hundred Iroquois had made an irruption into the country in its present condition? You form a better opinion than one hundred manufacturers of rhodomontades who are unacquainted with the Iroquois, and reflect not that the country, such as it is, is not in a condition to defend itself. Had I the honor to converse with you somewhat longer than your little leisure allowed me, I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Kaniatorontogouat[1] without having been utterly defeated in the then state of your army, which was rather an hospital than a camp. To attack people within their intrenchments and to fight banditti in the bush, required one thousand men more than you had. Then you could accomplish nothing without having a number of disciplined savages. I gave you already my thoughts, and I believe I told you the truth, and that you deserved the title of "Liberator of the Country," by making peace at a conjuncture when you might have beheld the ruin of the Colony without being able to prevent it. The Senecas had double palisades, stronger than the pickets of the Fort, and the former could not have been forced without great loss. Their plan was to keep only 300 men inside, and with 1,200 others perpetually to harrass you. All the Iroquois were to collect together and fire only at the legs of your people, to master them and to burn them at their leisure; and, after having decimated them by a hundred ambuscades among the foliage and grass, pursue you in your retreat even to Montreal, to spread desolation throughout its vicinity also; and they had prepared for that purpose a quantity of canoes of eighteen men each, which they kept concealed. But let us all speak of this war to thank God that He hath preserved our Governor in the midst of so much sickness, and hath had compassion on Canada, from which he hath averted the scourge of war which would have laid it entirely desolate. The English of Merinlande who have killed three Iroquois, and of which English the Iroquois had killed five, are about to have difficulties with that belligerent nation, which has already killed more than 29 of their men, and has been threatened with war should it continue to insult them. We shall see what the English of that quarter will do.

Garakontie returned to-day from Orange, where he told by a belt of Wampum how you had given peace to the public; also, how Colonel Dongan had urged the Iroquois to secure it by the satisfaction which he advised them to give you. Mr. Dongan left Orange when those who brought the Duke of York's safeguards came to this place; it is supposed that Arnaud's visit here, to prevent the Iroquois going to see you and to get them to hold a Council at Orange, was an intrigue of the Orange merchants, who feared that their trade would be diminished by a conference held with you with arms in your hands; for Mr. Dongan had probably departed from Orange when Arnaud left to come here. After having heard Mr. Dongan exhort them to an arrangement with you, the Iroquois know it was in nowise probable that he had forbidden them, on the eve of a negotiation, to visit you without his permission.

A man named La Croix, in Indian Tegaiatannhara,[2] who answered Garakontié on behalf of the Dutch, said that had you not made peace, knowing that the safeguards of England were on the Iroquois, 800 Englishmen and 1,200 Loups, who are between Merinland and New-York,

[1] Literally, An opening into, or from, a Lake; an inlet or Bay, from *Kaniatare*, a Lake, and *hetontogouan*, to open.

[2] The literal Mohawk translation of the word *Cross*. — Ed.

entirely distinct from the Cannongagehronnons[1] whom you had with you, were all ready to march at the first word to aid the Iroquois. This man, La Croix, who passes with the Iroquois for a great liar, might possibly have advanced this of his own accord, as well as many other things he has stated, of which M. Dongan perhaps would not approve were he acquainted with them.

I thank you most humbly for having furnished an opportunity for the transportation to us of a part of our necessaries. It is a continuance of your kindness towards us, and towards me in particular, who am sincerely and with much respect,

My Lord,

Your very humble and most obedient servant,

De Lamberville.

I shall give La Grand Gueule your jerkin as soon as he returns here. I had the honor to write to you by Colin ten days since.

M. de la Barre to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed in III., 447.]

Governor Dongan to M. de la Barre.

[Already printed in III., 448.]

M. de la Barre to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed in III., 450.]

Instructions from M. de la Barre to M. de Salvaye.

[Already printed in III., 450.]

[1] Quere. The Mohawks of Sault St. Louis. They called themselves Canniungaes, from *canniah*, a steel, the emblem of their tribe. *New-York Documentary History*, 8vo., IV., 432. — Ed.

Governor Dongan to the French at Pemaquid.

New York the 3d August, 1683.

Gentlemen,

I have learned from Pemaquid that you dwell among the Indians there, which is injurious. I have to request you, on receipt hereof, to withdraw into the English plantations belonging to his Royal Highness My Lord the Duke of York, between the Rivers of Quebec and St Croix, otherwise to quit that place before the month of May next, and by way of encouragement if you wish to remove to us, you shall have lands, and all such others as will remove under our government will be treated with all kindness, like ourselves.

This is what I offer, and am,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servant,

(Signed) Dongan.

(Endorsed)

"Messieurs, Messieurs Les françois
qui abitent parmy les Indiens a Pemaquid."

M. de la Barre to M. de Seignelay.

Extract of a letter dated Quebec, 14 Nov., 1684, from M. de la Barre to the Minister (Marquis de Seignelay.)

It will be important that the King explain to me the manner in which he desires me to act with Colonel Dongan, who is filled with chimerical pretensions, and who [claims that] all the country extending from the River Saint Lawrence to the South and South West belongs to the King of England, including therein all the country of the Iroquois, and all the vast extent of territory they have depopulated along Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, as far as the Illinois, of all which countries the said Colonel has no knowledge nor Map. It will be absolutely necessary that his Majesty write to the King of England in order to produce a change in the said opinions, or that his Majesty permit me to apply force by land. This I would do without much trouble or expense.

I have just received a letter from Onontagué, among the Iroquois, of the 27th September, which I believe you will be very glad to see, as I send a great many other documents from the same person, who is a very capable and a very zealous man. I expect another, which I hope to receive in sufficient time to have it take the same direction. These representations, the truth of which cannot be suspected, will give you a better idea of the state of the country than any thing else.

Extract of the Summary of Letters from Canada.

M. de la Barre. 13 and 14 9ber

Sends a statement of what occurred in the voyage against the Iroquois.

Did not wish to compromise matters except on a certainty.

Took advantage of his march to conclude a peace which he considers permanent.

It is impossible to reduce the Iroquois unless the King of England send specific orders to his Governors of New York not to succor nor receive them; or unless the King order the war to be carried into his country.

This war cannot terminate for several years, the English having a very large force of regulars and Indians and not of militia.[1]

The English Governor offered the Senecas 400 horses and 400 infantry.

Has had the Duke of York's arms raised in the Villages.

Has forbidden the entering into any conference with him, La Barre.

That tended to make the Indians negotiate.

Pretends, also, that the entire country South West of the River Saint Lawrence belongs to his master.

Includes thereby the entire Iroquois country, that of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan.

The Colony has need of repose to get out the furs detained among the Outawas by the war.

To undertake the war, considerable supplies will be required at Fort Frontenac, and a great deal of time to convey them thither.

Does not imagine that it can be thought of for the year 1685. Has resolved to go up this spring to the said fort, to proceed by Lake Ontario to reconnoitre the Iroquois and to arrange every thing for the execution of the orders which the King will send.

In order to prosecute the war with success, what regards the English must be decided, and good soldiers and experienced officers sent.

Regarding the Iroquois presents: They have been purchased and distributed in presence of the Intendant, and therein he followed the custom, which is, that he who passes for Chief give these presents with his own hands.

Is but little satisfied with the levies made at Rochefort.

II. Fort Frontenac.

Did not despoil de la Salle of Fort Frontenac. By his permission, and at his request he put there a sergeant of the garrison of Quebec, who took an inventory of every thing.

Said Fort was then all open and was restored to la Forêt in good order, with two redoubts faced and three curtains, two barks which cost 12^{m} ^{ll}, and a large number of cattle.

Sends, as proof, a certificate written by a Jesuit of the Sault Mission.

Should La Salle's discovery succeed, Canada and the customs from the beaver will be ruined before three years.

Chevalier de Baugy bravely defended Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois;[2] is to give it up to Tonty, and return to Quebec without trading.

The Iroquois have raised the siege after having lost a great many men.

[1] This is a literal translation of the text, from which something is evidently omitted, as the above is contrary to the passage in Mr. de la Barre's despatch, of 13th November, 1684, of which it pretends to convey the substance. See *supra*, p. 251. — Ed.

[2] Peoria, Ill.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Sieur de Callières for My Lord, the Marquis of Seignelay, On the encroachments of the English on the French Colonies in America.

It is a custom established, and a right recognized, among all Christian Nations, that the first who discover an unknown country, not inhabited by other Europeans, and who plant in it the arms of their Prince, secure the propriety thereof to that Prince in whose name they have taken possession of it.

On this principle, it is easy to prove that the English, not satisfied with their ancient usurpations on the French in New France, are unauthorized in the unjust encroachments they are disposed, particularly within the past year, to make on that country.

The pretensions of the English, now under consideration, are classed under three heads.

The first is, that Colonel Dongan, governor of New-York formerly called New Netherland, taking advantage of the breaking out of the war declared by M. de la Barre last year against the Iroquois, had sent a Messenger to these Indians to inform them that he had taken them under his protection, and had transmitted the Arms of the King of England to be set up in their villages, and to take possession of the latter in his name, as dependencies of his government, notwithstanding M. de la Barre besought him not to meddle in that war, and the English Governor could not be ignorant that the Country of the Iroquois always constituted a part of New France, as will hereafter be established; yet, instead of responding to M. de la Barre's civility as he ought to have done, he had the boldness to tell his delegate that not only the country of the Iroquois belonged to his government, but that even the entire Rivers S^{t} Lawrence and Ottawa, and the lakes Frontenac, Champlain and others adjoining, which form almost the whole of New France, were the property of the English.

The second is, that Sieur Dongan wrote last May 1684, to Sieur de S^{t} Castin, commandant of Fort Pentagouet in Acadia, and to the other posts occupied by the French as far as the River Kennebeck which separates Acadia from New England, in which letter this English governor claims that his government extends to the River St. Croix, which is forty leagues further in Acadia, and orders said Sieur de St. Castin[1] and the French who inhabit that district, embracing, between those two Rivers, forty or fifty leagues of the finest Country in all Acadia, to quit it immediately, threatening, in case of refusal, to have them driven off, unless they

[1] Baron Vincent Saint Castin was a gentleman of Oleron, in Bearn. Originally a Colonel in the King's guards, he came to Canada in 1665, as Captain, some say in command, of the Carignan regiment. *Supra*, p. 32. On the surrender of Acadia for the fourth time to the French (*Charlevoix*, I., 462), the government of that province was conferred again on Chevalier de Grandfontaine (*supra*, 87), who appointed Baron St. Castin his lieutenant, by whom Fort Penobscot, Maine, was re-occupied about 1680–1 (*Par. Documents*, VII., 214), where a town at present bears his name. He married the daughter of Madockawando, Sachem of the Penobscots, by which tribe he was adopted and elevated to the rank of Chief. Here he drove a considerable and profitable trade. On receipt of the letter above referred to, he communicated with the Governor of Canada, which, however, did not save his premises from being pillaged in 1687, during his absence, by a force sent to that quarter by Governor Andros. In 1690, he led a party of Indians to the assistance of M. de Portneuf, third son of the Baron de Bekancourt, in the attack on Falmouth (Portland), and in 1696 brought 200 of his followers to the aid of Iberville, against Fort William Henry, or Pemaquid. He served at the successful defence of Port Royal (Annapolis) with such bravery, in 1707, as to call forth the special approbation of his superior officer. In the course of these operations he was wounded. Having amassed a property of 300,000 crowns, he retired eventually to France, where he had an estate. He was succeeded by his son, in the government of Penobscot, in 1710. *Charlevoix*, I., 538; II., 315, 316, 320, 349; *Williamson's Maine*, I., 471, 589, 619, 643; *La Hontan*, ed. 1728, II., 29. — Ed.

consent to take the oath of allegiance at his hands to the King of England. In this case, he makes advantageous offers to said Sieur de St. Castin, and the other French who will consent to recognize him, and does not wish to make any change in regard to Religion, the English governor being a Catholic, and having a Jesuit and Priests along with him, which circumstances render his efforts much the more dangerous.

The third pretension of the English is, to drive the French from Hudson's Bay, the whole of which country they claim as their property. And, in consequence of this pretension, they dispatched some vessels last year to that Bay, which carried off several Frenchmen, whom a company, formed at Quebec, settled in that quarter at a place called the River Bourbon, and conveyed them to London, with the Beaver and other peltries belonging to the said French Company, to the value of nearly two hundred thousand livres.

Previous to examining these three new pretensions of the English in detail, it is necessary to show, by an historical Abstract of our Discoveries, how we are in incontestable possession of what they desire, improperly, to contest with us.

The Normans and Bretons were the first who commenced to sail towards these countries, and discovered, in 1504, the Island of Newfoundland, and, subsequently, the coasts of New France. King Francis I. being informed thereof, and being stimulated by the successful discoveries made by the Spaniards in North America[1] from the 34th to the 50th degree of Latitude, that is to say, from that part of Florida which bounds Virginia to the mouth of the River St Lawrence. He landed at divers of the principal points along those coasts, traded with the Savages, who having never seen ships nor Europeans were vastly surprised at this novelty, and took possession of those countries in the name of King Francis I.; returned by the Island of Newfoundland, and arrived in France in the month of July, 1524. This is proved by the letters written by the said Verrazzano to the King, and mentioned by Jean de Laet.[2]

Subsequently the same King, at the solicitation of Philip Cabot, Admiral of France, sent Jacques Cartier of the town of St Malo, to discover new countries, who made two voyages, one in 1534, the other in 1535. He was the first European who with two large King's ships, each 800 tons burthen, entered the River St Lawrence, and ascended it 120 leagues as far as the Island of Orleans, near the present site of Quebec, and went to winter, and planted the first French Colony ten leagues farther up, at a place which he named St Croix,[3] and afterwards proceeded 60 leagues higher up that river, as far as the Saut St Louis.

In 1540 King Francis I. appointed Sieur De Roberval Viceroy of New France, who went thither in 1542 and built a fort there which he called France Roy,[4] four leagues above the Island of Orleans, remained there many years, and made several voyages along the rivers into the country. This possession was continued by the Commissions granted by Henry IV., in 1598, to the Marquis de la Roche, in 1599 to Sieur Chauvin, Ship Captain, and in 1602 to Commander de Chaste Governor of Dieppe, to go command in New France; and it was renewed, in 1603, by the Commission to Pierre de Gua, Marquis de Mons, as Viceroy of all the Provinces of New France, which possession has been since uninterruptedly continued.

In 1562, in the reign of Charles IX., Admiral de Chastillon fitted out two ships under the command of Jean Ribaut who planted a French Colony on the coast of Florida, in a river

[1] "sent out Jean Verrazzanni, who discovered the country," seems to be omitted in the text. — Ed.

[2] *Histoire du Nouveau Monde, Leyde*, 1640., Liv. III., Ch. i., 68.

[3] Now the River Cap Rouge, about eleven miles above Quebec. *Collections, of the Literary and Historical Societies of Quebec*, 1843, p. 74.

[4] Called, in Hackluyt, Charlesbourg Royal, now Cap Rouge.

which he called the River May, where he built a fort named by him Fort Charles. In 1564, Captain Laudonniere brought other vessels thither to reinforce that Colony and Fort Charles, whence the country was called Carolina, after Charles IX., which name it still retains up to the present time.

In 1565, the French were expelled thence by the Spaniards, and reinstated in 1567 by Chevalier de Gourgues, who served the Spaniards in the same manner that they had treated the French prisoners.

That beautiful Colony, so favorably situated in the 32nd degree of latitude, at the mouth of the Bahama channel, through which all the Spanish fleets must pass on their homeward voyage from the Indies, was taken from us, during the civil wars, by the English who still hold it at the present time, contrary to every sort of right.

They have no better title to New England, which constituted a part of New France; for that country, it is well known, has been discovered by the French, who took possession of it at divers periods, in the name of our Kings, before the English had dreamt of going thither, and Sieur de Mons, among the rest, by virtue of his Commission of Viceroy of all the Provinces of New France, granted him by King Henry IV., in 1603, accompanied by Sieurs de Potrincourt and de Champlain who established themselves in Acadia, which then extended to the Coasts since called by the English, New England; of all the harbors whereof which he discovered the said Sieur de Champlain made an exact description, and took possession of said harbors in his Majesty's name in 1605, whereas the English did not begin to settle there before 1620, when a number of Puritans sailed from Plymouth, who, having made that coast near Cape Cod, planted a Colony consisting of 19 families there which they call New England, and the spot New Plymouth. This was afterwards increased by other Puritans and Non-conformists, particularly after the death of Cromwell, which caused several Rebels, Pirates and Sea robbers through dread of punishment to emigrate to that new Colony, which is yet not very submissive to the orders of the Court of England, and sets up a sort of Republic.

The English, however, not satisfied with being left to the peaceable enjoyment of the countries they have usurped from us, will still fain extend their boundaries over countries they have never claimed up to this time.

As regards their first pretension to the Country of the Iroquois, it is untenable. The French are not only the first discoverers of that country, but even the first Europeans who penetrated into it. After Jacques Cartier had taken possession in 1535 of the River St Lawrence, and of its several tributaries and such had been continued by the other French commanders, Sieur de Champlain, penetrating further into the interior, discovered the country of the Iroquois who adjoin a Lake that still bears the name of Lake Champlain, and subdued that nation with arms in 1609 and the following years in divers expeditions he made against them. Since that time they have invariably recognized the authority of all the other Governors of New France, down to 1665 and 1666, when being reinforced, Sieur de Tracy, the Governor General, completed their reduction, without the English having ever made any pretension to them. The French, alone, keep Missionaries there to instruct them, and when difficulties arise between them and other tribes,the Iroquois always have recourse to the Governor-General of New France, whom they style their Father, and whom they recognize, to this day, as their sole protector.

The second pretence of the English to extend the limits of their territory as far as the River St. Croix, in Acadia, has no better foundation than the first. True it is, they seized on Port Royal, the principal settlement of Acadia, and on every place beyond the coast of

New England during the last war which we had with them in 1765 [1665]; but as we took from them, in the course of the same war, half the Island of St. Christopher which belonged to them, it was concluded by the Treaty of Breda, in 1667, that all they took from us in Acadia was our property; and, in execution of that treaty, Chevalier Temple surrendered to the French whatever was in the occupancy of the English as far the River Quinibequi, including Fort Pentagouet and the other posts which they now unjustifiably claim, the King's subjects having undisturbed possession thereof since the ratification of the Treaty of Breda.

As regards Hudson's Bay, the French settled there in 1656, by virtue of an Order [*arrêt*] of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, authorizing Sieur Bourdon, its Attorney-General, to make the discovery thereof, who went to the north of said Bay, and took possession thereof in his Majesty's name.

In 1661, Father Dablon, a Jesuit, was ordered by Sieur d'Argenson, at the time Governor of Canada, to proceed to said country; he went thither accordingly, and the Indians, who then came from thence to Quebec, declared that they had never seen any Europeans there.

In 1663, Sieur D'Avaugour, Governor of Canada, sent Sieur Couture, Seneschal of the Cote du Beaupré, to the North of said Hudson's Bay, in company with a number of Indians of that country, with whom he went to take possession thereof, and he set up the King's arms there.

In the same year, 1663, Sieur Duquet, King's attorney to the *Prevôté* of Quebec, and Jean l'Anglois, a Canadian colonist, went thither again by order of said Sieur d'Argenson, and renewed the act of taking possession by setting up his Majesty's arms there a second time. This is proved by the arrêt of the said Sovereign Council of Quebec, and by the orders in writing of said Sieurs d'Argenson and d'Aveugour.

The English allege that the North coast of Hudson's Bay, where the French established themselves, has been discovered by Chevalier Button, an Englishman, as early as 1621. But we answer, that he made no record there of taking possession, and that they did not have any settlement there before the year 1667, when the Frenchmen named des Grozelliers and Radisson conducted the English thither to a place they called Nelson's river; and in 1676, the said Desgrozelliers and Radisson, having returned from England, and having obtained pardon for their defection, a Company was formed at Quebec who sent them to Hudson's Bay, where they founded a settlement north of said bay on the River Bourbon, which is the one the English seized last year in consequence of a new treachery on the part of said Radisson, who reëntered their service and conducted them thither. Meanwhile the Company formed at Quebec sent two ships last year to said Bay, under the impression that they would find their people, with a quantity of Peltries, at the settlement on the River Bourbon, of right belonging to them, where the Company is in a condition to maintain itself if protected by his Majesty.

These expeditions and usurpations of the English are by so much the more dangerous as, if a remedy be not applied thereto, by vigorously opposing their ill founded pretensions, they will eventually cause the ruin of our Colonies of New France, the destruction of which they threaten from three different points. To obviate this, troops are required in Canada to guard the frontier posts, and to chastise and subdue the Iroquois whom the English uphold against us.

Louis XIV. to Monsieur de la Barre.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

Monsr De la Barre,

Having been informed that your years do not permit you to support the fatigues inseparable from the duties of your office of Governor and Lieutenant-General in Canada, I send you this letter to advise you that I have selected Sieur de Denonville to serve in your place; and my intention is that on his arrival, and on your having resigned to him the Command and Instructions of all that concerns it, you embark for the purpose of returning to France. Whereupon, &c.

Louis XIV. to M. de Meulles.

Extract of a letter from the King to M. de Meules, Intendant, &c.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

* * * * * I have reason to be dissatisfied with the treaty concluded between Sieur de la Barre and the Iroquois. His abandonment of the Illinois has seriously displeased me, and has determined me to recall him. I have chosen, as his successor, Sieur de Denonville, who will, of himself, understand the state of affairs; and I have empowered him to continue the peace, or to declare war, according as he shall consider it necessary for my service and the good of the country.

You are to make it your principal study to inform him thoroughly of what may be of use, and of all the views you may entertain for the benefit of the colony, and the correction of the disorders which have crept into it.

M. de Seignelay to Mr. Barillon.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

Sir,

The King has been given to understand that the Governor of New-York, instead of keeping up good correspondence with Sieur de la Barre, Governor of Canada, agreeably to the orders of the late King of England, has done all in his power to prevent the Iroquois treating with him — that he has offered them troops to act against the French, and has had flags *(etendarts)* hoisted in their villages, notwithstanding those Nations have always been subject to France, since their country was discovered by the French, without any objection on the part of the English, His Majesty desires you to complain of it to the King of England, and to demand from him precise orders obliging that governor to confine himself within the limits of his government, and to observe a different line of conduct toward Sieur de Dennoville, whom his Majesty has chosen to succeed said Sieur de la Barre.

Extracts of the Summary of the Answers sent to the letters received from Canada.

Versailles, 18th February, 1685.

To M. de la Barre.

The King having named M. de Denonville in his stead, his Majesty wishes that he embark to return to France.

To Sieur de Meules.

I advise him of the selection of M. de Denonville, who is a highly esteemed officer.

That his Majesty has great confidence in him.

Entertains great hopes that he will repair matters which Sieur de la Barre has, as it were, abandoned in the disgraceful peace he lately concluded.

That the abandonment of the Illinois has seriously displeased his Majesty, and determined him to recall Sieur de la Barre.

Said de Denonville will understand, of himself, the state of affairs, and will be empowered to ratify the peace or to declare war, according as he will consider it for the advantage of his Majesty's service, and for the good of the country.

He wishes said de Meules to make it his principal study to advise him exactly of all that may be for the interest of the Colony.

I remark to him the error he committed in not following Sieur de la Barre in his expedition.

That he must not fail to go himself, on like occasions, and give orders in whatever regards the subsistence of the troops, and facilitates expeditions.

That he places in Sieur de Denonville's hands a Memoir of all the disorders of Canada, and of the means to remedy them.

Sieur de Denonville will communicate to the King his sentiments on the merits of the officers.

[Aliò.]

His Majesty desires that he will do justice to Sieur de La Salle, in regard to Fort Frontenac, and whatever will be found to be his property, in case it be taken for his Majesty's service.

The presents to the Indians, when occasion requires, must be made by orders from the Commandant, and with the Intendant's participation.

[Aliò.]

I refer to him the petition of the inhabitants of Montreal, and write him to issue an ordinance to prevent the trade that is carried on at the end of the Island *(Bout de l'Isle)* and to reëstablish the fair at Montreal.

I ask him for a list of Canadian Gentlemen and the Memoir on which they assert their Noblesse.

I send him an *Arrêt* permitting them to carry on trade even by retail without derogating from their rank.

His Majesty is very desirous to have two sons of said Gentlemen received annually into the *Gardes de la Marine.*[1]

[Aliò.]

His Majesty accords 1000^{liv} to the women who will teach the Indian girls how to work.

[1] A corps of gentlemen holding brevet commissions or serving in the French navy. *James' Military Dictionary;* Verbo.

I urge him to complete that establishment and to act in such a manner as to make marriages customary between these girls and the French.

[Aliò.]

To Sieur Barillon.

[Omitted. See letter in full, supra, p. 269.]

Instructions to M. de Denonville.[1]

Instruction which the King desires to be placed in the hands of the Marquis de Denonville, chosen, by his Majesty, Governor and his Lieutenant-General in New France.

Versailles, 10th March, 1685.

Sieur de Denonville must be informed that the continual differences between preceding Governors and Intendants have been so prejudicial to his Majesty's service and to the interests of the Colony established in Canada, that his Majesty considers it necessary to recall those officers, and to replace them by persons whose wiser and more moderate Government accords more closely with his Majesty's intentions. Sieur de la Barre had been selected for the office of Governor, which he filled during three years; but his very advanced age putting it beyond his power to act with the vigor necessary for the execution of his Orders, his Majesty has fixed upon the Sieur de Denonville to fill his place, assured, by his past services and the prudent course he has pursued in his armies, that he will continue to serve him faithfully, and exert himself to reëstablish tranquillity and repose among those of the Colony whom the examples and partiality of Superiors have, up to this time, distracted.

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His Majesty has explained to him his intentions regarding the conduct to be observed on arriving in said country, where his principal object, he is aware, will be to secure the quiet of Canada by a firm and solid peace; but in order that such a peace be permanent, the pride of the Iroquois must be humbled, the Illinois and other allies who have been abandoned by Sieur de la Barre must be sustained, and the Iroquois must from the outset be given, by a firm and vigorous policy, to understand that they will have everything to dread if they do not submit to the conditions it will be his pleasure to impose on them.

He must, then, at once declare to them that it is his desire to protect with all his power the allies of the French; communicate the same intelligence to the Illinois, Outaouacs, Miamis, &c.; and if he think proper to support this declaration by force and an expedition against the Senecas, his Majesty refers it to him to adopt, in this regard, such resolutions as

[1] This nobleman, after a long service in the French army, became colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, and sold his commission on being appointed Governor of Canada. He was superseded in 1689, when he was appointed Under-Governor, at the solicitation of the Duke de Beauvilliers, of the Princes of the Blood Royal. *La Hontan*, 1728, I., 303; *La Potherie*, III., 59; *Charlevoix*, I., 552. His administration is regarded as one of the most unfortunate. *Garneau Histoire du Canada*, I., 277. — Ed.

shall be deemed most suitable, being fully persuaded that he will pursue the wisest course, and that his military experience will enable him to put a speedy termination to the war, if obliged to declare it.

He must be aware that the Governor of New-York has undertaken to assist the Iroquois, and to extend British dominion up to the banks of the River S^{t} Lawrence, and over the entire territory inhabited by these Indians. And although his Majesty does not doubt but the King of England, to whom he has ordered his Ambassador to address himself, will direct that Governor to cease his unjust pretensions. He, meanwhile, considers it necessary to explain that everything must be done to maintain good understanding between the French and English. But if the latter, contrary to all appearances, excite and aid the Indians, they must be treated as enemies when found on Indian territory, without, at the same time, attempting anything on territory under the obedience of the King of England.

Independent of the establishment the French have made along the bank of the River S^{t} Lawrence, a part of Acadia is still occupied by them; and as advices have been received that the English were seizing several posts which have been always occupied by the French, his Majesty desires that he inform himself of this particular, and send also to the Governor of Boston to explain the points to which the bounds of the French domination extend, and to request of him to confine himself within the limits belonging to the English, according to the orders given him by the late King of England, the renewal of which his Majesty will request from the reigning Monarch.

He is aware that the government of the country of Acadia has been committed to Sieur Perrot,[1] whom his Majesty will cause to be notified to proceed thither immediately after having received Sieur de Denonville's orders as to what he has to do in his government, whereof his Majesty requires that he render him an account as often as possible, and that he keep up a correspondence with the said Sieur de Denonville, which there is reason to hope, will be greatly facilitated by the visit M. de Meules is to make to said country, agreeably to the instructions he will receive from his Majesty by the first vessels proceeding to Canada.

He must not only endeavor to prevent the attacks of the Iroquois on the French; he must also take particular care to keep the Indians at peace among themselves, and to prevent the Iroquois, by all means, waging war against the Illinois and other tribes, their neighbors, it being very certain that if those nations who supply the peltries that constitute the principal trade of Canada perceive that they are shielded from the violence of the Iroquois by the protection of the French, they will be the more encouraged to bring in their merchandize, and will, by that means, increase trade.

[1] See III., 720, note 2.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay, and the latter's Answer.

Extract of the Summary of Monsieur de Denonville's letters of the 20th August, 3 September, and 12 November, 1685.

Has made a voyage to Cataracouy. Sieur de la Forest, who commands there on behalf of Sieur de la Salle, having requested permission to go to the Illinois on said Sieur de la Salle's business, he (de D.) has put Sieur Dorvilliers in his place with his company, that post appearing to him of great consequence.

By the inclosed plan will be seen the bad condition of the Fort; how it will be more favorably located, and what will be necessary to be done to protect from the enemy's fire the vessels which are sent there.

He is assured that l'Ile de la Forêt in Lake Ontario, about a league distant from that fort, is more fertile, and possesses a cove where the

Notes of the Minister.

I shall commence my letter in answer to his, by assurances of the extreme satisfaction the King entertains of his conduct on his entrance into his government *(etablissement)*. I exhort him to persevere and am persuaded that, by continuing to act with such good intentions and so much wisdom, he will place that colony on a very different footing from the past, and perform a service which will be pleasing to the King and most beneficial to the State.—*Good.*

It is highly important to preserve that post, which would be of very great consideration in case of war with the Iroquois, but he must take care not to do any thing adverse to the interests of Sieur de la Salle, its proprietor and governor, who, besides, is employed in the King's service discovering countries towards Mexico, to whom, therefore, he is to afford every protection, obliging him, however, to conform to orders the same as other governors.

I have seen this plan and what he writes me about this Fort. I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at the ignorance of those who burned it, since by retiring a few toises they could occupy the entire interval between both parts of the Lake, make a branch of that Lake front them, and prevent an attack on their rear which appears to me not to be protected from insult. It will be very proper, in time, to fortify that post, without, however, doing any thing more than placing it beyond insult, and in a position to protect the anchorage-ground of the vessels, having nothing to fear from the Iroquois when protected against a *coup de main*.

He will be able to visit that Island at another time; the difficulty of landing there in consequence of the wind, must, however,

barks can be sheltered from the winds, which are very tempestuous. He was unable to visit that island in consequence of the gale which agitated the lake, but will do so at the first opportunity.

The post of Cataracouy is of very great importance, as is to be seen in the Memoir on the Present State of Canada, which he transmits.

Three Iroquois villages pass within reach of this fort going and returning from their hunting.

War with the Iroquois is inevitable, and if we do not make it against them, they will declare it after they will have done all in their power to rid themselves of the Indians who are friends of the French.

Though they are highly insolent he will temporize with them until a favorable opportunity present to declare himself.

A man named Acoutache, who is among the Outawas, has told them that he, Denonville, was preparing to attack them, which has alarmed them.

The Onnontagués have promised to visit him in the month of July, when he will endeavor to draw this Acoutache thither in order to arrest, and make an example of him.

He was in receipt of letters from Father Lamberville, Missionary, to the effect that the Iroquois are quiet, so that he does not believe that they intend to be first to declare themselves.

This father informs him that they have sent a war party against the Illinois and other tribes, allies of the French.

make Cataracouy preferable, notwithstanding the soil is less fertile than that on the island.

In case war against the Iroquois cannot be avoided, it will probably commence at this post, which will afford great facilities for its speedy termination, as the greater portion of the Iroquois pass, he says, within reach of this fort on their return from hunting, for it will be easy to seize a favorable opportunity to attack them unawares, in the same manner as they have frequently surprised the French. However, his Majesty refers it to him to act in this case as he shall judge most proper, observing, always, the principle which has been laid down for him, that he must, for the good of the colony, avoid war as much as he possibly can with safety and due maintenance of the fear the Iroquois ought to entertain of the French. But if it be inevitable, efficient measures should be adopted promptly to exterminate the Iroquois and to avoid prolonging the war.

Good. The King refers to his prudence the conduct he is to observe in this regard.

Nothing is of more importance than to uphold the allies of the French, and to prevent the Iroquois insulting these tribes; and if the

Reasons will not be wanting to break with them when desirable, and it is even impossible to avoid attacking them as they are too haughty, and do not perform what they promised in their last Treaty.

They are to come to see him this summer.

Transmits a list of articles required to carry on the War, and another of what is in store.

Sieur d'Orvilliers has written to him that one of his soldiers, returning from accompanying a Jesuit to Onondaga, saw eleven English canoes, loaded with goods for the Seneca[1] trade, conducted by French deserters.

As it is necessary to prevent this trade, he is to send to said Sieur Dorvilliers some canoes, which he will employ with his barks in cruising on the Lake and endeavoring to seize those French and English.

If this were not promptly remedied, the Canada trade would be lost.

After having defeated the Senecas, it will be necessary to establish a good post at Niagara, and another Fort on Lake Erie, for the security of the barks that will have to be built there; and thus the English and the Iroquois will be kept in check.

He has found the old troops in a bad enough condition, but he will remedy it.

The greater portion of the companies are without arms. He has distributed among them the 600 muskets he carried out.

The 300 that are yet to be sent this year will be distributed among the settlers.

He requests their immediate dispatch.

It would be well to furnish the Illinois with arms. Sieur Tonty would pay for them; the King would thus only make an advance of them.

defence of the latter require war against the Iroquois, it were better to commence it than to suffer the destruction of the Nations with whom trade can be carried on.

It is very important to prevent this trade, as it is certain that the Colony of Canada will wholly perish if we cannot prevent the bad designs of the English and Dutch who crowd it on all sides and whose continual aim is to engross its commerce.

He acted very properly in dispatching those canoes to cut off the passage of the English; but if he could seize some of those French deserters, it would be very important to execute prompt and exemplary justice on them.

The King leaves it to him to do whatever he will think most proper, but let him take care not to engage in excessive expenses, and to send, as often as he can, the description of the country, and plans of the places. He will design to establish posts hereafter; let him observe also that there must not be too many posts to be garrisoned in a new country, as that divides its forces and, therefore, it will be absolutely necessary to confine himself to what is requisite for the support and increase of Trade and the safety of the inhabitants.

Good.

I issue the order for the dispatch of these three hundred.

I order the payment, but, as he remarks that it is only an advance, they will be issued on account of the money which is to be sent

[1] Outawa. — Ed.

Has contracted with the man named Azur to supply said muskets.

He binds himself to deliver them at Quebec @ 10ll each, French currency, according to the sample he has on hand.

As it is only an advance, requests that payment thereof be ordered at Rochelle to Sieur Grognon, merchant.

He has been advised that Sieur De la Salle pretends that the Commandant of his fort is not to receive orders from him, Denonville. Inquires what are the intentions thereupon.

Whatever the decision may be, it is necessary to order said Sieur de Tonty to march with Sieur de la Forest at the head of the Indians whithersoever ordered.

Will endeavor to get the Frenchmen to come back, who say they have Mr. de la Barre's order to go to the Outawas.

Said Sieur de Tonty will not permit the French to trade in the direction of the Illinois.

Asks if the King has granted the whole of that country to said Sieur De la Salle.

He is highly pleased with the conduct of Chevalier de Callière.

He has endeavored with said Sieur de Callière to find some mode of diminishing the expense of the freight of the provisions to Cataracouy, but there is no way to do it except to impress the people, which would fatigue them excessively and ruin them.

He has increased Sieur de Callière's powers, *(Gouvernement)* and has given him an order to command the Regulars and militia according to the Memoir he transmits.

Proposes to appoint said Sieur de Callière to the general command, immediately under him, of the country, inasmuch as, should he happen to die, great disorder and confusion would ensue before the arrival of another governor.

Another Extract.

The Youth of Canada are so badly trained, that, from the moment they are able to this year to Canada, subject to the repayment of the advances, in order that the funds be employed as intended according to the estimate.

Answered.

To write formally to M. de Tonty on the subject.

It is a ridiculous pretence on the part of Tonty, and I shall write sharply to him on the subject, as it is his Majesty's intention to preserve to the French the liberty of going to the Illinois to trade.

He must not think of forcing the people by means of corvées to do that transportation, and it is better that it should cost the King a little more than to fatigue and disgust the country people by taking them away from their labor and trade.

The King does not wish to confer the general command of the country on him, and besides, it is necessary that M. de Callières deserve that distinction by a longer service.

shoulder a gun, their fathers dare not say a word to them.

As they are not trained to labor and are poor, they have no other means of gaining a livelihood than to range the forests *(courir le bois)*, where they are guilty of an infinitude of disorders.

He will make use of all his authority to chastise them, and will exercise no other than military justice in this regard.

He will also endeavor to suppress a prevailing abuse in these debaucheries, namely, going entirely nude, after the Indian fashion.

This savage life has great attractions for those young men, who imitate all the movements of the Indians.

He has observed that the latter, far from instructing themselves in Religion and good morals, acquire only what is bad among the French, and it is impossible to subject them to order unless by collecting them into villages.

He is greatly edified by those who are established in the villages of Sillery, Lorette, the Sault, La Prairie, and at the Montreal Mountain.

He will inquire into the means of employing the Youth of said country in their early years.

The noblesse of Canada is of the most rascally description *(ce qu'l y a de plus gueux)* and to increase their body is to multiply the number of loafers *(fainéans.)*

The sons of Councillors are not more industrious than other young men.

3d Extract.

The Canadians are all tall, well made, robust and active, and accustomed to live on little.

The women and girls there are pretty lazy, for want of petty occupations.

4th Extract.

He will afford his entire protection to the agent of the Farmers (of the Revenue.)

That agent pretends to oblige all the traders and canoemen to deposit their peltries at the

It is his duty to introduce order there, and this is one of the circumstances in which his wisdom and application will be most useful to that colony.

Nothing is more important than to induce Indians to live among the French, but this must be for the purpose of Religious instruction, to lead them to adopt our manners, and not for the corruption of the French Youth and to make these live like Indians. I am persuaded that he who entertains such correct principles on the subject of Religion, will do all in his power to prevent that disorder.

They must not be increased.

Nothing is of greater consequence than to accustom them to industry, and means must be adopted to establish manufactures suitable to the country.

Custom House *(Bureau)* on their arrival and not to keep them at home in order to prevent people sending them to France or to the English.

The merchants say if that be done trade will be ruined, inasmuch as their peltries going to the Bureau pass through a number of hands, and are subject to be purloined.

The English sell their powder much cheaper than the French, which causes the Indians to resort for it to the English and to carry their peltries to them.

Were M. Brunet to be more accommodating as respects this article, it would be a benefit to the country.

I shall have M. Brunet spoken to, but it will be necessary that I know at what price the English sell their powder in order to examine with Sieur Brunet if he could furnish it at the same price—to write to him to come and see me on the subject.

He found, on his return from Cataracouy, English Merchants at Montreal, who thought to carry off the beaver as in times past; but they returned as they came.

Communicated to all the merchants the King's intentions on that subject, and they went away as they came.

Good.

Some English merchants have proposed to him to come to Quebec in search of grain, and though the country requires the sale of it to increase its value, he did not consider it his duty to grant this permission without orders.

Let him pay attention to it.

It would be a source of considerable profit, for English goods are cheaper than those of France.

There is no inconvenience in permitting this trade except what might arise from intercourse with foreigners, which possibly would afford the latter an opportunity to carry away Beaver and other peltries under the pretence of trading in grain, but by paying strict attention to prevent that, the King is pleased to allow this trade in grain for one year, subject to its being eventually interdicted if it be found not beneficial to the colony.

5th Extract: drawn from the letters of M. de St Vallier.

Inquires if the Parish priest *(Curé)* is to give the Governor and the Intendant the title of—My Lord—at the prône, and if the Clergy are to so style them in letters they address them.

It is proper as regards the Governor, not the Intendant.

Represents, in like manner as Monsieur de Denonville, that the Canadian Youth are for the most part wholly demoralized; that there are married men who, in addition to their

own wives, keep Squaws whom they publicly deceive; and that the most frightful crimes are perpetrated by the Young men and the French who resort the woods.

Were he persuaded that his letters would not be seen by others, he would describe matters more at length.

To remedy this evil it would be necessary to place all the Indians in regular missions.

That is his business, but he must be assisted in the execution of such an undertaking.

The Indians, whatever crimes they commit, remain unpunished, and as they live among the French they ought to be subject to the same laws.

'Tis easy to place them on that footing, and they would not destroy one another were they to see crime punished.

They would even come among the French in greater numbers.

Five or six Squaws have, since a few years, ceased boarding with the Ursulines as they have no marriage portion. A fund of a thousand écus was formerly appropriated for marriages. If its direction has been changed in the case of French women, he does not believe that it has been retained for the Indian girls.

He could also found an Establishment for School teachers the expense of bringing them from France is too great.

Aliò.

The poor overwhelm him, and ask of him wherewith to clothe themselves.

The consequences of this poverty are melancholy. The children being obliged to lie together, frightful irregularities result.

As they dare not appear in that state, the children do not leave their houses, especially during the winter, and remain without instruction.

M. de Denonville thinks he cannot employ a few licenses better than by affording these poor people the means of clothing themselves.

To agree to what he and Monsieur de Denonville will deem necessary to prevent the disorders and to assure him therein of the King's protection.

The marriage portions of these six Squaws must be replaced @ 50^{ll} each.

Good.

That's very good.

Note.— The above columns are transposed, in order to render their arrangement uniform with that observed in the preceding volumes of this work. — Ed.

Memoir of M. de Denonville on the State of Canada.

Memoir on the present state of Canada, and the measures to be adopted for the safety of the country. 12th November, 1685.

Lengthy discourses are not required to prove that the principal means of maintaining and increasing a Colony is to keep it in peace with its neighbors, so that the people may be enabled to devote the whole of their time to agriculture and the formation of their settlements, being no longer called aside by the necessity of taking up arms to attack an enemy and to protect themselves from the insults they are liable to experience. But as it is impossible to rely on neighboring nations, especially when they do not govern themselves by religion nor by any laws that have formed since the creation of the world the two guides which God has placed in the hands of Kings for the conduct of the people whom His Providence has confided to their care, 'tis indubitable that measures must be adopted to secure and guarantee the country against insults to which it is exposed from those Infidels.

The first precaution necessary to be taken is to reassemble the Colony with great care in order to concentrate its forces, and so act that each inhabitant may be aided by his neighbor in case of need. Forts, redoubts and retrenchments must not be forgotten, as well for the safety of the inhabitants as for the security of their cattle and other property.

I am persuaded that the first who had the management of the Colony of New France did not omit anything essential in those principles; they have so frequently seen their necessity that experience, united to their own good conduct, caused them to adopt similar resolutions wherein we now witness in New France but the vestiges of their wisdom. I am, thereby satisfied that care enough has not been taken to carry out their intentions, which appeared to me quite conformable to the King's orders, though these have not been afterwards so closely followed as they ought to have been. For, doubtless the Colony of New France would not be so exposed as it is to the insults of the feeblest enemy that will make his appearance, were it not as it seems to me from the situation of the greatest portion of the settlements, that private applications have been listened to, and every thing granted without any reflection. What is most to be regretted herein is, that for the present there is no remedy except the hope of seeing an increase of population, consequent on the large number of children I see around who, in order to be near their relatives, will possibly settle in their neighborhood.

The best I can do on my side is, to decidedly oppose any person settling beyond our most distant plantations. The principal cause of that wide separation of settlements proceeds, I have remarked, from the desire each has to be in advance of all others, so as to obtain the most peltries; and this is so true, that, if it be not checked, I believe settlements will be pushed as far the Outaouacs. This will not assuredly happen, so long as the King will leave me in this country.

Throughout the entire of New France there is not a single redoubt *(reduit)* except the Castle of Quebec, which, within a few years, resembles only a private establishment, open day and night to every comer, without a single gate capable of being closed.

The post of Three Rivers is formed of lofty palisades, without doors or gates, and without flanks except two large turrets begun last year which are entirely exposed and unfinished. Nevertheless, that post is of importance, and might have been located more favorably had it been placed nearer the three mouths of the river. But this change is no longer feasible.

On the Island of Montreal there is no sign of a redoubt except at the Indian mission of the Mountain which M. de Belmont has had inclosed with great care and industry.

Thus it may be said with truth, that from River du Loup to the point *(la pointe)* of the Island of Montreal, a distance of more than one hundred leagues, there is not a solitary spot affording the semblance of shelter from an enemy. The general census which I have caused to be taken will show the number of inhabitants in all those settlements; by following the two banks of the river, an opinion will be thus formed how far apart the settlements must be, the one from the other.

The views that ought to be entertained for the support and strengthening of the Colony, until the number of children increase and multiply, would, it appears to me beforehand, be to populate as much as possible the Island of Montreal and to have it surrounded *(d'en faire achever le circuit)* by a greater number of settlers; if that were completed as commenced, no hostile Indian could come on the island without being discovered. That island is twenty-five leagues in circumference; ten leagues remain still to be cleared, eight leagues on the north, and two on the west side, to complete that circle. To accelerate this, it would be necessary that the gentlemen of the Seminary could construct, as soon as possible, two or three mills and two churches, to attract settlers thither. Some offer themselves already on these conditions. M^{r}. Dolier, their Superior, told me he wished it done, but that the erection of the Seminary and of the Church had retarded it; indeed, they did not adopt the Resolution of building a house for themselves until they had great need of it, for no persons can be worse lodged than the ecclesiastics. Too much care cannot be taken to people this island which is of itself very fertile and, from its situation at the head of the entire country, must, if thickly settled, be the strength and support of the whole Colony, inasmuch as all the places against which the foe would like to make a demonstration, are accessible from this point.

It would, for a thousand good reasons, be of consequence, also, to enlarge the town of Villemarie[1]. This could easily be effected by insisting that the Indian trade should be carried on, not in every private place in the settlements but exclusively in the town, as regulated by the King's order communicated in a letter of My Lord de Colbert of the 15th of April, 1676, whereupon an arrêt of the Sovereign Council of Quebec was issued, dated the 5th of October of the same year, which had no more effect than the King's commands.

To avoid being too prolix, it is proper to conclude these reflections in order to make a few observations on the enemy, whose position affords a better opportunity for annoying the colony; and to consider the remedies required in such case.

The Iroquois are the most formidable; they are the most powerful by reason of the facility they possess of procuring arms from the English, and in consequence of the number of prisoners *(esclaves)* they daily make among their neighbors, whose children they carry off at an early age and adopt. This is their only means of increase, for in consequence of their drunken debaucheries which impel them into frightful disorders, the few children their wives bear could not assuredly sustain them alone did they not make prisoners.

Their large purchases of arms and ammunition from the English, at a low rate, have given them hitherto all the advantage they possess over other tribes, who in consequence of being disarmed, have been destroyed by the Iroquois, all of whom are proud of the act. Even the English in Virginia have suffered and still daily suffer from them, but the gain of the merchant of Orange and Manatte is paramount to every public interest, for were he not to

[1] The city of Montreal was thus called when first founded. — Ed.

sell the Iroquois powder, that Nation would be more easily conquered than any other. It consists of five principal tribes *(villages)* each of which has other small dependencies. The first calls itself Mohawk *(Anié)* and can muster two hundred men fit for service; it is ten leagues from Orange. The second is Oneida, *(Oneyoust)* between 15 and 20 leagues of the Mohawks, which can muster one hundred and fifty men. The third is Onontagué, a hundred leagues from Montreal; it can muster three hundred men. The fourth is Cayuga, *(Goyoguoain)* twelve leagues distant from Lake Ontario, which can furnish two hundred men, and the Senecas *(Sonontouans)* are the fifth. The last consist, it is said, of twelve hundred fighting men, and are five leagues south of the lake.

The Senecas being the strongest are the most insolent. Their subjugation need never be expected except we be in a position to surprise them. This cannot be effected without approaching nearer to them; occupying some post into which supplies may be thrown for the troops that will go in quest of those savages. In accomplishing this so opportunely as not to alarm the enemy, consists all the trouble and difficulty, both because of the distance and of the navigation of the river which is full of rapids and cascades impassable except by portages.

The post of Catarakŏy appears to me the most advantageous, if it were placed in a better posture of defence. It is at the mouth of Lake Ontario, from the head of which the Senecas are only five or six leagues distant in a beautiful country towards the south.

That fort is in a good position to afford vessels protection from storms and Indian attacks, on the outlay of some trifling expense which will be required for that purpose. The nearest point to the Senecas is forty or fifty leagues across this Lake. The three vessels at Catarakŏy will be of vast use in this expedition, when thoroughly repaired, for they are greatly neglected.

The plan of this fort demonstrates that it might have been more advantageously situated were it at the extremity of the tongue of land which is capable of being isolated by cutting a ditch on the land side. A wall twenty-five feet high, flanked with demi-bastions *(demi-tours)* would, in my opinion, be sufficient against Savages who do not make use of cannon.

It appears to me of extreme importance that the King make himself absolute master of this lake, which is more than three hundred leagues in circumference. I am persuaded that the English would like very much to have a post there. This would be a great prejudice to the colony and to the King's power on this continent of which his Majesty can easily make himself master, without any opposition, by the permanent establishment of a post with some vessels on this lake, and by another fort and some vessels on Lake Erie, which, by the Niagara river, is only two[1] leagues distant from Lake Ontario. But as such a post cannot be erected until after the Iroquois are conquered, I shall, before entering into the detail of the means of mastering that Nation, again repeat, as regards the importance of occupying those posts, that the English have so great a facility for establishing themselves there, that nothing save the power alone of the Iroquois prevents them from having posts there; inasmuch as it is quite easy to go from Manatte and Orange to Lake Ontario on horseback, the distance being only one hundred leagues through a beautiful country.

The importance of the post to be established on Lake Erie is quite clear, since vessels can very easily go from that lake to Missilimakina, which would afford considerable facility to the trade of the country and keep the Outaouacs in check and in the King's obedience. That lake would, moreover, enable us to take the Illinois by the hand, whilst communication by vessels would remove a great many impediments met with in the rivers from the numerous

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Twelve.

portages. Our cruisers having rendered us masters of these two lakes, the English would lose all the beaver trade of that quarter, which is very considerable.

A permanent peace with the Iroquois would be of more benefit to the Colony than a proclamation of war; but they act so insolently and haughtily towards all the other tribes with which they are at war, and at whose expense they daily recruit their strength, and have derived such advantage from an unfavorable peace concluded last year with us, that they are placed in a position, we may be assured, to break with us on the very first opportunity. It is still more certain that if not checked, they will, at the moment when there will be no more troops in this country, reassume on the first opportunity their original insolent tone, and without doubt insult us and inflict on us all possible injuries, no matter what promises they may make at present.

The question is, then, to discover the most sure means to humble and conquer the Five nations which, according to the account above cited, can place about two thousand men under arms, and in a state to take the field.

I estimate that the Regulars and militia with some Indians that we could muster, would be sufficient to encounter them; but as it is not enough to make them retreat, and as it is necessary to deprive them of all means to disturb us in our settlements, we must not go to their country to chastise them by halves but, if possible, to annihilate them. This cannot be effected without the aid of a considerable number of Indians in order to be able to pursue them pretty effectually into the distant forests in the direction of Merilande and Endastes,[1] whither they will retreat if they see that we are stronger than they. And as it is of great consequence not to declare war against them except we be able to crush them, it is of absolute necessity to take measures to induce the Illinois their enemies, and the Indians our allies, to unite with us, to attack and pursue them into the woods whither they will not fail to retire, as they will not dare to stand before us. For, as it would be very unfortunate not to crush them when attacked, nothing ought to be left undone to endeavor to destroy them and to put it out of their power to injure the Colony. Should we succeed the English, I reckon, will lose their trade in that quarter.

I find all our allies so discontented with us, and so dissatisfied at the fruitless voyage we caused them to make last year, that I do not think, from what I learn, that we can calculate on any of them.

Prior, then, to engaging in a war, I considered it my duty to permit the continuance of the negotiations of a certain Onondaga Indian of influence among them and the other Iroquois, who say they desire only peace. Meanwhile I thought it proper to set about managing the Illinois by promising them every protection; and as Chevalier de Tonty, who commands the fort on behalf of M^r^. de Lasalle, is in great favor with them, I considered it my duty to advise him of my arrival, and of the necessity that existed for my speaking to him as soon as possible on the King's service.

I have also sent to M^r^. de Ladurantaye who is at Lake Superior by M^r^. de Labarre's orders; and to Sieur Duluth, who is likewise at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other will be able to receive news from me this year; so that, not being able to see them all at the earliest before the month of July next, I have concluded that I ought not, and could not think of undertaking anything during the entire

[1] See Note supra, p. 227. — Ed.

of the next year; especially as a great number of our best Colonists are among the Outaouacs, and cannot return before next summer.

Being, moreover, informed that six Nations of our friends and allies are at war with each other, it is absolutely necessary to establish peace among them before thinking of making them in any way useful. I have sent some presents and an order to M^r^. de Ladurantaye to collect our Frenchmen and to place himself at their head, so as to back his arguments and to have more authority to reconcile them in conjunction with Father Angelran, a Jesuit Missionary, who is at Missilimakina.

Meanwhile, we shall lose no time in putting ourselves in a condition to repel any insults the Iroquois may offer the Colony, which would suffer seriously were we overpowered. Neither will we neglect any negotiations that may present themselves to lull the Senecas, who are the most insolent, and from whom we are not to expect any assured peace, still less its observance with our allies, whom they are determined utterly to exterminate.

On the arrival, next July, of Chevalier de Tonty, commandant of M^r^. de Lasalle's fort at the Illinois, we shall arrange together our future plans to insure success in crushing that Nation. I expect to accomplish it if he can march with a sufficient force of the Illinois in the rear of Lake Erié, and come to Niagara, as Sieur de Laforest, who was in command at Catarokŏy, has assured me he could do. This officer has also informed me that four to five hundred guns, with some powder, will be required to arm these tribes. It will be only an advance, which Sieur de Laforest pledges himself to cause the said Sieur de Tonty to reimburse in cash.

Said Sieur de Laforest having requested my permission to go and join Sieur de Tonty on M^r^. de Lasalle's business, I considered it my duty to select a person capable of answering for the safety of the post at Catarokŏy. I have chosen Sieur D'orvilliers, a man of much prudence and intelligence, and of great experience, whose conduct during M^r^. de la Barre's administration elicited the praise and approbation of every respectable person in the country.

I have given him for a garrison his company, with some mechanics as well to refit the vessels as to repair the barracks, and to place the fort in as good a condition as possible for passing the winter securely there.

And as there is a great recourse of Iroquois to, and even a number of them settled at that post, I have requested the Jesuit Fathers to appoint Father Milet to that mission to act as Interpreter, and to coöperate with Father de Lamberville, a missionary among the Onontagués, who express a desire for peace.

As regards Sieur Duluth, I have sent him orders to wait on me, so that I may learn from himself the number of Indians on which I can reckon. He possesses influence among them, and rendered great services to M^r^. de Labarre, by bringing to Niagara a considerable number of Indians for him, who would have, of themselves, attacked the Senecas had not M^r^. de Labarre expressly forbidden them.

On arriving here I found neither bateaux nor canoes for our troops. As men are absolutely useless without means of conveying them from one place to another, and knowing by experience that canoes cost too much, and require too much attention and repair, I thought I could not do better than to give orders for the preparation of plank for a hundred flat bottomed boats, which will carry twice as much as canoes, and be much cheaper, and need less repairs. Because a bateau capable of carrying two thousand pounds weight, will not cost more than a canoe which will carry only one.

The means for waging war with the King's approbation, against the Iroquois, without exciting any suspicion on their part, remain to be considered.

It is highly desirable that sufficient flour and other provision should be thrown next year into Catarokoy, so as to have nothing to do the year following except to march against the enemy. But as I consider it impossible to convey thither the entire quantity of provisions necessary without giving umbrage to the Indians, who are naturally suspicious, it will be necessary to adopt measures to effect the whole, with extraordinary diligence, in the course of the same year. This will not be accomplished without trouble and expense; for, in truth, the passage of the rapids and cascades, which embrace from twenty to thirty leagues, is attended with considerable difficulty.

This is not all; for it is well to reflect that it will not be easy to make arrangements for a punctual rendezvous as the Illinois have to travel four hundred leagues before they arrive at Niagara, the place of meeting; and the Outaouacs and Indians of Lake Superior three hundred leagues, and as it is nearly two hundred from Quebec to Niagara. All this must compel me to devise arrangements whereby I will be able alone to beat them without any other aid than what the country will afford.

The transportation of supplies and the expense attendant thereupon are my sole difficulty. The environs of Catarokoy, though not favorable for grain, produce good peas. Mr de Laforest assured me that he has nearly three hundred bushels of them. I caused orders to be sent him to plant the entire lot, and Mr D'orvilliers has instructions not to permit any of them to be consumed but to set his soldiers to work, to plant them. This would afford a trifling supply of four to five hundred minots[1] for next year.

The statements of the cost of conveying flour to Catarakoy exhibit the great expense of freight which cannot be had less. I have witnessed the last convoy, I have seen the difficulties, which had been in some degree diminished by a few passages I caused to be made. More might be effected, but a large expense would have to be incurred to render the river navigable. By remarking the pitch at some points on the map I caused to be made of it, some feeble idea may be formed of those difficulties.

We have treated of the avowed enemy of the colony, and of the means of getting rid of him. It is well to consider whether the English are not equally, if not more to be feared, and whether we must not take as much care to protect ourselves against them.

The situation of the convenient posts and good harbors occupied by these English on the sea coast South of this country, gives them such an advantage over us, that did it afford only the means of navigation at all seasons, this would still be too much.

Since they have been on this continent, they have taken particular pains to erect three large towns, which owing to their good conduct have become very populous. Trade flourishes in consequence of the abundance of beaver they derive from the Indians who eagerly repair to them, because their goods are cheaper than ours; and of the fisheries that nation has forestalled on us through our weakness in Acadia, the coast of which abounds more with fish than theirs.

This fishery though in the King's dominion has been for a long time free to them; it has made them very powerful in our own territory which has scarcely any trade except with them, as it possesses but very little with France; and the few furs obtained from Acadia are all exported to the English.

[1] 12 @ 1500 bushels. — Ed.

This, in addition to seeing them among our enemies, the Iroquois, whom they aid, sustain, is not the only inconvenience we experience at their hands; we also see them establishing themselves at the North Bay, where they will be more injurious to us than in the direction of Acadia: For if their establishments continue as they have begun at the three places on that Bay which they actually occupy, and on the river Bourbon or Port Nelson, we must expect to see all the best of the Beaver Trade, both as to quality and quantity, in the hands of the English.

If not expelled thence, they will get all the fat beaver from an infinite number of nations at the North which are being discovered every day; they will attract the greatest portion of the peltries that reach us at Montreal through the Outaouacs and Assinibois, and other neighboring tribes, for these will derive a double advantage from going in search of the English at Port Nelson—they will not have so far to go, and will find goods at a much lower rate than with us. That is evident from the fact that our Frenchmen have seen quite recently at Port Nelson, some Indians who were known to have traded several years ago at Montreal.

The posts at the head of the Bay, adjoining the rivers Abitibis,[1] and Nimisco[2] can be reached through the woods and seized; our Frenchmen are acquainted with the road. But in regard to the posts occupied by the English in the River Bourbon, or Port Nelson,[3] it is impossible to hold any post below them, and convey merchandise thither except by sea. Some pretend that it is feasible to go there overland, but the river to reach that quarter remains yet to be discovered, and when discovered, could only admit the conveyance of a few men and not of any merchandise. The best informed on this subject agree herein.

The most certain safeguard against the English of New-York would be to purchase it from the King of England who, in the present state of his affairs will, doubtless, stand in need of the King's money. We would, thus, be masters of the Iroquois without a war.

In regard to Hudson's Bay (*du Nord*), should the King not think proper to enforce the reasons his Majesty has for opposing the usurpations of the English on his lands, by the just titles proving his Majesty's possession of it long before the English had any knowledge of said country, nothing is to be done but to find means to support the Company of said Bay formed in Canada by the privilege his Majesty has been pleased this year to grant his subjects of New France, and to furnish them, for some years, a few vessels of one hundred and twenty tons only, well armed and equipped. I hope, with this aid, our Canadians will support this affair which will, otherwise, perish of itself, whilst the English merchants, more powerful than our Canadians, will with good ships continue their trade, whereby they will enrich themselves at the expense of the Colony and of the King's revenue.

[1] Rises in Lake Abittibis, which is in Lat. 49 N., and Long. 79 W., and after forming a junction with Moose River, falls into the S. W. corner of James' Bay.

[2] Rupert river rises in Lake Mistassin, in Lat. 51 N., and Long. 72° 35′ W., and after forming Lake Nemiskau, falls into the East side of James' Bay.

[3] Now, York Fort or Factory, on the West side of Hudson's Bay, in Lat. 57° 2′ N. Long. 93° W. *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 11.

Return of Beaver received from Canada from 1675 *to* 1685.

	lbs
In 1675 including fat, old, dry, and for Muscovy,	61,000
1676	70,000
1677	92,000
1678	80,135
1679	68,080
1680	69,000
1681	82,900
1682	90,353
1683	95,489
1684	49,056
1685	23,568
In the same year was received from Fauconnet	114,000
This is about all the Beaver received for the whole period of Oudiette's lease *(ferme.)*	895,581 lbs.
Average	89,588 lbs.

It is to be observed that the consumption of Beaver in France has ordinarily been about 40 to 45 thousand pounds a year, assorted, ¾ fat and ¼ dry. The surplus of said Beaver which consisted of dry, and of skins suitable for Russia, was sent to Holland, except some trifling portion occasionally sold in France; this however was small.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord

* * * * * * * * * *

I understand that the intelligence is correct which I had the honor to transmit you, of the appearance on Lakes Ontario and Erié of English canoes conducted by French deserters, on their way to the Outaouax. There are ten of them loaded with goods. Thereupon, My Lord, I dispatched orders to Missillimakina, Catarokouy and other places where we have Frenchmen, to run and seize them, and I have determined to send another officer with twelve good men to join Sieur Doruilliers at Cataroskouy who is to go to Niagara with Sieur de la Salle's bark, to trade there with the Iroquois Indians on their return from hunting. [He] will be accompanied by some men. By means of this vessel and of some canoes that will be furnished him, he will go with twenty men and post himself at the river that flows from Lake Erié to Lake Ontario towards Niagara, by which the English who have gone up into Lake Erié will, of necessity, pass with their peltries on their return home.

I consider it a matter of importance, My Lord, to preclude the English from this trade as they doubtless would entirely ruin our's as well by the cheaper bargains they would give the

Indians, as by attracting to themselves the French of our Colony who are in the habit of resorting the woods. What is particularly to be avoided is, not to do any injury to the Iroquois, so as not to draw the war on ourselves prematurely and contrary to the interests of the Colony which require that we be not worsted, for, in truth, consequences might follow our defeat, as the population is so sparse and scattered, that would render it impossible to protect it from the insults of an enemy without a miracle from God. I had the honor to submit to you, My Lord, by my letter of the 14th November last, the necessity there was for some redoubts and stockaded posts. *(lieux fermés.)* If there is to be war, some ought to be erected in each Seigniory, for the security of the people, their grain and cattle.

I will add, to this letter, My Lord, that it would be well were Villemarie, at the head of the whole of those settlements, inclosed by walls and put in a condition to secure the stores, to afford shelter to the entire island and to cope successfully with the enemy.

You will permit me, My Lord, again to beg most humbly of you to reflect that walled places are the only security for a country which, so long as it is without them, will be always exposed to destruction.

My Lord, it is highly important that you would have the goodness to reflect on the actual state of affairs in our present conjuncture with the English and the Iroquois.

The former are cutting off our trade at the North; to obviate that I have, I believe, sent by land every order possible to the extent of the power, and even beyond the means, of the country.

They also intersect us on the South by Niagara whence they go westward to the Outaouax. In my opinion, nothing more remains for me to do than to send in search of, and seize them, if overtaken, and to lay in wait for them at the Straits of Niagara. If it be our good fortune that one and the other expedition succeed, there are the English on our backs. They are more powerful than we, at sea; they will harrass us on our Acadia coasts where they have already committed so much violence on the settlers and on our fishermen by their pirates who are swift sailers. They will again endeavor to make war on the Company of the Hudson's Bay *(Baie du Nord.)*

If they are desirous to continue trading with the Outaouacs by way of Niagara, that pass is at a great distance from us to admit of our watching it constantly, in order to catch them there. However we shall try.

In regard to the Iroquois Indians, they labor constantly to form an alliance with the Outaouax, with a view of gaining them over to themselves. They fear us, and hate us still more. There is not the least doubt but they will make war on us, sooner or later; and would have already declared it, had not Onontagué, one of their five villages, openly opposed them on this point. Allow me the liberty to observe to you hereupon, My Lord, that their distance from the colony as well as the impediments of the rapids are too great to admit of the Iroquois being approached with rapidity, should we carry a requisite supply of provisions. Besides, when we reach their country, there is no certainty of meeting them; for feeling themselves weaker than we, they will retire into the forest. I hope it will not be a mere affair of burning their villages, and laying waste their fields; for it is not certain that this would effect their destruction. The war with them may easily endure many years; occupying the woods, as they do, they will be at liberty to ravage as many of our settlements as they please, if God blind them not in their power. Such, My Lord, are the inconveniences that attend waging war on them, even should we destroy the village of the Senecas; this alone is a work of a

campaign, because the others are at so great a distance from them, that it is impossible to attack even the nearest, the same season. Thus, that village may sustain and recover itself, the very same year, by the aid of the others who will unite with them in making war against us.

I am satisfied the Iroquois heartily desire peace now that they see troops, but I do not, at all believe that they consent to abandon all future hostilities against the other tribes, our allies. Therefore, there remains not a doubt of the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition to humble them.

The establishment of a very strong post at Niagara would, in my opinion, be the most effectual means to accomplish that object.

The mode observed by the English with the Iroquois, when desirous to form an establishment in their neighborhood, has been, to make them presents for the purchase of the fee and property of the land they would occupy. What I consider most certain is, that whether we do so, or have war or peace with them, they will not suffer, except most unwillingly, the construction of a fort at Niagara whereby we would secure to ourselves the communication of the two Lakes, and become masters of the passage by which the Senecas go after peltries, having none in their own country, and where they rendezvous when they hunt for game, with which as well as with all sorts of fish this country abounds.

That post would be of great advantage as a retreat for the other nations who are at war with them, and who dare not come into their neighborhood in consequence of having too far to retreat.

This post would keep them in check and in fear, especially were the fort made sufficiently large to accommodate a body of 4 to 500 men to wage war against them. It would necessitate some expense as it should be inclosed by ordinary palisading to protect it from insult, as the garrison could not derive any assistance from us.

Even if we were at peace with them, a force would no doubt be necessary to protect the workmen so as to insure the construction of the fort. The conveyance of provisions both for the garrison and the men to remain there, is very expensive, the freight of a thousand pound weight, which is a canoe load, from Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal to Catarakouy costing 110[ll]. In addition to these mere provisions, how many other articles and munitions would be necessary.

Such a post, my Lord, would absolutely close the road to the Outaouax on the English and place us in a position to prevent the Iroquois carrying their peltries to the latter; for with the redoubt of Catarokouy to serve as an entrepôt to shelter our barks from the winds in winter, and with posts on both sides of the Lake, we could control the hunting of that nation, which is not able to maintain itself except by such aid, and would derive but trifling assistance from the English were it to have no more peltries to give them. What is certain is, that the quantity it would bring them would be much less than in times past.

I design sending Sieur Doruilliers this year to Niagara with Sieur de Villeneuve draughtsman *(dessineur)* whom you have furnished me, to draw the plan. And after I shall have had an interview with the Iroquois at Villemarie on the Island of Montreal, and understand on what terms we are with them, I shall see if I be not able to go and make a tour there myself, so as to have it in my power to render you a more exact account of the matter. For [it is out of the question] to confide in Sieur de Villineuve alone; though a very good, very correct, and very faithful draughtsman, he has not, in other respects, a well ordered mind and is

too contracted to be qualified to furnish any views for the establishment of a post, and to be entrusted with the exclusive superintendence of it.

I am assured the lands in that neighborhood, which is in about the 44th degree of latitude, are very fine highly productive and easy of cultivation. All I learn of the place confirms me in my opinion that in three years at farthest, that post would support itself. Fortifying it, 'tis feared, will draw down war on us if you wish to avoid it. But at the same time it is my belief that the Senecas, on seeing us strongly established, would be much more docile.

Should this plan meet your approbation, My Lord, be pleased to send out some Masons, and a quantity of tools to remove the earth and quarry stones.

Certain it is, our merchants will pay the King a handsome profit that will help to diminish the greatest part of the expense his Majesty would incur there; and were affairs arranged with the Iroquois, I believe our associates will realize a revenue of 30,000ll for the King, besides the present you would consider suitable for the Governor in return for the fourth of the Beaver and the privilege of trading with the Iroquois and not with the other tribes; which would be easily regulated: And, I think, I may assure you that after the first lease of such a post, the revenue from it might approximate that received here; especially if all commercial intercourse between the Iroquois and the English were prevented. I have written a word to M. Morel who will possibly speak to you on the subject.

I am still of opinion, My Lord, that the assured establishment of this post would be highly advantageous for the propagation of the Faith, owing to the facilities it would afford to put our Vessels on Lake Erie with which we could easily reach Missilimakina, as I have had the honor of advising you, this autumn.

The whole world, here, is convinced that the progress of the Faith among the Indians depends absolutely on humiliating the Iroquois.

I think it will be well that the garrison of Catarokouy be composed of detachments *(gens detachez)*, instead of retaining an entire Company there. I shall see, on the spot, what will be best for the service, and have the Company relieved if necessary.

Five Soldiers belonging to that garrison deserted last winter, and set off to the English by way of the Iroquois Villages. It was a daring undertaking on the part of those rascals. I doubt if they all arrived there owing to the severity of the cold at that season; some of them assuredly, will have been frozen on the ice; those sent by Doruilliers in pursuit of them almost perished of cold.

This proximity of the English is highly dangerous to the Colony. I should greatly desire that the affairs of the King of England would require him to conclude some arrangement on the subject with his Majesty. It would greatly advance the affairs of the Colony, supply the State with many commodities, and place the Iroquois at our mercy, who maintain themselves only by the assistance of the English.

I have dispatched a Lieutenant with eighteen men to the place where formerly stood Fort Chambly, which is one of the communications to the English by way of the Richelieu River; and have issued orders to stop all who would pass there. Two of Macary's Serjeants have deserted by this route.

You will be surprised, My Lord, to learn that Sieur de Chailly, concerning whom I had the honor to write you this fall, has run away from, and deserted the Country, in order to repair to Orange and to proceed thence, no doubt, to France by way of England, as he was not able to obtain my permission to return home with all his property which he sent off the year before my arrival. When I represented to him that he was bound in honor to serve a Country in

which he had realized a fortune, inasmuch as from being a simple Cadet in the Carignan regiment, without a penny of patrimony, he has amassed 40,000ᴴ I thought he ought to have waited for an opportunity of rendering the Colony some service in this conjuncture. He had purchased an establishment at the end of the Island of *(Bout de l'isle de)* Montreal, where he had made all his money, not without considerable fraud and deception, as I had the honor of advising you in my letters of the 14th November, was the custom in that quarter. When I arrived in the country he had sold the place for which, as I am assured, he has not been paid.

It is highly important, My Lord, that this desertion do not go unpunished. He has inveigled away with him an Indian of the Sault.

What is unpleasant is, that he will have told Governor Dongan all he knows respecting our expeditions towards Hudson's Bay *(Baye du Nord)*; and every thing concerning the interests of the Country and our plans, that he is acquainted with. I most humbly request you, My Lord, to be pleased to permit the confiscation of whatever may be found belonging to him for the benefit of the two Hospitals of the Colony.

There is no doubt but he will go to Rochelle whither he has sent all his property by Dombourg's ship, from whom as well as from all the merchants of the city who trade to this place, intelligence respecting him can be obtained.

His father is said to be noble, very poor, residing at Amboise, and owner of a farm in that neighborhood, near the fort. He has a brother who is adjutant of Brisac. If allowed to go unpunished, it will I assure you, My Lord, have a very bad effect throughout the entire Country, where levity of character is the cause of the greatest damage to all our young men.

I am certain that only one Coureur de bois of the Island of Montreal has run away since my arrival, but I hope he will be arrested, and shall not fail, sooner or later, to make such an example of him that the others will break themselves of this habit. I shall have the honor of indicating to you, elsewhere, the main source of these Coureurs de bois who have demoralized the people of the Country.

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I have, just now, received letters from Sieur Doruilliers, commandant at Catarokouy, informing me that the five deserters from his garrison had been stopped by the Iroquois of the village of Onontagué, when passing their place to the English, because they were not provided with passports from me.

They did more, for they brought them to Catarakouy, urgently entreating Sieur Doruilliers to pardon them.

Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit Missionary at that village, strongly recommends that their prayers be respected; otherwise it may be of evil consequence. I believe the interests of the service require of me to ignore this desertion, in our present conjuncture with those Indians.

You could not conceive, My Lord, what salutary effects I expect from this. I believe it will be proper to make some presents to reward that act of a people who appear desirous to please us. That tribe, My Lord, is the most disposed of all to peace, and through the intrigues of one of their leaders, named Otreouaty,[1] is making every effort to induce the Senecas to preserve peace with us. But all these efforts must not lead us to rely on them too far, because their harebrained young men, who are the braves, without discipline and any semblance of subordination, upset, at the first moment of caprice, and drunken debauchery, all the

[1] See note, supra, p. 243. — Ed.

deliberations of the old men who are no longer obeyed. In addition to that, My Lord, all the Iroquois are naturally cheats and traitors, and influenced only by fear and interest.

To reach that village, those deserters have endured all possible hunger, cold and hardship. On hearing their account thereof I do not think the other Soldiers dare run the risk of so many dangers as those have experienced.

M. Doruilliers advises me that a number of Indians belonging to that village have passed the fort on their way to hunt, and had traded considerably there with M. de la Salle's people. But I am very sorry that the little clerk whom M. de la Forest left there, has, contrary to my orders, and in opposition to what I had recommended and written, sold all the peas I proposed that he should plant.

If it be your pleasure, My Lord, that I should continue to occupy that post, it would be highly proper that the King alone should be its proprietor. In that case, you will state, if you please, for whose benefit it is his Majesty's pleasure that the trade should be prosecuted. 'Tis supposed that it cannot exceed 4,000ll this country currency, all expenses paid, exclusive of the King's share. M. de la Salle has assigned it to divers merchants here, who with the consent of Sr de la Forest propose beginning this year, to carry it on, for the discharge of Sieur de la Salle's debt to them. It is greatly to be wished that he could pay them all, for disappointment would, in truth, seriously inconvenience them.

They write me from Catarakouy that the three barks which are aground cannot be got afloat before the 15th of June, the time that the rivers rise. These vessels will require a good deal of repair before they are fit for service on the Lake.

I am with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obliged

and most obedient Servant,

Quebec, 8th May, 1686. The M. de Denonville.

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

Copy of the letter from Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York to the Marquis de Denonville, Govr Genl of Canada. 13th October, 1685.

Sir,

I have had the honor of receiving your letter, and greatly rejoice at having so good a neighbor whose character is so wide spread that it has anticipated your arrival.

I have written several letters to M. de la Barre; that which you have honored is one of the first. I presume the others have not been shown to you. He meddled in an affair that might have created some indifference between the two Crowns which gave me considerable pain, as I entertain a very high respect for the King of France, of whose bread I have eaten so much that I feel myself under the obligation to prevent whatsoever can give the least umbrage to our masters. M. de la Barre is a very worthy gentleman, but he has not written to me in civil and befitting style.

In regard to your fugitives, I assure you that such persons as you will think proper to send, who are acquainted with them, will not want for any aid or assistance that this government can supply to recover them. As for Jacques Vigor, this place shall not afford him a refuge. The woman's father is at full liberty to come in quest of his daughter, and we will assist him in whatsoever is necessary.

Our news here is that the Duke of Monmouth is dead and has been beheaded at *Gibcard* and drawn and quartered in Scotland. I hope all the rebels will meet the same fate. The King, your master, has, no doubt, been deeply afflicted at the death of the late King Charles of glorious memory, and I trust his present Majesty will keep up as good understanding and amity as the late King with the Crown of France.

It will not be my fault if we do not cultivate a cordial friendship, being, with respect and truth,

Your most affectionate servant,

(Signed) DONGAN.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Villemarie, 12th June, 1686.

My Lord,

The bark which I dispatched to you having suffered considerably from the severity of the gales, and been obliged to return to Quebec to repair damages; and judging it impossible for her to arrive in France before the departure of the last ship, I have given orders that the letters she was carrying, should be transmitted to you by the fishing vessels at Perçée Island.

A bark is too small to go at the close of the winter to France to convey the news of the country to you, and to receive your orders.

I am in receipt of intelligence from the Outaouacs by the Jesuit Father Enjalran, Superior of Michilimaquina and of the missions in that quarter. After having dispatched a canoe to me, he came himself expressly to communicate to me the deplorable condition of our affairs with all our allies, on whom we could no longer make any impression owing to the discredit we have fallen into among them, wherefrom we can not recover, except by some considerable advantage over the Iroquois, who, as I have had the honor to advise you, labor incessantly since autumn to rob us of all our allies, by sedulously endeavoring to contract alliances with our friendly Indians without any participation on our part.

I have had again the honor of advising you this fall that a man named Scoubache, a native Huron, had been to the Iroquois to induce them to make war on us. It has since been discovered that his principal design was to betray all the Hurons at Michilimakina, and that Traitor did in fact, conjointly with others like himself, deliver up to the Iroquois seventy Hurons who were dispersed a-hunting between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, in the country they call Saquinan.[1] He made them carry off thirty-six Outaouas, big and little, at the same time. The plan of the Iroquois was, to restore these prisoners when peace would

[1] Sacenong, in Chippeway, meaning the country of the Sacs. It comprised that part of the State of Michigan lying between the head of Lake Erie and Saginaw Bay, on Lake Huron. — ED.

be concluded without my intervention. All the Jesuit fathers strongly opposed this course, and, after considerable difficulty, finally induced the Outaouas to consent that Father Enjalran should wait on me on their behalf, to request me to demand back *(repeter)* their prisoners in my own name; and the Father accordingly came. The village of Onontague sent Father de Lamberville, the resident missionary there, to me to inform me that it disavows the act perpetrated by the Senecas, and in proof thereof offers to send the prisoners who fell to their lot to Catarocouy, and to use their efforts to engage the Senecas to surrender the others whom they have. Although I place no reliance on their fine promises, knowing that they design only to deceive us, nevertheless, being unable to do otherwise, I have accepted their offer, and sent Father de Lamberville back with belts and presents to demand our prisoners. Father Enjalran of the Outaouas will repair to Catarocouy to receive those the Onontagues have promised, and those of the Senecas, if the latter are willing to surrender them. It is very certain that Scouebache and the other traitors among the number of the prisoners with the Senecas will not be willing to come, as they have sold the others. This, My Lord, is as disagreeable an occurrence as can well be, and the more so as I am not in a position to do what is proper to insure success in such a negotiation with people who are very insolent and haughty, and who despise us. Firm and vigorous proceedings, club in hand, would be necessary to oblige them to do what cannot be exacted from them by reason.

My Lord, I am not afraid to march against them with what forces we can collect in the Colony; but I am deterred by the state of the country and the consequences of a war which could not terminate in one, nor in two years, short of a miracle from God.

Reflect, My Lord, that we can not accomplish anything of moment in the hostilities we are obliged to undertake against this Iroquois Nation, after having burnt the Seneca town and laid waste their grain, unless we make arrangements to winter two hundred men in each of three different posts that it will be necessary to establish in their country at points whence we could excite considerable uneasiness among them.

The three places to be occupied are on the south side of Lake Ontario; they will be able to support each other if supplied with bateaux. I doubt not but by this manœuvre we may expect that the most timid among their Indian enemies will wake up to share in the ruin of the Iroquois nation.[1]

When these posts are established and the country of the Senecas laid waste, the latter will, possibly, take refuge in the other four villages, where they will find enough to support all their wives and little ones through the winter, whilst their warriors will keep the woods to harrass us in our settlements; had I sufficient troops to march, at the same time, against the two larger villages, it would be a mighty achievement.

It is necessary, then, to attend to the interior of the Colony, which is in such a terrible state of disorder that no good is to be expected from it, unless it be reconstructed. This cannot be effected without causing most of the Settlements to be abandoned, each Seignory being two or three leagues front, and the most populous of them having only thirty or forty settlers; the majority of them twelve to fifteen, and even five or six.

If these be concentrated, they will need shelter against the rigors of the severe winter, and require stockaded redoubts as places of security for themselves, their cattle, their grain and flour. If the major portion of the strongest and most vigorous are to be detailed

[1] Je ne doute pas que de cette maneuvre on ne doive afendre que les plus timides Sauvages leurs ennemis se reveilleront pour avoir part a la perte de cette nation. — TEXT.

for the war, or for the transportation of provisions, what means will those who remain have to fortify themselves, make their harvest and gather their grain and fodder into the redoubts at a distance from their settlements?

'Tis certain that stores of grain and flour must be provided, and that serious suffering on the part of the people must be anticipated, unless provision be seasonably made with great precaution.

You may depend upon it, My Lord, that the English are the principal fomenters of the insolence and arrogance of the Iroquois, adroitly using them to extend their sovereignty; uniting with them as one nation, in such wise that the English pretend to own nothing less than Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, the entire Saguinan country, that of the Hurons if these become their allies, and the whole territory towards the Micissipy.

By the letter I have written to Sieur de la Durantais, whom I have appointed commander over all our Frenchmen at the Outauas, you will again see, My Lord, what measures I have adopted for the occupation of some posts in the Saguinan in order to encourage our Indians whom possibly he will collect from the most distant parts and at whose head he will march. As for our Outauas, I do not expect any thing from them, having nought else to ask of them except to come and witness our actions. I have not considered it best this year to refuse twenty-five licenses, believing it of very great importance to have a number of Frenchmen among the Outaouas to control the Indians, and to protect them against new expeditions on the part of the Iroquois; I, moreover, expect all those French to join me at a rendezvous I shall appoint for them, when I march.

I am very sorry, My Lord, to find the affairs of this country in so deplorable a state. I am still more sorry to see myself constrained, if I would avoid the loss of all by too much precipitation, to temporise and to incur the danger of being overpowered by the Iroquois. Be assured, My Lord, could I manage better, I would do so with pleasure. Had I no fear but for myself and for those who, without any other than our own resources, will share with me the dangers of an expedition against an enemy that can put two thousand men under arms, I should have no more cause for apprehension than in the several other affairs into which thirty years of the King's service have led me.

I cannot avoid stating to you, My Lord, without betraying my honor and conscience, that it will be out of your power to reëstablish the affairs of this country unless you send some good troops hither; and that it would be much better for you to incur at once the expense necessary to put every thing on a proper footing, than to do so by piecemeal.

It will not be in my power to advise you before this autumn of the success of our negotiations. They will be backed by some presents to gain over the leaders, until you put us in a condition to do better, and to speak with more authority. Colonel Dongan will, perhaps, interfere to prevent a rupture between us and the Iroquois. The Merchants of Orange, who support him, would be very sorry that a war should prevent the Iroquois hunting for beaver, by whose means they expect to attract to themselves the trade with the Outaouacs who have been attached to us only by the dread of being pillaged by the Iroquois. The latter perceiving that, do their utmost to encourage and persuade those Indians that a peace concluded between them, independent of the French, will be more to their advantage and much more durable.

It is proper for you to know, My Lord, that the Iroquois are aware of every circumstance that transpired at Paris touching the affairs of this country. The English, who have free

access to the ocean during the entire winter, take care that the Iroquois be informed of whatever concerns them. They knew, last year, of the change of Governor and that you were sending troops, long before our arrival in this country. I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most
obliged and most obedient servant,
The M. de Denonville.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir on the Present state of affairs in Canada, and the Necessity of waging war, next year, against the Iroquois.

Quebec, 8th 9ber, 1686.

Our reputation is absolutely lost both with our friends and our enemies; to reëtablish it, My Lord, is no trifling matter in point of expense, trouble, and the grievous consequences of a war that is absolutely necessary. But, My Lord, when every one is convinced that God's interest and the King's glory are therein at stake, and that the hearts and heads of those entrusted therewith are occupied only with thoughts of effectually performing their duty so as to be free from self reproach, all labor with confidence under the conviction that Heaven will supply any defects in our knowledge and ability, especially when we have you for our protector near the King, with whom all things are possible, his Majesty's piety being the foundation and motive of all his undertakings.

I annex to this Memoir the duplicate of the letter of the month of June last, in which I advised your Lordship of the expedition of the Iroquois at Saguinan against our allies, the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina. I have learned, since then, that the English have a greater hand in those expeditions than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their artifices reach a point, My Lord, when it were much better that they had recourse to acts of hostility on the coast, by burning our settlements, than to do what they are instigating the Iroquois to perpetrate against us for our destruction.

I know beyond a particle of doubt, that M. Dongan hath caused all the Five Iroquois Nations to be assembled this spring at Orange in order to tell them in public, so as to excite them against us, that I wished to declare war against them; that they must plunder our Frenchmen in the woods whom they could easily overpower on their entering the country, and with this view Mr. Dongan caused his merchants to make them presents of arms and ammunition, neither more nor less than if it were he who was to carry on hostilities. Add to this, My Lord, that there is no artifice, he has not recourse to, in order to persuade them of their ruin, if they did not master us. Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit missionary of the Onnontaguez, one of the Five Nations, being advised of the evil designs of the English, set all his friends to work to avert this storm; and taking upon himself to give them an account of every thing, obtained a promise from them that they would not stir until he had seen me. During his absence, M. Dongan sent an express to the Iroquois to notify them that they must march,

without delay, to attack the Colony, giving orders to bring him Father de Lamberville's brother,[1] who had remained as it were a hostage, calculating thus to deprive us of all the Missionaries among the Iroquois. He was sending people at the same time, to our Montreal Indians to debauch and draw them over to him, promising them Missionaries to instruct them, and assuring them that he would prevent the introduction of Brandy into their villages. All these intrigues have given me during the whole of this summer not a little trouble in order to avert this storm. M. Dongan has written me, and I have answered him as a man may do who wishes to dissimulate, and does not yet feel himself in a condition to get angry, much less to overcome his enemy. I thought it better to temporize and to reply to M. Dongan by concealing rather than evincing any chagrin, not being in a position to be able to injure an opponent. The letters I have received from, and the answers I have sent to, him (copies whereof I transmit you) will explain to you my conduct in this rencontre. Meanwhile, Mr. Dongan labors secretly, by all possible artifices to seduce our Frenchmen and Indians from us.

Colonel Dongan's letters will notify you sufficiently of his pretensions which extend no less than from the lakes, inclusive, to the South Sea. Missilimakinac is theirs. They have taken its latitude; have been to trade there with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them cordially on account of the bargains they gave, by selling their merchandise for Beaver which they purchased at a much higher price than we. Unfortunately we had but very few Frenchmen at Missilimakinac at that time. M. de la Durantaye, on arriving there wanted to pursue the English to pillage them. The Hurons were hastening to escort them after having expressed a great many impertinences against us. Sieur de la Durantaye did not overtake the English who met the Senecas on their way to join, and escort them through Lakes Erie and Ontario, until they should be beyond all danger of an attack from us. Thus you easily perceive, My Lord, that the English and the Senecas understand each other wonderfully well, and are perfectly agreed; and this union dates particularly from the year that M. de la Barre went against the latter, for whilst he was on his march, the Senecas ran to Orange to see Colonel Dongan to request him to take them under his protection, giving themselves up to him by a public instrument which was recorded and sent to England, and then he caused posts with the English arms to be set up in all their villages. Yet we have had Missionaries there previous to that time, before an Englishman had cognizance that Senecas were in existence. I annex to this letter a Memoir of our Rights to the entire of that Country, of which our registers ought to be full, but no memorials of them are to be found. I'm told that M. Tallon has had originals of the entries into possession *(prises de possession)* of a great many discoveries that have been made in this country, with which our registers ought to be loaded. Doubtless, he will have given them to My late Lord, your father.

Father de Lamberville, having given me an account of all the intrigues of the Colonel who aimed at carrying the Hurons away from us and drawing the Outawas to himself, I loaded him with presents to gain over the greatest intriguers among the Iroquois chiefs, in order to secure the favor of all the young men who were intending to march against us. He arrived very opportunely, for all the Nations, under M. Dongan's assurance that the good Father would not come back, were assembled and marching; but his return revived the party of the Father who dispelled this storm by means of secret, called here "under-ground" presents.

The entire summer was spent in coming and going for the purpose of releasing prisoners, the Outawas wishing to make application for them to the Iroquois without my participation,

[1] Rev. Jacques de Lamberville.

agreeably to the promises of the Senecas to surrender them provided I did not make the demand. The Hurons and Outawas finally resolved to repair to Cataraqui, and the Onnontaguez only have surrendered their prisoners, the Senecas saying theirs were not willing to return home. Father de Lamberville came here in the last days of September to give me an account of all his troubles and fatigues. Whatever partiality he may entertain for the Mission where he has, for fifteen or sixteen years, been daily exposed to destruction at the hands of the Iroquois, he admits, himself, that nothing is to be effected for those Missions, if that nation be not humbled. So perfectly true is it, My Lord, that the Iroquois have no other design than to destroy all our allies, one after the other, in order finally to annihilate us, and in that consists the entire policy of M. Dongan and his merchants whose sole object is to post themselves at Niagara, to intercept us. But up to this time they have not dared to touch that string with the Iroquois, who fear and hate their domination more than ours, loving them, in truth, for their cheap bargains only.

M. Dongan caresses considerably our deserters whose services he requires in order to execute his designs which contemplate nothing less than the destruction and ruin of our trade by pushing his own. That wakes up our restless spirits *(libertins)*, and induces me to manage them until I shall be in a position to check them more severely.

You will perceive, My Lord, by one of the Colonel's letters,[1] that he asks something from the King which he says is his due. He is a very selfish man and, should you consider it proper, would assuredly govern himself accordingly. But the secret is, he is not master of those merchants from whom he draws money.

Father de Lamberville has gone back with orders from me to assemble all the Iroquois nations next spring at Cataraqui to talk over our affairs. I am persuaded that scarcely any will come, but my principal object is to attract [some of them] to that place whilst the Jesuit Father remains alone, as he must send back his younger brother, this year, in order to experience less trouble himself in withdrawing. That poor Father, however, knows nothing of our designs. He is a man of talent and says, himself, that matters cannot remain in their present state. I am very sorry to see him exposed, but should I withdraw him this year the storm will, without doubt, burst sooner upon us, for the Iroquois would surely discover our plans by his retiring.

Meanwhile, I have advices that the Five Nations are forming a large war party, it is supposed against the Oumiamis and other Indians of the Bay des Puans who have been attacked in the beginning of this year, one of their villages having been destroyed by the Iroquois. On receiving notice thereof, the hunters of those tribes pursued and overtook the Iroquois party and fought them with considerable vigor, having recovered several prisoners and killed many of the enemy, who, without a doubt, pant for revenge. I sent the Western Indians word to be on their guard and, when they will be required to march to join me, to cause their women and children to be removed to a distance.

I say nothing to you of what they (the Iroquois) have done to the Illinois, whom they spare not, having within two years destroyed a vast number of them.

Nothing more is required, My Lord, to convince you that the case admits not of any hesitation, and that the Colony must be put down as lost, if war be not waged next year. The Iroquois destroy our allies on all sides, who are on the point of turning their backs on us if we do not declare in their favor; plunder our canoes wherever they find them, and no longer

[1] See III., 460. — Ed.

observe appearances. Nevertheless, My Lord, war is the most dangerous thing in the world in the actual deranged state of the Colony. Nothing can save us but the troops you will send, and the redoubts which it is necessary for us to build. Yet I dare not begin to work at them for, if I make the least movement towards these Redoubts, I will assuredly draw all the Iroquois down on us, before I am in a condition to attack them.

The copy I transmit of my orders for our next year's expedition, will make known to you all the measures I have adopted to insure success to our plans. The distance is terrible and victory is in the hands of God. If you will be pleased, My Lord, to take the trouble to read all these orders, with the accompanying Map, you will understand all my projects. In order to give a little more character to our expedition, I have overrated somewhat the number of the force I shall have with me. I cannot detail more than eight hundred militia, one hundred of the best of whom will be required to manage fifty canoes for convoys. They will do nothing but go and come during our expedition, in order to transport provisions for our troops and for those whom we shall station, during the winter, at the post we must occupy either at Niagara or near the Senecas, to serve as a retreat for those of our Indians who will be desirous to harrass them during the winter and the year following. Without this, nothing effectual will have been done towards humbling that nation, for to confine ourselves to driving them from their villages and to come away after that has been effected, is not accomplishing any great things, as they immediately return and reëstablish themselves in those same localities.

As you, My Lord, are perfectly acquainted with the ruinous condition of this Colony, you understand very well the deplorable consequences of this war. The settlements will have to be concentrated, and herein it is that we must expect many difficulties; for in truth the establishment of the Colony would have almost to be begun over again. This it is that causes me to renew the demand I have already made for Regular troops to support our Militia and to occupy the posts necessary to be guarded. Otherwise, I will not be able to preserve several points that are very requisite to be protected; Chambly among the rest, where I should like to station a strong party, because it is the most important pass on the route to the English by Lake Champlain. That post will, moreover, be a constant source of uneasiness to such Indians as would wish to cross the River Richelieu and then proceed to our settlements on the River S^{t} Francis; communicating as it does with la Prairie de la Madelaine, it would also secure, in some sort, the entire country between that settlement and Sorel. Reflect, again, My Lord, if you please, how important is the post at the end of the Island of *(du Bout de l'Isle de)* Montreal, that of Chateaugué, that of la Chesnaye and that of Isle Jesus.

I do not mention to you, My Lord, all the other separate and isolated settlements which we must endeavor to secure from insult. All those details, My Lord, require considerable troops, which cannot fail to greatly advance this country by contributing to render the Colony more compact, and to bring it closer together by means of forts around which clearances would be made.

This, My Lord, is no trifling matter for which preparations are required. For what certainty can there be of destroying so powerful an enemy as that Nation, which has assuredly two thousand men under arms exclusive of a large number of other tribes, their allies, who are estimated at twelve hundred? The vast extent of forest into which they will certainly retreat, and where Indians alone can pursue them; the uncertainty of the force of the Indians we shall have with us; the difficulty of rendezvousing so far off, are considerations that ought to make us reflect on the means of sustaining ourselves in case we should not meet that

success we may desire, and which we cannot secure without a manifest interposition of Heaven in favor of such a variety of projects.

Were I in a position to be able to send a strong detachment to the Mohawk country by way of the River Richelieu, at the same time that I was proceeding against the Senecas, 'tis very certain that I could not only create considerable alarm among the English, which would keep them at home, but obtain a great advantage over the Iroquois by separating them and pillaging and laying waste the corn fields at both ends of their cantons. It would be very desirable that I could destroy all their corn in the same year, so that it would be out of the power of the one any longer to support the other. Thus they would be reduced to great misery, and become a burthen to the English, should they apply to them for means to live. Had I a sufficiency of troops I would not fail to undertake such an enterprise, but having only my present command, I must attack those Indians in detail and endeavor to effect some other year what it is impossible to accomplish in the first. 'Tis true, were all done at once, it would be much better and essentially promote our expedition and considerably dishearten our enemies.

I am very sorry, My Lord, to witness all the expense required for the support of Fort Cataracouy, with a garrison of merely fifty men. It is very unfortunate that the lands thereabout are not better, so that it might support itself. I am not yet sufficiently well acquainted with the environs to be able to write you with sufficient accuracy respecting all that can be done there; nevertheless, it is of great consequence to preserve that post at the mouth of the Lake, though posts in this country do not command passes so completely as to prevent the Indians avoiding them some two or three leagues either above or below. Yet that post, and one at Niagara would render us entire masters of the Iroquois; keep them in great check and respect, and give us immense advantages in our trade with the Illinois and Outtawas; as that route is shorter, and much less difficult than the one we usually take, in which there is an infinite number of portages and rapids, much more dangerous than those on the Cataracouy side.

The letters I have written to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye, of which I send you copies, will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at that of the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Taronto. These two posts will block the passage against the English, should they attempt to go again to Michilimaquina, and serve as retreats to our Indian allies either while hunting, or while marching against the Iroquois.

I send you, also, My Lord, copies of the orders I have issued for the assembling and marching of our Indian allies and for their repairing to Niagara with Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye. You will see, also, My Lord, the orders I have issued for marching the Illinois in the rear of the Iroquois. It looks very well on paper, but the business remains yet to be done. Many difficulties may intervene from the nature of the Indians, who are little accustomed to obedience and to the prosecution of a design during several the successive months that are required to reach the rear of the Senecas from their country. Chevalier de Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of last July, has taken charge of these matters. I have given him twenty good Canadians with eight canoes loaded with one hundred and fifty muskets; all I could collect in the country. He carries some powder and lead and other articles of trade. Had the guns you sent me arrived, I should have given him a good number of them. He left at the end of August and calculates to

arrive at Fort St. Louis[1] before the hunters will have set out. He could not assure me of the number of Indians he will be able to bring with him, but I am certain he will make great exertions to succeed in this affair, in which he will participate largely if the Indians will allow themselves to be governed and advised by him. I cannot sufficiently praise his zeal for the success of this expedition. He is a lad of great enterprise and boldness, who undertakes a great deal. He left the Fort of the Illinois last February, to look for M. de la Salle at the lower end of the Mississippi; has been as far as the sea, where he learned nothing of M. de la Salle except that some Indians had seen him set sail and proceed southward. On the receipt of this intelligence he (de Tonty) returned to Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois, and thence to Montreal where he arrived in the beginning of July with two Illinois chiefs, to whom I have made some presents, as well as to another who had not come. They have promised me wonders. Nothing remains but the execution, which is in the hands of God; for according to what I am told of the temper of those savages, sometimes a mere nothing only is necessary to cause them to change their minds. He will have about twenty good Canadians with him to march at the head of the Indians; this he hopes will encourage them. He will have to march three hundred leagues overland, for those Indians are not accustomed to Canoes.

I should have greatly desired to have made my letters to you more brief. But, My Lord, as it is necessary to inform you of the state of our affairs, and to render you an account of my conduct, I thought I would send you all the orders as I had issued them, so as to be corrected if I fail in any respect, being very anxious to give you satisfaction.

I am in receipt of letters from the most distant parts; from the upper Mississippi, from the head of Lake Superior, from Lake des Lenemyngon,[2] where they propose wonders to me were I to establish posts for the Missions, and for the Beavers which abound there. But in truth, so long as the interior of the Colony is not consolidated and secured, no certain reliance can be placed on all those distant posts where, hitherto, people have lived in great disorder, and in a manner to convert our best Canadians into banditti. All these posts at a distance cannot maintain themselves except from the interior of the Colony, and by sure communication with it. Whilst we have the Iroquois on our hands, can we be certain of any thing? Solicited by the English, they daily plunder our canoes and openly declare they will continue so to do, as they are unwilling that we should carry ammunition to the Savages, their enemies and our allies.

The principal affair at present is the security of this Colony which is in evident danger of perishing if the Iroquois be let alone, and we make war and have not a decided advantage over them; and however decided our advantage may be, the people, separated as they are, will always be in danger. Yet, My Lord, if you aid us with troops, war will be the least inconvenience; for if we wage it not, I do not believe the next year will pass away without the whole trade being absolutely lost; our friendly Indians revolting against us, and placing themselves at the mercy of the Iroquois, more powerful, because better armed than any of them. The whole of the Hurons are waiting only for the moment to do so. Had I not by Father de Lamberville's care, fortunately avoided war from the very beginning of this year, not a single canoe would have come down from the forests without having been taken and plundered in the River of the Outtawas. We should have lost a great number of good men.

[1] Peoria, Ill. [2] Lake Aleminipigon of the older Geographers; now Lake St. Anne, north of Lake Superior. — Ed.

This, My Lord, is a long narrative about the state of the affairs of the country with the Iroquois which absolutely require that we wage war without any longer delay. Every person sees its necessity so clearly that those concur in it now, who had been hitherto the most opposed to it. I hope that on the sketch I give you of our wants, you will aid us both in men and other necessaries. In regard to troops, My Lord, I had the honor to ask you for Regulars, for in truth the employment of people picked up here and there is very unwise. It requires time to make them fit for service, and on their arrival they will have to take arms in their hands and fight.

If you propose to send us any, it would be well to have them arrive at the end of May, which is the season when the Northeast winds prevail in our River. To do that, the ships ought to leave Rochelle in the month of March. Sieur Dambour, one of the best of our ship captains that come to Canada, can give advice thereupon.

Our march cannot begin before the fifteenth of May, for we must let the sowing be finished, and the storms before that time are furious on our river and on Lake Ontario.

I say nothing of the risks to be incurred of the loss of the harvest next year on account of the war, nor of the necessity of building storehouses. If troops be sent us many things will be done of which we dare not dream if you do not send any.

A few days since a man named Antoine L'Epinart, an old resident among the Dutch, at present among the English, came to Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal, in search of a child he had boarding with the Jesuits. He reports that the English kept guard three months this summer, our deserters having told them that I would attack them for having armed the Iroquois against us. He also says, that the Iroquois are attracting the Mohegans *(Loups)* and other tribes towards the Andastes,[1] with whom they are forming alliances; that he believed the Iroquois had evil intentions towards us; that the English who had been to the Outtawas had been well received and invited to return with merchandise, and had well nigh procured from the Iroquois the restitution of their prisoners, by which means they will be more attached to them than to us; that the Merchants of Orange had urgently entreated Colonel Dongan to request the Senecas to surrender the prisoners; that the Colonel had convoked a meeting of the Five Nations who went to see him; that it is the general belief that the Colonel will obtain satisfaction of the Iroquois whereby the English will attract to themselves both the Outtawas and the Hurons; and that their cheap bargains will ruin our trade. The said Antoine L'Epinart assures moreover, that a Company of fifty men was formed to go to Missilimakina; that their canoes were purchased, and that the too low state of the waters had prevented them starting; that they were waiting only for the rain to raise their rivers, and that the Senecas had promised to escort them.

I have heard of Sieur de Lhu's arrival at the post of the Detroit of Lake Erie, with fifty good men well armed, with munitions of war and provisions and all other necessaries sufficient to protect them against the severe cold, and to render them comfortable during the whole winter wherever they will entrench themselves.

M. De la Durantaye is collecting people to fortify himself at Michilimaquina, and to occupy the other passage at Taronto, which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. In this this way our Englishmen will find some body to speak to.

All this cannot be accomplished without considerable expense, but still we must maintain our honor and our property.

[1] See note 2, p. 227.

The Oumeamis and other Indians of the Bay des Puans have expressed much joy to me on being told that Sieur du Lhu was posted at the Detroit, but I am very sorry to hear that Tonty has learned on the road that these same savages had quarreled with the Illinois, which might prevent the latter attacking the Senecas in the rear, as we had projected. It would, in truth, be an afflicting circumstance to see our allies devouring one another instead of uniting with us to destroy the common enemy. But it is useless to be vexed at it. Nothing remains but to be prepared for every thing that may happen, and to rely only on ourselves.

If God give us the advantage, the people will rouse to our aid. My Lord ought to place no reliance on the changeable disposition of a people without discipline, or any sort of subordination. The King must be master in this country if he would effect any sort of good, and success therein cannot be secured without expense.

The M. de Denonville.

French Right to the Iroquois Country and Hudson's Bay.

Memoir in proof of the Right of the French to the Iroquois country and to Hudson's Bay.[1]

The French were the first discoverers of New France, otherwise called Canada and all the circumjacent countries. Francis I. sent out Verazzano, a Florentine, in 1523, who discovered from the 33d to the 47th degree, and Jacques Cartier of Saint Malo, in 1534 and 1535, who discovered the Island of Newfoundland and ascended the River Saint Lawrence up to the Saut Saint Louis.

These facts are proved by all the Relations that have been written since, and particularly by those of Champlain, pages 9 and 10, and of L'Escarbot, pages 3 and 29.

These discoveries having been made, the French have always continued in the design of maintaining themselves therein. To secure those countries, the same King Francis granted a Commission in 1540 to Sieur de la Roche Robertval.

Although King Henry III. found himself greatly occupied by the Civil Wars, he did not wish to abandon the right he possessed over North America. On the 12th January, 1598, he appointed the Marquis de Costenmeal and de la Roche his Lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, La Brador, the River of the Great Bay or River Saint Lawrence, River of Norembegue and countries adjacent to said provinces and rivers. There is one thing very remarkable in these letters patent: They mention that those countries were not inhabited by any subjects of Christian princes. L'Escarbot gives them at length; page 434.

Sieur de Mons likewise was appointed Lieutenant-general in the said Countries on the 8th 9ber, 1603. Next, Sieur Champlain succeeded Sieur Damons and labored more successfully than all his predecessors to discover all the interior of the country. He says himself, that from 1604 up to 1620 he has been more than 500 leagues into the interior of New France; that he defeated the Iroquois, explored *(reconnu)* and took possession of their River, and

[1] Referred to, supra, p. 297. — Ed.

that he ascended that of Saguena towards the North. The Relation of Sieur L'Escarbot, printed in 1612, confirms the same thing. At page 450, he says, that they had received intelligence from upwards of five hundred leagues beyond the 1st Sault of the River Saint Lawrence including the Great Lake it flows from, and that they likewise had a knowledge of the Saguena country toward the Northwest, and of the Iroquois country to the Southwest.

Sieur Champlain who commanded in New France made divers voyages thither up to 1630. There was also a company established under Sieur de Caen's name, but as those interested thought more of their private interests than of permanent establishments, Louis XIII. dissolved that Company, and on the 29th April, 1627, a new one was organized to which the King conceded the entire Country of New France, called Canada, in latitude from Florida which his Majesty's Royal predecessors had had settled, keeping along the sea coasts as far as the Arctic Circle, and in longitude from the Island of Newfoundland westward to the Great Lake called The Fresh Sea and beyond, both along the Coasts and into the interior and along the rivers flowing there and discharging themselves into the River Saint Lawrence and into all the other rivers that convey them to the sea.

This Concession is in print.

It is certain that all the Iroquois lands are included within that concession, inasmuch as Sieur Champlain took possession of them and as the discoveries previously made extend much farther; also the North, or Hudson's Bay, inasmuch as it is on this side of the Arctic Circle.

Since that time the French have continued their commerce within the countries of the said Grant. In 1656, Jean Bourdon ran along the entire coast of Labrador with a vessel of 30 tons, entered and took possession of the North Bay. This is proved by an Extract of the ancient Register of the Council of New France of the 26th of August of said year.

In 1661, the Indians of said North Bay came expressly to Quebec to confirm the good understanding that existed with the French, and to ask for a Missionary. Father Dablon went overland thither with Sieur De La Vallière and others. Father Dablon has given his certificate of the fact. In 1663, those Indians returned to Quebec to demand other Frenchmen. Sieur D'Avaugour, then governor, sent Sieur Couture thither with five others. Said Sieur Couture took possession anew of the head *(fonds)* of said Bay, whither he went overland, and there set up the King's arms, engraved on copper. This is proved by Sieur D'Avaugour's order of the 20th May, 1663, and the certificates of those who were sent there.

In 1671, Sieur de Saint Lusson was sent by Sieur Talon, Intendant in Canada to the Sault Saint Mary at the Outawas, where all the Nations a hundred leagues around, to the number of 17, repaired and voluntarily submitted themselves to his Majesty's dominion. Said Sieur de Saint Lusson afterwards erected the Cross there, and affixed thereto his Majesty's arms. These Seventeen Nations included all those of the Outawas, and of the entire of Lake Huron, those of Lake Superior, of the whole Northern country and of Hudson's Bay, of la Baie des Puans[1] and of the Lake of the Illinois,[2] as is proved by the Relations thereof which were sent by the said Sieur Talon, and by the procès-verbal of the taking of Possession.

Monsr. Talon's Memoir will be sent by M. Clerambault. The proces verbal is missing.

As regards the country of the Iroquois there have been divers entries *(prises)* into possession.

In 1656, Sieur de Lauzon, Governor of New France caused a fort to be built on the lake named Gannontaë [3] some leagues from Onnontagué and placed a garrison in it, and so regarded the country as belonging to his Majesty that he made grants of land whereof the Actes are proof.

[1] Green Bay [2] Lake Michigan. [3] Onondaga. — Ed.

In 1666, Sieur Talon concluded a treaty with the Iroquois, and possession was in consequence taken of their lands and forts which is proved by the aforesaid Treaty and the original Record of the entry into possession. The Dutch of Manatte, to whose rights the English succeeded, did not make any opposition thereunto.

In 1669 was renewed the entry into possession of the lands of the Iroquois of Lake Erie. Sieurs Dolier and Galinée, who were present, gave their certificate thereof which is reported.

The English in justification of their pretended right to the North Bay may allege that they made the first discovery thereof; that in 1479 Sabastien Cabot was towards Labrador to discover some passages; but he returned without effecting any thing. In 1576, 77, 78. Martin Frobisher made three voyages thither. Seven years afterwards, Humphrey Guilbert was there also and, after that, John Davis who discovered the Straits which bear his name. Etienne Pennemud[1] was in 1583 on the North east coast of Newfoundland; sometime afterwards Richard Witaboux[2] went to the same coast, in 1590 Captain Georges also went towards the North, and in 1612 Maner, an English Captain, went again to the North where he found a passage in the 63^{d} degree; finally, that in 1662 they established themselves there, having been conducted thither by Radisson and des Groselliers to the head *(fonds)* of the North Bay.

The English cannot derive any advantage from all these voyages, because those who went as far as the 56th degree have only explored some small portions of the coasts of Labrador without entering into the North Bay and without making any sojourn or establishment there, and the others who proceeded further, were merely in search of the passage whereby they could go Westward to the East Indies without intending to make any settlement, and he who approached the nearest to port Nelson was only about the 63^{d} degree. Had the English in making their voyages any other design than to discover the said passages, they would not have failed to obtain grants of the countries they discovered, as they had done of Florida in 1607, and of the North Bay when they were conducted thither.

The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of the North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked, that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois. Besides, it is a thing unheard of that rebellious subjects could convey any right to countries belonging to their Sovereign.

The English have still less right to the Iroquois country. It has been established by the Memoir on Acadia that their settlement on the Coast of Florida was a pure usurpation; that, even though the grant made by the King James I., in 1607, were valid, it could include, even according to the terms of that Grant, only countries not inhabited at that time, and it is certain that the French were then in possession as far as the 40th degree, and that Sieur Champlain had already discovered and taken possession of the country of the Iroquois, as can be seen in his Relation.

[1] Etienne Parmenu of Buda. *Harris' Voyages*, I., 586. — Ed.

[2] Whitbourne. *De Laet.*

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Quebec, 11 November, 1686.

My Lord,

I will add, if you please, to all my despatches that it is impossible to do anything of moment for the preservation of this colony unless the King incur considerable expense for a number of years to support of the war, inclose the towns and erect redoubts.

In this case, My Lord, with the blessing of God on our designs, which we have every reason to expect as justice is on our side, we may calculate that the King will be master of North America, where Religion will make great progress, and our trade will flourish.

It is highly important that the Ships which the King will please to send us with troops and necessary ammunition, arrive in the month of May. They can easily reach Quebec on the fifteenth of that month by sailing on the 15th March.

Dombour, one of our old Captains will willingly undertake to act as pilot with his vessel and return immediately; he will arrive in France still in sufficient time to come back the same year with his ship's cargo.

Delorme will do the same with his vessel if My Lord desire to charter it.

We must not flatter ourselves that this war will terminate as soon as we would wish. To effect such a result, we should be certain that God will blind our enemies by depriving them of all knowledge of the evil they can, when protected by the English, inflict on us.

War once declared, it is an indispensable necessity to establish, and maintain a post of two hundred men at Niagara, where married farmers ought, in my opinion, be placed to make clearances and to people that place, in view of becoming, with barks, masters of Lake Erie. I should greatly wish to have a Mill at Niagara.

If we are desirous of reëstablishing our credit with the Far Indians, we shall require to have one hundred and fifty, or at least one hundred, men at Cataracouy.

It will be highly proper that our Canadians maintain the post Sieur Du l'hut has fortified at the Detroit of Lake Erié. In this way our Coureurs de bois coming from Michilimaquina, could take the route, by Lake Erié, to Niagara, protected by the two hundred men in garrison there; and thence in our barks to Cataracouy, whence by convoys they could repair to Montreal.

In this way our settlers could draw their peltries from the Outaouas and other distant places where they have a very considerable stock of them, which if lost, or if trade be interrupted, would ruin the Country.

Should the War continue the route by the Outaouas river, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the end of the Island of Montreal, would be no longer practicable as it is very dangerous, small parties being able to plunder every thing.

You see by my letter and memoirs, My Lord, of what advantage it was to close on the English the passage by the post of Detroit which Sieur du L'hu occupies with fifty brave men. This could not be effected without considerable expense, all the memoranda whereof have not yet come from Michilimaquina. Goods have been sent to the latter place to procure provisions which must be purchased from the Indians; ammunition and other necessaries for the maintenance during winter of fifty men have also been transmitted thither.

The expenditure account sent you by M. de Champigny and myself, is doubtless much greater than you anticipated. I assure you, My Lord, I greatly regret all these expenses. But

your Lordship must calculate on a Country lost, if you do not incur and continue them, unless a miracle from God arrest all the deplorable consequences of the War.

'Tis certain that much management of the people will be necessary, and many difficulties will have to be surmounted in order to concentrate the settlers there. And for this purpose I must observe to you, My Lord, that M. de Laval, the old Bishop, would be of great assistance here. It appears to me that he has so strong a hold over the hearts of the people throughout the entire Colony, that his presence here would be of great service in persuading them by gentleness to do, willingly, what we should be obliged to have enforced by coercion. In that case, it will be necessary for our new Bishop to seek some other lodgings than the hole of a Seminary which M. de Laval makes his residence.

It would be highly necessary that the Seminary of Ville Marie, on the Island of Montreal, should have the direction of all the Parishes from Sorel inclusive, on both sides of the river, up to Montreal; for in consequence of the distance and the difficulties of the navigation it is very inconvenient for the Seminary of Quebec to forward thither all the assistance that is necessary, and to keep every thing in order. It is a matter to be arranged between our Bishop and the Abbé Tronson.

It is highly important, My Lord, that you request the Queen to send me Commissions in blank for the Commanders of such posts as I shall be obliged to occupy; that of Niagara among the rest. Allowing four Captains for two hundred men required there, it may happen that the service would suffer should the oldest of the four be unqualified for such a command.

I must not conceal from, and it is my duty to inform, you that of the many Naval Officers, none are capable of commanding a post of one hundred men except Mess^rs^ de Crisaty[1] who have more experience than any of them, yet are commanded by the four Ensigns of Marine.

I cannot too highly praise these two brothers, who are industrious and possess merit. It requires talents to command in a place like that of Niagara, where the best is not too good. A commander cannot have too much authority, wherefore, My Lord, it is proper that you send me orders signed by yourself, for we have disorderly spirits which it will be necessary to keep in check.

I believe, My Lord, that in this as in every thing else you have confidence in me, inasmuch as I have the honor to speak to the King whenever I have the honor to write to you. Therefore is there occasion for truth, and not of passion nor prejudice which would be highly criminal in me were I capable of them. I do not say that I am incapable of being sometimes deceived in people, but I will be the first to correct myself, and to admit my error.

Sieur de Troye is the most intelligent and most efficient of our Captains; he has that excellent tact required for the possession of all the qualities necessary to command others. Better conduct than that he exhibited in the northern expedition, is impossible; for he needed address *(scavoir faire)* in order to induce Canadians to do what he got them to perform, and to retain them in obedience.

I have still some Captains qualified to take command of a post.

I have not delivered the commission of Commandant which you sent me, at my request, for the Major of Montreal. I know him better than I did last year; a man may do for a Major who would be a bad Commandant.

If you permit me to take M. de Calliere with me, I request you to send me an order to authorize S^r^ Provost, Major of Quebec, to command at Montreal during M. de Calliere's absence. He is a very honest and intelligent man.

[1] The Marquis and Chevalier de Crisasy. *Charlevoix.*

I have not troubled you, My Lord, for any of the subsistance of d'Orvillier's Company which has been a year at Cataracouy. I have stopped out of the soldier's pay, the bread and pork furnished him at the current price of the country; it amounts to only three sous per day; so that the soldier is left the balance of his stipend to pay the farthing *(deux liars)* in the livre, Hospital money, *(Invalides roles)*, and to defray the expense of linen, stockings, shoes and blankets. I think it would cost the King less to leave this balance for the soldier's necessaries, than to supply them in kind. This rule will be adopted by us for the future, if you so approve it.

One of our merchants is about to leave Bourdeaux for this place on the first of March; I may have some letters from your Lordship by him.

I am with profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble, most
obliged and most obedient
Servant
The M. de Denonville.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Quebec, 16th November, 1686.

My Lord,

Since writing my letters, a very intelligent man whom I sent to Manat, who has conversed and had much intercourse with Colonel Dongan, reports to me that said Colonel has dispatched fifty inhabitants of Orange and Manat, among whom are some Frenchmen, to winter with the Senecas, whence they will depart for Michilimaquina at the opening of the spring, under an escort of those Indians to carry along with them and restore the Huron prisoners on the part of the English governor, who is desirous to prevail on the Outaouas, by the service he renders them, to abandon our alliance in order to attach themselves to the English.

They carry thither plenty of goods in order to undersell us.

This is not all. Colonel Dongan has given orders that one hundred and fifty other Englishmen, accompanied by several Mohegans *(Loups)* should follow the first fifty with goods. But this party is not to leave until spring. I believe there is no room to doubt that the design is to seize the post of Niagara. Were the English once established there, they must be driven off, or we must bid adieu to the entire trade of the country.

I send you, My Lord, Colonel Dongan's original letter to the Father Superior of the Jesuits, who requested my permission to thank him[1] for a deceitful protection he this summer had extended to Father de Lamberville, Missionary to the Iroquois, from among whom he cunningly wished to expel him.[2]

'Tis important, My Lord, that you read that letter, in order to understand from it how important it is for you to place me in a situation to act powerfully against those Iroquois protegés of the English.

[1] For the Superior's letter, see III., 454.

[2] See III., 456. — Ed.

All those expeditions, My Lord, render it indispensably necessary, it seems to me, for us to declare war, and for you to adopt measures to render us efficient support, whilst the King having no war on his hands is at liberty to send us some of his troops.

The war begun, and badly carried on, by M. de la Barre has been the cause of all our misfortunes; it has reunited the Iroquois to the English who adopt the true means of destroying this Colony in a few years by depriving it of its allies and commerce.

We require no less than two battalions, My Lord, if you wish to succeed.

Nothing will be secure in this country, if you do not fortify the post of Niagara and that of Cataracouy. Ville Marie and Quebec must absolutely be inclosed in time, and the best thing possible done to concentrate our settlers.

Wonders are recounted to me of the English settlements which are collected into villages, in a state to defend themselves. We alone are at the mercy of the Wolves.

I write to M. de Vauban to request him to furnish us some one to superintend our Works if you desire them to be continued, for Villeneufue is so much occupied with his Maps, that it is out of his power to think of any thing else; besides, he cannot be stationary in any one place except in winter, and all the works are suspended in that season.

The same man who came from Manat told me, that there arrived there within a short time from the Islands of St. Christopher and Martinique fifty or sixty Huguenots, who are settling themselves at Manat and its environs.

I know that some such have arrived at Boston from France. Here is fresh material for banditti.

Whilst writing this, My Lord, I receive further advice from Orange that Colonel Dongan sent word to the fifty men who are to winter among the Senecas, not to start until the arrival there of the hundred and fifty men whom he is to dispatch as a reinforcement in the spring. The cause of this order is, that he has learned from some Indians the fact of Sieur Du L'hut being stationed at the Detroit of Lake Erié.

If that detachment and the Indians attack that post, you perceive, My Lord, no more terms are to be observed with the English.

Please send me orders on this point, for I am disposed to go straight to Orange, storm their fort, and burn the whole concern.

If the English continue their expeditions in this manner and the King is unwilling that war be waged against them, nothing is to be expected for this Colony but its ruin. They never denied the King's right neither to the Iroquois among whom we have missionaries since that people were first discovered; nor to the lakes where we always have a number of posts, nor to the Illinois where we for a long time possess establishments.

Now, the English governor prompted by the cupidity of the merchants, and by his own avarice to drag largesses from them, claims the whole country as his, and will trade thither though an Englishman has never been there.

Under pretext of hunting he gives his creatures passes, one of which was taken at Michilimaquina; I would have sent it to you had he who was bringing it not upset in the water and been thereby drowned.

See, My Lord, if there be any thing more pressing than to check these expeditions, either by giving me permission and the means to make war on them; or by causing the capture of the emissaries of M. Dongan, who is so covetous of money that he will spare no effort to

satisfy the cravings of his merchants who alone are pleased with him, he being greatly hated by the people on whom he makes pecuniary levies for his own advantage.

Meanwhile, My Lord, I shall change nothing of my original hostile design, the execution of which I shall advance by all means in my power, in order to thwart our enemies' plans.

One of our merchants has informed me that he intends to dispatch a vessel from Bourdeaux for this place in the beginning of March. I can receive some letters of advice from your Lordships by that opportunity.

Whilst writing this letter here, My Lord, I receive from Father de Lamberville confirmation of the news I had the honor to communicate to you respecting Colonel Dongan. I send you what he writes me concerning the talks the said Colonel held with the Iroquois assembled by his order at Manat. Have the goodness to read them yourself, My Lord.

Of all that I have the honor to advise you of, My Lord, concerning the designs of the English, no other proof will be necessary than what you see of the Colonel's intrigues, who has nothing else in view than the destruction of this entire Colony, which is imminent if the King do not apply some effectual remedy thereto.

I fear the Outaouas will revolt through [the interference of] the English who conduct their prisoners to them and furnish them merchandise at a much cheaper rate than we. That, My Lord, will cease if you send us two good battalions, and the funds necessary to sustain the movement and to occupy the post at Niagara. The whole is an intrigue of the Orange Merchants who make presents to the Colonel.

Great complaints are made of the trade at Cataracouy where goods are too high, because the third of the profit must go to M. de Lassale. If the King desire that post to be settled *(se peuple)* it will be necessary that his Majesty take the property of it out of M. de Lassalle's hands, and throw the trade open to the colonists, contenting himself with the fourth. It is the best means that can be adopted to reëstablish the trade with the Indians, and to attract them thither.

The bad state of affairs, My Lord, is a source of great mortification to me, but you see that the English of Manat and Orange do not treat their English people of Virginia and Maryland better than [they treat] us.

M. de Calliere writes me that he has arrested a rogue lately settled in the Chambly country, who attempted to persuade several respectable young men to withdraw to the English.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most

Obliged and most obedient

Servant,

The M. DE LAMBERVILLE.

Governor Dongan to the Reverend Jean de Lamberville.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN.]

Albany, 20th May, 1686.

Reverend Father,

I received your letters of the 10th instant and I hereby assure you, that I shall labor strenuously to extricate you from any danger to which you may be exposed from the barbarians. I regret that our Indians are so troublesome to yours; but, as I am informed by the Christians, the Indians consider the country which they conquer in war as their rightful possession; but I insist not on this. I doubt, however, whether that country, where the Indians are waging war, belong to our or to your King; though to me it appears probable that it belongs to ours, because, as I am told, it lies in respect to ours, West a few degrees towards the South, whereas yours lies to the North; but this cannot in any wise justify our people invading yours, and I shall, if I can, manage so that they be not troublesome, in any way, to yours. I leave the decision of any question about territory to the King, my master, and I think Mr. Des Nonville will do the like. I have not yet spoken to the Indians, and your messenger cannot wait here any longer. In order that peace may be preserved between us, let your Governor send a message to me, should our Indians disturb yours, and I shall do the like in all justice, as far as lies in my power. Your governor will, I hope, exert himself so that in this way the Indians will be retained in subjection. I hear that our Indians fear something from the French; but I hope that Monsr Des Nonville will reflect maturely on the matter before he invade the Indians subject to our King. Time does not now admit of writing to Monsr Des Nonville, but my service will not be wanting if needed. I shall write to him before I leave here. I have no other motive for coming here and convoking the Indians, than to reprove them for some injuries they have done the subjects of the King of France in Canada. I commend myself Reverend Father, to your most pious prayers. Your most humble servant,

DONGAN.

(Endorsed)

Reverendo Patri Domino
De Lamberville è
Societate Jesus.

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 455.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 458.]

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 460.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 461.]

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 462.]

NOTE. — The word "Indians" in the 9th line from the top of p. 463, Vol. III. is in the French translation "*Marchands*" (Merchants,) and the word "*Mihillmiqum*" in the following line, is "Michilmiquina," — ED.

Abstract of M. de Denonville's Letters and of the Minister's Answers thereto.

Council of Canada.

Summary of letters written in 1686.

Monsieur De Denonville.	Answers.
RELIGION.	
There is no inhabitant of the Pretended Reformed Religion.	His Majesty is very glad to learn that there are no Protestants in Canada and that the soldiers who were still of the P. R. R. have been converted.
There were only a few soldiers, the most of whom have made an act of abjuration. Were some small gratuity bestowed on them, it would have a good effect.	
50 or 60 Huguenots of the islands of Saint Xtopher and Martinique have taken refuge at Manatte. Some have also arrived at Boston from France.	

WAR.

We have fallen into such discredit among our Indian allies that we shall not be able to recover from it, unless by some considerable advantage over the Iroquois who are endeavoring to seduce them.

A Huron, named Escoutache,[1] under the guise of negotiation, delivered seventy men belonging to his Tribe, and 36 Outawas into their hands, with the view of afterwards proposing a peace between those Iroquois and these two tribes, and of achieving it by surrendering these prisoners.

The Jesuit Fathers have broken up this pretended Treaty, having even prevailed on the Onontagués, one of the five Iroquois nations, to disavow that act.

These Onontagués have, themselves, brought back to Fort Cataracouy five soldiers of that fort who had deserted, and have requested their pardon, which he did not think prudent to refuse them in the present conjuncture, and, in order to preserve the good will of those Indians, he has considered it proper to overlook that crime.

The English are the cause of all the bad intentions of the Iroquois; they make them act with the view of destroying us and of rendering themselves masters of the country.

Colonel Dongan has assembled them at Manatte, and promised them all sorts of protection against the French. He has made them presents to induce them to wage war against us. He even sends emissaries among our Indian allies in order to unite them with the Iroquois.

It is confidently stated that the Colonel is about to dispatch one hundred and fifty Englishmen in the design to attack the Detroit of Lake Erie which is garrisoned by the French. Should that be the case, he does not consider that he has more terms to keep with them, and would be inclined to go straight to Orange carry their fort by assault and burn the whole concern.

His Majesty after mature examination of the reasons adduced in his letters concurs with him in the necessity of waging war against the Iroquois, and for that purpose has long since issued the necessary orders for the preparation of troops, arms, ammunition and the other things he will require for its successful prosecution. His Majesty anticipates from his prudent conduct and bravery, a happy termination of this expedition, and only recommends him to husband with strict economy the funds appropriated, of which I supply him with a part, so that they may suffice for the termination of this war.

His Majesty approves his conduct on this occasion, but he must take care lest the soldiers, aware of the facility with which they receive pardon for such a crime, may not more readily take leave to desert.

I write to M. de Barillon to complain of Colonel Dongan, and I advise M^r^ de Denonville thereof. I communicate to him, also, the Treaty of Neutrality and the orders issued by the King of England for its execution in the countries under his obedience in America. And I observe to him that on Colonel Dongan becoming aware of this Treaty, his Majesty is persuaded that it will put an end to all expeditions he may be preparing.

[1] Compare supra, p. 293. — ED.

Since Monsieur de la Barre's visit, the Iroquois are in perfect union with the English under whose protection they placed themselves that year, when the English caused posts bearing the arms of England to be set up in their country, although the French have had missionaries there first, and have an infinitude of incontestable titles of their rights to that country.

Colonel Dongan has written to the Superior of the Jesuits that he would afford him every protection provided he meddled only in affairs of Religion—and to him (de D.) that his Majesty was indebted to him 25 $^{m\,liv}$, and being a very selfish man, might, he believes, be gained over with money, if desirable.

It is of the greatest importance not to protract the war, and to terminate it, if possible, this year. He would require, for that purpose, fifteen hundred regular troops with the ammunition and money he specifies amounting to 168 $^{m\,liv}$. In case the war cannot be terminated in one year, it is desirable that he could attack at least, the two largest Iroquois Villages in the first campaign, and winter in their country, in order to prevent them coming to reëstablish, during the winter, what might be destroyed in summer.

That such is necessary, likewise, in order to prevent them coming to attack the settlements of the Colony which are at a considerable distance the one from the other, and unable to assist each other.

I notify him that his Majesty is about to nominate Commissioners immediately, who with others to be also nominated by the King of England on his part, will endeavor, in conformity with said Treaty of Neutrality, to terminate all subjects of difference which may exist then between the French and the English regarding the countries in America belonging to both Kings.

His Majesty is not acquainted with the grounds of this Colonel's pretensions, but it is necessary that an eye be kept on his conduct, because if he contravene the orders he has received, and will hereafter receive to keep up a good understanding between the two Nations, His Majesty will request the King of England to be pleased to deprive him of his Government.

His Majesty is persuaded of the necessity of not protracting this War, and hopes by the wise measures he (de D.) has adopted, that he will conclude it this year.

Advise him that he will be able to accomplish that with the assistance his Majesty affords him; to wit, 800 soldiers actually in Canada and a like number sent thither presently, exclusive of the militia of the country; and the necessary arms and ammunition his Majesty causes to be transmitted to Quebec.

In regard to the money, I explain to him that of the 168$^{m\,liv}$ he demands, I shall cause 30^{m} to be expended in France in the purchase of a portion of the articles he requires. And as to the balance of 134$^{m\,liv}$ Canada currency, which is equal to 103$^{m\,liv}$ French currency, I observe to him that 50$^{m\,liv}$ of it were sent him last year, and that I order the remaining 53$^{m\,liv}$ to be transmitted to him.

Post of Niagara.

Immediately on declaring war, his intention is to fortify in the best possible manner the post at Niagara; this is of the great consequence in order both to furnish the people facilities of getting their peltries from the Outawas and

His Majesty approves of his fortifying this post, but, is very glad to have him informed in regard to all the forts he proposes to build, that it is necessary that he avoid at the same time incurring too great an expense; And

other distant places, and to secure a retreat for the Illinois, in case they be pressed by the Iroquois. But it would be proper to send masons from France as the wages of those of this country are 3^{liv} and 3^{liv} 10 sous a day, and they are moreover indifferent workmen.

It is so much the more necessary to fortify that post, as it is to be feared that the English will seize on it, if not anticipated.

He also proposes to construct a post at Chambly; at la Prairie de la Magdelaine, to prevent the incursions of the Iroquois at those places.

And represents that the King will never be master of that country until his Majesty have forts at all the Falls *(Saults)*, and Barks on all the Lakes.

He is making preparations to go with his troops to Lake Ontario at the end of June.

Has issued orders to the Jesuit Fathers, and to some confidential officers to collect all the Frenchmen who are abroad trading, and the greatest possible number of the Indian allies, and to bring them to the rendezvous which he has appointed for them; and he has directed Sieur de Tonty to proceed with the Illinois to attack the Iroquois in the rear, at the same time that he falls on them from another point.

He has sent orders to the Officer in command of the post of Lake Erié to cause all the Frenchmen taken among the English to be shot.

Chevalier de Callières has recently caused a Canadian settler to be arrested who wished to induce some young men of the country to repair to the English.

The Iroquois can arm 200[1] men and have made an alliance with the Mohegans *(Nation* therefore I cause two most essential things to be observed to him to which he must pay attention. First, not to build but one fort a year, beginning with the most urgent; and secondly, to construct only slight fortifications, suitable for warding off a surprise, as he has not to do with any power capable of carrying on a siege, so that a simple wall with loop holes *(créneaux)*, and a ditch and pallisades outside, are the only works admissible in that country.

In regard to workmen he will find many among the soldiers, but he must not hesitate to oblige those of the country to work, furnishing them with the necessary support, it not being proper, at a conjuncture like this, to suffer them to take advantage of the existing need of them. Meanwhile, I write to Sieur de Mauclerc, to look up 4 or five masons and 20 laborers to be sent to that country, and I recommend him to manage so as get them to enlist with the troops.

His Majesty approves the measures he has adopted for the approaching campaign, and has nothing to add except that, as he possibly may take several Iroquois prisoners in the course of this war, his Majesty desires him to keep them in confinement until an opportunity will offer to send them to France, as his Majesty thinks he can employ them in the Galleys. He can send even by the return of the vessels which will have carried over the soldiers, those whom he will have captured before the departure of those ships.

His Majesty approves the issuing of such orders, and I send him an ordinance prohibiting under penalty of death, the French going to the neighboring nations without a pass.

It is of importance to make an example of that man, if he be guilty of this crime.

His Majesty does not think the great number of these Savages is to be feared, inasmuch as

[1] Sic. Quere? 2,000. — Ed.

du Loup) who are to furnish them as many as 1,500, to make war on us, independent of a great number of other Tribes, their allies.

He has dispatched Sieur de Tonty to collect together the Illinois, and has given him 150 guns to arm a portion of them.

That officer has been as far as the mouth of the River Mississipi in search of Sieur De La Salle without having received any news of him. Only learned when returning, that some Savages had seen him at the River des Mouilla which is 40 leagues north of the mouth of the River Mississipi, and that he had left that place to go towards the South.

Said Tonty has brought back with him 2 Illinois Chiefs who have promised that their Nation would perform their duty against the Iroquois.

As there is no General Officer in the Country to command under him, and as, in case of his falling sick the whole war would devolve on a few Ensigns of Marine who are at the head of the first companies, and are not qualified for so great an enterprise, he demands an order for one of the inferior Governors to command in his absence, and under his authority in his presence, and proposes Chevalier de Callières, governor of Montreal, who, he assures, has all the qualifications requisite to acquit himself properly of such duty.

they have no experience in War; hopes on the contrary that those whom he will collect from among our allies will be of great service, when conducted by a man of such experience as he.

I advise him that his Majesty sends three hundred guns to be distributed as a gift to the Indians who will serve with him.

His Majesty is very impatient to receive news of Sieur de La Salle. Let him communicate every particular he will learn of that gentleman, and afford him every protection he will stand in need of, should he return.

I notify him that the King has made choice of Sieur to command, under him, all the troops that will be in Canada. In regard to the conduct of the war and the command of the country, they would belong of right to this Commandant. Nevertheless, as he gives assurance that Monsieur de Callières is highly qualified, his Majesty sends commissions *(des patentes)* with a blank to be filled with the name of such of these two officers as he will consider best qualified, in case he should find himself unable to act; but he must observe that he is not to make use of this power except on this occasion only.

His Majesty approves of his taking the said Chevalier de Callières with him, in such capacity as he shall think advantageous for his Majesty's service.

Justice and The Actual State of the Country.

He sends the census of Canada, which has augmented since last year, one hundred and ten persons, there being at present 12,373 souls.

His Majesty does not consider the increase very considerable, more especially as regards the Indians, the number of which he ought to endeavor to augment by every means; nothing being more advantageous for that Colony than

The Priests of the Montreal Seminary are greatly increasing their Establishments on that island, and as it is a quarter the settlement of which is highly important, he will induce the soldiers who will get married to establish themselves there in preference.

Nothing is more important than the suppression of the disorders which prevail in the woods, and he has drawn up regulations to correct them; but it will be very difficult to cause these to be observed, if some means be not found to give employment to the Sons of the Noblesse, and of those who live as such.

He proposes, for this purpose, to enrol these young men into regular companies, and to give 8 sous of France per day to the best behaved *(plus raisonnables)* and 6 sous to the others.

It is to be feared, if they be not retained by that arrangement, that the English will seduce them.

He represents that there are many families of Gentlemen, very worthy persons, in extreme want, not having even bread; and solicits some charity for them.

the acquisition of new subjects for his Majesty, without any expense to the Kingdom. These Indians will, moreover, be of great use in establishing Christianity in the Country.

His Majesty has been, likewise, surprised that there has been less land under cultivation in 1686 than in 1685. He wishes, in advance, that he so manage as that it will increase, by giving lands to be cleared to those who will be able to take them.

His Majesty approves the measures he adopts for the peopling of the Island of Montreal.

His Majesty continues to recommend him to execute with severity the ordinances made against the Coureurs de bois; Approves the regulation which he has made on that subject.

And also approves his proposal to enrol them into regular companies, but it would be necessary that he should so manage that they would not cost more than those at present maintained by his Majesty, who promises to establish one forthwith on that footing.

I explain to him that of the 6 sous a day which the King will give them as soldiers, 4^{s} 6^{d} will be sent to the country in money and 18^{d} will be retained in France to be expended in the purchase of clothing which will be transmitted them every year.

He will be at liberty to select, for the command of this company, one of the old Captains already settled in Canada who will have more authority and influence over the minds of those young men than any other officer who might be sent thither.

His Majesty has granted an alms of a hundred écus to each of these families, and I have caused him to be notified, that their actual misery proceeds from their ambition to

He does not consider it expedient in a time of war like this, to institute a search after spurious Nobles, the more especially as those who have assumed the quality unjustly would not become more industrious.

He is of opinion, only, not to grant patents of nobility except to such as will be rich and will embark in some business.

The post of Cataracouy is very advantageously situated for trade, and it would be well to attract settlers thither, but to accomplish that, his Majesty ought to purchase it from Sieur de La Salle, and open its trade to all the world.

live as people of quality and without labor; and, therefore, it is proper to prevent, for the future, those who are not gentlemen assuming that rank which reduces them to mendicity.

As regards letters of Nobility, his Majesty does not consider it necessary to grant any more to the people of Canada; and to relieve the country of a part of the children of those who are truly noble, I send him six commissions of Gardes de la Marine;[1] and recommend him to be careful not to fill them with any who are not really Gentlemen.

His Majesty will possibly reassume Fort Cataracouy in course of time, but there is no hurry at present.

Sieur Parat, Governor of Placentia.

Asks if he must arrest French sailors of the pretended Reformed Religion who come into the ports belonging to his Government in English vessels.

He may, without difficulty cause those sailors to be arrested and sent to France, but let him be careful not to undertake any thing in this regard, without being sure of success.

Commission of Major M^c^Gregory to trade in the Ottawa Country.

[Licences, Warrants, &c., 1686, 1702, V., in Secretary's Office, Albany.]

Thomas Dongan Captaine Generall Governour and Vice Admirall of the province of Newyorke and dependencyes.

To Major Patrick Magregore Greetting Being well assured of your loyalty Conduct and Courage I have Commissionated and appoynted And by these presents doe Commissionate and appoynt yow the said patrick Magrigore To bee Captaine and Cômand^r^ In Cheife of such men as by my order yow are to go along with from Albany to the Ottwasse Countrey a tradeing As also of a Company which Likewise by my order yow are to Overtake and proceed together with in the said Journey which sayd Companyes as Captaine and Cômander in Cheife yow are to Leade and Conduct in their sayd Journey to the said Ottwasse Countrey and from thence back again to Albany In the Execucôn of which office yow are to observe such

[1] During the old French government young gentlemen used to receive brevet commissions and were permitted to serve on board the ships of war. They were called *Gardes de la Marine* (*James' Military Dictionary*), and were of similar rank to midshipmen. When they had acquired a knowledge of their profession, they were promoted to the rank of officers. — Ed.

Instructions and directions as yow already have or from time to time shall Receave from me Hereby Comandeing and Requyreing all and Every person and persons of the said Companyes to Give due observance and obedience to the said patrick Magregore in the premisses as they will answer the Contrary att their uttmost perrills this Commission to be in force one yeare and no Longer Given Under my hand and Seale att ffort James this fourth day of december 1686 And in the Second yeare of his ma^{tie} Reigne

THO DONGAN

By his Excellencyes Comand

IS. SWINTON

Memoir on the State of Canada.

Memoir for the Marquis de Seignelay Regarding the dangers that threaten Canada, the means of remedying them, and of firmly establishing religion, commerce and the King's power in North America. January, 1687.

Canada is encompassed by many powerful Colonies of English who labor incessantly to ruin it by exciting all our Indians, and drawing them away with their peltries for which said English give them a great deal more merchandise than the French, because the former pay no duty to the King of England. That profit attracts towards them, also, all our Coureurs de bois and French libertines who carry their peltries to them, deserting our Colony and establishing themselves among the English who take great pains to encourage them.

They employ these French deserters to advantage in bringing the Far Indians to them who formerly brought their peltries into our Colony, whereby our trade is wholly destroyed.

The English have begun by the most powerful and best disciplined Indians of all America, whom they have excited entirely against us by their avowed protection and manifest usurpation of the sovereignty they claim over the country of those Indians which appertains beyond contradiction to the King for nearly a century without the English having, up to this present time, had any pretence thereto.

They also employ the Iroquois to excite all our other Indians against us. They sent those last year to attack the Hurons and the Outawas, our most ancient subjects; from whom they swept by surprise more than 75 prisoners, including some of their principal Chiefs; killed several others, and finally offered peace and the restitution of their prisoners, if they would quit the French and acknowledge the English.

They sent those Iroquois to attack the Illinois and the Miamis, our allies, who are in the neighborhood of Fort Saint Louis, built by M. de La Salle on the Illinois River which empties into the River Colbert or Mississipi; those Iroquois massacred and burnt a great number of them, and carried off many prisoners with threats of entire extermination if they would not unite with them against the French.

Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York, has pushed this usurpation to the point of sending Englishmen to take possession, in the King of England's name, of the post of Mislimakinac

which is a Strait communicating between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Illinois,[1] and has even declared that all those lakes, including the River Saint Lawrence which serves as an outlet to them, and on which our Colony is settled, belong to the English.

The Reverend Father Lamberville, a French Jesuit who, with one of his brothers, also a Jesuit, has been 18 years a Missionary among the Iroquois, wrote on the first of November to Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal, who informed the Governor-General thereof, that Colonel Dongan has assembled the Five Iroquois Nations at Manatte where he resides, and declared to them as follows:

1st That he forbids them to go to Cataracouy or Fort Frontenac and to have any more intercourse with the French.

2d That he orders them to restore the prisoners they took from the Hurons and Outawacs, in order to attract these to him.

3d That he is sending thirty Englishmen to take possession of Missilimakinak and the lakes, rivers and adjoining lands and orders the Iroquois to escort them thither and to afford them physical assistance.

4th That he has sent to recall the Iroquois Christians belonging to the Mohawks who reside since a long time at the Saut Saint Louis, in the vicinity of the Island of Montreal, where they have been established by us, and converted by the care of our Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and that he would give them other land and an English Jesuit, to govern them.

5th That he wishes that there should not be any Missionaries except his throughout the whole of the Five Nations of Iroquois, and that the latter send away our French Jesuits who have been so long established there.

6th That if they are attacked by Monsieur de Denonville the latter will have to do with him.

7th That he orders them to plunder all the French who will visit them; to bind them and bring them to him, and what they'll take from them shall be good prize.

The Iroquois.—He accompanied his orders with presents to the Five Iroquois Nations, and dispatched his thirty Englishmen, escorted by Iroquois, to make an establishment at Missilimakinak.

The Iroquois plunder our Frenchmen every where they meet them, and threaten to fire their settlements which are much exposed and without any fortifications.

These measures, and the discredit we are in among all the Indians for having abandoned our allies in M. de la Barre's time; for having suffered them to be exterminated by the Iroquois and borne the insults of the latter, render war again absolutely necessary to avert from us a general Indian Rebellion which would bring down ruin on our trade and cause eventually even the extirpation of our Colony.

War is likewise necessary for the establishment of the Religion, which will never spread itself there except by the destruction of the Iroquois: so that on the success of hostilities, which the Governor-General of Canada proposes to commence against the Iroquois on the 15th of May next, depends either the ruin of the Country and of the Religion if he be not assisted, or the Establishment of the Religion, of Commerce and the King's Power over all North America, if granted the required aid.

If men consider the Merit in the eyes of God, and the Glory and utility which the King will derive from that succor, it is easy to conclude that expense was never better employed since,

[1] Michigan. — Ed.

independent of the salvation of the quantity of souls in that vast Country to which His Majesty will contribute by establishing the faith there, he will secure to himself an Empire of more than a thousand leagues in extent, from the Mouth of the River Saint Lawrence to that of the River Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico; a country discovered by the French alone, to which other Nations have no right, and from which great Commercial advantages, and a considerable augmentation of His Majesty's Revenues will eventually be derived.

The Marquis de Denonville, whose zeal, industry and capacity admit of no addition, requires a reinforcement of 1,500 men to succeed in his enterprise. If less be granted him, success is doubtful and a war is made to drag along, the continuation of which for many years will be a greater expense to His Majesty than that immediately necessary to guarantee its success and prompt termination.

The Iroquois must be attacked in two directions. The first and principal attack must be on the Seneca Nation on the borders of Lake Ontario, the second, by the River Richelieu and Lake Champlain in the direction of the Mohawks.

3,000 French will be required for that purpose. Of these there are sixteen companies which make 800 men and 800 drafted from the militia, 100 of the best of whom the Governor-General destines to conduct 50 canoes which will come and go incessantly to convey provisions. Of the 3,000 French he has only one-half, though he boasts of more for reputation's sake, for the rest of the militia are necessary to protect and cultivate the farms of the Colony, and a part of the force must be employed in guarding the posts of Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Tarento, Missilimakinak so as to secure the aid he expects from the Illinois and from the other Indians, on whom, however, he cannot rely unless he will be able alone to defeat the Five Iroquois Nations.

The Iroquois force consists of two thousand picked Warriors *(d'élite)* brave, active, more skilful in the use of the gun than our Europeans and all well armed; besides twelve hundred Mohegans *(Loups)*, another tribe in alliance with them as brave as they, not including the English who will supply them with officers to lead them, and to intrench them in their villages.

If they be not attacked all at once at the two points indicated, it is impossible to destroy them or to drive them from their retreat, but if encompassed on both sides, all their plantations of Indian corn will be destroyed, their villages burnt, their women, children and old men captured and their warriors driven into the woods where they will be pursued and annihilated by the other Indians.

After having defeated and dispersed them, the winter must be spent in fortifying the post of Niagara, the most important in America, by means of which all the other Nations will be excluded from the lakes whence all the peltries are obtained; it will be necessary to winter troops at that and some other posts, to prevent the Iroquois returning and reëstablishing themselves there, and to people those beautiful countries with other Indians who will have served under us during this war.

As operations commence on the 15th of May, it is necessary to hasten the reinforcement and to send it off in the month of March next in order that it may arrive in season to be employed, and that it be accompanied by munitions of war and provisions, arms and other articles required in the estimates of the Governor-General and Intendant of Canada.

The vast extent of this country and the inconveniences respecting the command which may occur during the war suggest the great necessity of appointing a Lieutenant-Governor over it, as well to command the troops there in the absence, and under the orders, of the Governor-

General as to enforce these throughout all parts of the Colony beyond the Island of Montreal towards the great lakes which are at a considerable distance from Quebec.

The Marquis de Denonville who sees the necessity of establishing that office is of opinion that Chevalier de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal, is eminently qualified for it by his application and industry in the King's service, and his experience in war, said Chevalier de Callières having served twenty years with reputation in his Majesty's armies throughout the whole of his glorious campaigns.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny.

Extracts of a Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Denonville and Sieur de Champigny.

Versailles, 30th March, 1687.

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His Majesty has approved the conduct observed by said Sieur de Denonville towards the Iroquois, and the measures he has commenced adopting in order to place himself in a position to wage war against them with advantage. And after having maturely examined all the reasons adduced in his letters, his Majesty has been convinced of the necessity of that war, and to that end has long since issued the necessary orders for the preparation of the troops, arms and ammunition of which he may stand in need. * * * * * * *

His Majesty has approved of Sieur de Denonville's calling the Iroquois nations together at Cataracouy, so as to effect the withdrawal of Father de Lamberville, and in case this has not been accomplished, it is necessary to adopt measures to prevent his remaining exposed to the fury of those Savages.

He has been surprised at the proceedings of Colonel Dongan, and has given orders to Sieur de Barillon his Ambassador at London to complain of him to the King of England. Meanwhile, as, since the Colonel has thus acted, the Treaty of Neutrality has been concluded at London, copy whereof has been transmitted to him, and as his Britannic Majesty has given positive orders to all his Governors of the territories in America under his obedience, copy of which is hereunto annexed, to conform themselves strictly thereunto, He doubts not but 'twill put an end to all the expeditions that Colonel might have commenced against the interests of the French, contrary to the intentions of the King his master. His Majesty therefore, does not consider it expedient to make any attack on the English. He desires, nevertheless, that Sieur de Denonville report if that Colonel will conform himself to his instructions from England for the execution of said Treaty, in order, if he contravene them that his Majesty may demand his recall from the King of England.

In regard to the pretensions of the English in America, his Majesty has approved of the said Sieur de Denonville having sent a Memoir of His rights to the best part of that country, and is very glad to let them know, thereupon, that He is about to nominate immediately Commissioners who, with others whom the King of England is on his side also to name, will, in the execution of said Treaty of Neutrality, endeavor to put an end to all differences which

may exist, at present, between the French and the English regarding the countries belonging to both Kings in America, and will refer that Memoir to his Commissioners to make use of it in the discussion they will have, on the subject, with those of England.

As to the expeditions got up by the English to prevent the trade of the French and to draw it to themselves, the said Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny must expect that nothing but their industry and attention in having the passes guarded, can secure to his Majesty's subjects their accustomed commerce, as it is certain that they will always experience opposition on the part of the English, and that those Savages would prefer trading with the latter than with the French in consequence of the advantage they derive from selling their goods at a higher rate to the English.

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His Majesty has no knowledge of Colonel Dongan's claim of 25[m]lb. which he pretends are due him in France. He, therefore, has nothing to say to him on that subject.

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His Majesty has seen the Memoir sent by the said Sieur de Denonville respecting the measures he has adopted, and the orders he has issued, for the next Campaign, of which He has approved, and doubts not but success commensurate to his expectations will follow, having to contend only with Indians who have no experience in regular war, whilst on the contrary, those whom he will be able to marshal, will prove most efficient being led by a man of his ability and experience. Finally, He expects to learn, at the close of this year, the entire destruction of the greatest part of those Savages, And as a number of prisoners may be made who His Majesty thinks can be employed in the galleys, He desires him to manage so as to retain them until there be vessels going for France. Any who will have been captured before the sailing of those vessels can even be sent by the return of His Majesty's ships which will convey the troops.

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His Majesty has been highly pleased to learn the voyage which Sieur de Tonty has made to the mouth of the River Mississippi, but would have wished that he had gained intelligence there of Sieur de La Salle, for the fate of whose expedition he feels great anxiety, and it is His pleasure, if he return, that they afford him every sort of protection.

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He authorizes Sieur de Denonville to do what he will think proper respecting the demand presented to him by one of Colonel Dongan's Officers for two negro deserters, and his Majesty is willing that he surrender them if he see fit.

As regards two women of bad character, His Majesty does not approve his proposals to send them back to France, inasmuch as that would not be a punishment sufficiently severe to prevent the consequences of that disorder; but He desires that they be put to hard labor on the public works, such as drawing water, serving masons, sawing wood, or other laborious occupations, in order that such punishment being public, may afford a more salutary example in that country.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

On the 2d of this month, I received in this city the King's orders and yours of the 30th March. They were transmitted to me, by Monsr de Champigny who remained at Quebec to select and send off the Militia of the Colony.

It gives me great joy to learn that the King has had the goodness to succor this country, and that you continue to afford it the honor of your protection. I leave to the Intendant the duty of advising you of the arrival of M. d'Amblemont and of the other vessels which bring us troops and ammunition, and of reporting to you the condition of every thing.

I have come in advance in order to make all the arrangements for our march and to receive earlier the answers I was expecting from the Iroquois by the Fathers de Lamberville. The younger has arrived alone with letters from his elder brother who has resolved not to repair to Katarokoui without the Chiefs of the Iroquois; but I doubt much if these Savages, distrustful as they are, will come on hearing of my marching with a retinue too great to be agreeable to them, for they would prefer that I should have no more than 20 attendants, so that they may be more frank in their Councils and in a position to address me arrogantly according to their invariable custom. It has been their particular care always to inquire about my escort. All this induces me to fear that the poor Father will experience some difficulty in extricating himself from the hands of those barbarians. This makes me very uneasy.

I found our people disgusted with past proceedings sufficiently to make it difficult for them to resolve on accompanying the troops, which obliged me to draw up a sort of Manifesto wherein I set forth the motives of this war. This was accompanied by a Pastoral letter of the Vicar-General; the entire population were seen after this to prepare with extreme alacrity for the march. All this was promulgated only at the moment it became necessary to assemble the people; therefore, such publication did not send forward the news of the war, but induced every body to prosecute it with good will. I send you both the one and the other, My Lord, so that you may correct me if there be any thing improper in them, and I may avoid committing a similar error in future. I am, moreover, very desirous not to do any thing with which you should not be acquainted either after or before doing it. I should wish much to be nearer you, so as not to make a move without your orders. But the distance, My Lord, requires decision on the part of those who are entrusted with the King's affairs; otherwise, the service will greatly suffer.

In the letters I had the honor to write you in the month of November of last year, I gave you, My Lord, a tolerably exact account of the state of public affairs. We have learned since from Missilimaquinack that Father Angelran, Superior of the Missionaries who are scattered among the distant nations of that region, and Sieur de la durantays who commands Missilimakinak and other posts in our possession, had experienced great difficulty in retaining all the Hurons and Outaouas, and preventing them repairing to the Senecas with a resolution to come to an understanding with, and submit themselves to the latter, and thus become their allies, and introduce a trade with the English who have made a strong impression on them by the cheapness of the goods their merchants offered last year at Missilimakinac, where they went as I had the honor to inform you by my letters. This Huron nation, naturally faithless and fickle like all Savages, and the Outaouas, although enemies of the Iroquois of long standing, would willingly side with the latter, through dread of their power

and through the lures of the English who promise them in addition to cheap bargains, to keep them in peace with the enemy and to make them masters of the entire trade of the other Far Nations with whom our Frenchmen are in the habit of trading. All this, My Lord, had created considerable embarrassment in the managing of these people so as to divert them from their purpose.

At length the Hurons and Outaouas decided to send me this winter the two most influential amongst them with four of our Frenchmen, who conducted them to us over the ice. Thus, My Lord, those Fathers have warded off the greatest misfortune that could overtake us at present from that quarter—to wit, the abandonment by this people of our alliance and their adhesion to our enemies. The post occupied by Sieur du Lhu at the Detroit of Lake Erie, and the Frenchmen whom Sieur de la Durantays has collected at Missilmakina [coupled with] the harangues of the Fathers backed by the menaces of Sieur de le Durantays, have been no mean assistance to Sieur Vallois. All this, My Lord, required the outlay of money to feed our Frenchmen who garrison the posts, to defray the expense of the journeys wherein diligence was necessary without any gain to those who were employed both on the route and in the posts where good guard is kept up as in a fortified town (*ville de guerre.*)

M. de Champigny and I have not forgotten to welcome our two Indian envoys whom we have been obliged to retain some months until the severe cold had terminated, before sending them over the ice as far as Lake Huron where they embarked on the 3d May, on the breaking up of the winter, according to the news we have received of them. They left seemingly with a firm resolution to accompany Sieurs de la Durantays and du L'hu with their people to join me, in accordance with my original project of last year and the orders I had dispatched to them, a report whereof I had the honor to transmit to you with my last letters.

I understand that the English have advised the Senecas that I was about to attack them, and have obliged them to recall, to the defence of their country against us, six hundred men of their Castle who had gone to attack the Miamies. Other parties who had gone to war against the tribes in the direction of Virginia are, also, come back in consequence of similar directions. Thus the terror which has seized our enemies is highly expensive to Colonel Dongan. I have, likewise, understood that a party has returned from Virginia bringing a dozen English prisoners whom they will also burn, and Mr. Dongan scarcely troubles himself about the matter.

A great number of those warriors have hunted in the neighborhood of Catarokoi. We are anxious, at present, to learn whether poor Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit missionary who remains at Onnontagué, will extricate himself out of their hands when they hear the great rumor of war, which, in consequence of the extraordinary preparations required to be made, it is impossible to prevent being bruited abroad, notwithstanding I have always given out that I was going only to the general meeting projected at Catarokoi, where I did not wish to be either insulted or trifled with. I always observed this tone until the moment of marching, when I considered it a duty to publish the Manifesto, accompanied by the Pastoral Letter.

In order to afford you an idea of Colonel Dongan's genius, I cannot do better, My Lord, than transmit you his artful letter which sufficiently indicates that I must be distrustful of him, and that he aims only at deceiving us in order to enrich himself and his merchants at the expense of this Colony.

I know that he has dispatched fifty men with plenty of canoes and provisions to reinforce and cover the retreat of the thirty men whom he sent off last fall to trade with our Outaouas.

He also invites the Senecas to go and meet them in order to act as their escort. You may rely on the truth of this intelligence.

If they have not retreated before we arrive at the lake, I do not believe they will have any reason to be satisfied with their voyage and trade. They are accompanied by several of our French deserters, without whom they had never dared to undertake that expedition.

On receiving information on the 12th November of last year, that one Gideon Petit, who keeps a house of bad repute at Chambly, was proposing to go over to the English, and had mentioned something about it himself, and engaged some one to accompany him thither, M. de Calliere caused him to be arrested and committed to prison where he remained some months until the Intendant and I notified Sieur Gaillard, the commissary, to set him at liberty, if there were no proofs against him. But we have since discovered, by his escape last March, that our suspicions were well founded. The running away of these people appears to me so much the more criminal under existing circumstances, as they are so many spies our enemies profit by to learn what we are doing.

The impunity of Sieur de Chailly casts great discredit on my prohibitions. At another time, My Lord, the crime would affect only the King's revenue, but at this conjuncture, the safety of the country is endangered by the information these lawless rascals convey to our enemies. Herein, My Lord, I have no other interest at heart than the King's service, for in other respects, I wish evil neither to this person nor to that. Gideon Petit says, that his design was to go to France last year in our ships, but he spread the report only the better to conceal his intention of going to the English. He is from Rochelle; his father was very unfortunate in business, and is dead; some bad debts are due to him in this country; since he has been here his trade has always been with the English; although large profits can be realized, he is no better off in his circumstances than the majority of those who have pursued this, and all other sorts of business which are prohibited by the King. Another named Salvaye, an inhabitant of the Seigniory of Saurel on the River Richelieu, has also disappeared. He is a man of activity whom M. de la Barre and M. de Frontenac employed as envoy to the English to negotiate with the Governors; a knave who pretends to be honest. I told him, last year, that I was aware of some proceedings of his which tended to the continuance of his trade; I thought to take him on the point of honor by some confidences and favors; He promised me Wonders. I knew enough to be almost certain of his designs, without, however, having any proofs, and it is herein the severitles of authority are necessary without any formalities of law. However, as I have not yet the honor of being sufficiently known to you, and as in like severities we are liable to fall into the inconvenience of punishing people who would not be guilty in the eyes of the public, in order to avoid giving any one pain I thought it better not to commit to prison until we had set out for the war, as I was intending to do, both with regard to Gideon and Salvaye. On the whole, it is well, My Lord, that I receive a brief word of instruction from you for my guidance in this regard. I know well, My Lord, that these sorts of punishments may be dangerous, for a governor may, under specious pretexts, easily exercise his vengeance and commit injustice; but woe to him who thus abuses his Master's authority. He deserves not to be intrusted by the King with any command, but to be driven off as unworthy to serve and command any where.

I considered the inclosing of Villemarie[1] to be of too great moment in this time of war, to wait for your permission My Lord, to have it done. I had a quantity of stout and long

[1] See note, p. 281. — Ed.

pickets prepared, of which two-thirds, or at least more than the half, have been set up. I have given orders that a statement of this expense should be transmitted to you in order that you may be able to see that we, therein, have studied economy, as much as possible by making the soldiers work. I thought it necessary to spare the colonists in this expenditure.

I cannot do full justice to the care, application and knowledge of Mr. de Calliere, especially in what generally regards the service he loves and knows so well how to acquit himself of; he is an utter stranger to self-interest and applies himself always to the performance of his duty, and to making others perform theirs; he enters into all details; some may be dissatisfied, but the King is better served.

I omit entering into the detail of all the points in the Memorandum of the King's orders of the 30th March of this year which I have received from you, My Lord, as I postpone the answer to the whole until my return from the Campaign. For this letter is only intended to give you an account of our actual condition, and of my departure, which will take place on the 13th of this month.

The Intendant has arrived here with all our Militia, and accompanies me as far as Cataracouy in order that I may become acquainted with that post, and be able to give you an account of the expenses already, and yet to be, incurred thereon, and of the manner in which our army, on a small scale, will be embarked on Lake Ontario.

My plan is to proceed to the Senecas, the strongest Castle and the nearest to Niagara. My course will be along the Southern shore, contrary to the advice of a number of people who believe that I ought to go by that of the North as the surest and most tranquil. And here, I shall take the liberty briefly to detail to you the reasons I have for following the course I adopt.

The first is, that by following the Southern shore, I keep the enemy in a state of incertitude as regards the village to which I mean to go; for during several days it leads me along the Oneida, Onnontagué, and Cayuga Castles, and finally to the four Seneca villages, without allowing them to be certain as to which I intend to visit.

The 2d reason is, that I induce the enemy to come in quest of, and to meet me, for if they do so they will leave Tonty, La Durantays and du Lhu, on their side respectively, at full liberty to act without any uneasiness, whereas if I go by the North, the enemy coming to wait for me at Niagara, may fall on those Gentlemen who are to approach from that direction by Lake Erié. Those different and distant rendezvous do not fail to disquiet me for it is in the power of the enemy to profit thereby. All that I could do is to cause them to delay their arrival at Niagara, in order that I may be the first to reach the enemy to draw him towards me and away from the others.

I must inform you, My Lord, that I have altered the orders I had originally given last year to M. de la Durantays to pass by Taronto and to enter Lake Ontario at Gandatsitiagon[1] to form a junction with M. du Lhu at Niagara. I have sent him word by Sieur Juchereau, who took back the two Huron and Outaouas chiefs this winter, to join Sieur du Lhu at the Detroit of Lake Erie, so that they may be stronger and in a condition to resist the enemy, should he go to meet them at Niagara. I believe, My Lord, that I have omitted none of those precautions necessary for the dispatch of this affair which is of great importance. Success is in the hands of God alone, for, in truth, the skill of the most experienced is of very little avail in a wooded country where the inhabitants can live as long as they please without provisions

[1] See note 2, p. 112; and compare d'Anville's Map of North America, Improved. London, 1775. — Ed.

(sans manger), leaving out of consideration the punctual rendezvous which must be kept at a distance of three or 400 leagues.

We must be indebted to chance alone for prisoners, for should they incline ever so little to run away, how many of them can be caught?

From all this, My Lord, it is impossible for the most experienced to determine whether this war will soon terminate or not. I am truly persuaded that it is the interest of the Colony to preserve peace, but it is necessary that this nation be first destroyed or at least humbled. You must clearly perceive, My Lord, that it is my interest to terminate this war, for it is, indeed, a rough life to march a foot in the woods; to carry, oneself, one's own provisions in a haversack; to be devoured by mosquitoes, and to have no more comforts than a mere soldier. All these, My Lord, are not pleasures to make a Governor-general forget his duty by protracting a war, especially at my time of life.

All my hope is to spoil and lay waste their fields, and to this end we shall all apply ourselves; perhaps we may be able to catch their women and children.

I know not, yet, what Indians Tonty, du Lhu and la Durantaye will bring us, for we have fallen into great discredit with all those tribes.

I consider it very fortunate that the six hundred Senecas who had set out on a war expedition have come back, because all the Indian tribes having remained at peace and undisturbed during the summer, will be able to assemble and join du Lhu.

There is reason for strong hope if we have many Indians, for they alone are capable of pursuing the enemy into the woods accompanied by some of our brave Coureurs de bois, of whom I have taken with me those most experienced and most familiar with the route. It is one of them, who is in my guard, that has enabled me to have the Map prepared for you which I sent in order to afford you some idea of our expedition. We shall omit nothing, My Lord, that will be in our power, and shall endeavor to profit by all the advantages that God bestows on us.

It is of importance to become masters of the post of Niagara, and to form an establishment there. If time will permit me to have a second expedition got up against the Mohawks, I shall willingly attempt it; but I do not think I shall be able to do so before my return.

I leave Chevalier de Vaudreuil in the Colony to command the troops there, and to take care of the posts necessary to be occupied and fortified for their security and that of the inhabitants. He will employ himself in having pickets prepared whilst Monsieur de Champigny will go from Seigniory to Seigniory to issue all orders necessary for the good of the interior of the Colony which stood in need of the assistance you send us, and of an Intendant so experienced and so devoted as he. I cannot sufficiently thank you for having sent him to us, nor sufficiently express my wishes that you may have his like in every quarter where you require so faithful and so disinterested an officer. I do not think, My Lord, that you have any complaints of any differences between us, or of our union being prejudicial to the King's interests, although we are good friends. The seed of mischief-makers is not lost, for all that, in this country.

What has been maliciously reported to you of Sieur Provost, Major of Quebec, must not destroy him in your estimation, My Lord, since, without contradiction, he is the honestest, the most upright, and the least selfish, person I have found in the country; up to this time he is the only officer I have seen who has not meddled in any commerce, nor been mixed up with any of the past quarrels, having attended only to his duty. What I have learned for certain regarding

the report made to you of him, is, that he has a hired man as servant whom the contractor was employing as a mason to whom he was paying his wages. It is the custom of this country. Had I been previously informed of it, I should have told him not to have any thing to do with it, considering the consequences. The contractor, with whom M. de Meulles had agreed, is the best mason in the country, but a mighty great drunkard whom I distrusted; and therefore, having gone up last year with the Engineer, I requested the Major of Quebec, and Sieur de Comporté, our Provost, to watch him. It is a great falsehood that the Major had made use of any one's name for the purpose of supplying materials, since I know that he has no goods either at his house or any where else, and speculates in no sort of trade. This arises from revenge on the part of our little Engineer whom he opposed in regard to some men he had furnished him by my orders for the purpose of assisting him in preparing his Maps, and whom he did not pay, although I had given him some money for that purpose. M. de Champigny can inform you, My Lord, what sort of a man our Major is, and whether he be capable of dishonesty. Our Engineer is a fool, a rake and a debauchee who must be tolerated because we have need of him.

You are not to attach credit to any thing he will write you against others, as he acts only by caprice; he is a leaky vessel. Nevertheless, he is an admirable draughtsman and is very quick when he likes. M. de Vauban can easily give an account of his mental character. Had I not boarded and lodged him in my own quarters, I could not have got any thing from him, he being indebted every where. The Intendant will give you an account of the manner he had our store covered, the paved stone roof not being sufficient to prevent the water penetrating through the joints; besides, the lime and cement used in the work do not at all resist the frost of this country. It is a circumstance I have witnessed in several places since I came here.

I shall have the honor of writing to you on my return, about the Redoubts most necessary to be built. That of Niagara and that of Katarakoui are the most important at present. But all those establishments will soon fall to ruin if settlers be not introduced at those places for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and this prompts me to desire that the King should take that of Katarakoui out of M. de la Salle's hands, in order that people be sent thither to feed the cattle and cultivate the land. For the continual transportation of provisions, will cause the expense to always exceed the profit, and the same will be the case with Niagara. However, locating too many settlers there, has its inconveniences, for we must avoid the disease of the country which is to be too much dispersed. The Intendant and I, with the most experienced in the country, shall see what they deem most expedient, in order to communicate it to you this fall, and to afford you an opportunity of acquainting us with your orders.

You may rely on it, My Lord, that I shall study M. de la Salle's interest in whatever depends on me. Chevalier de Tonty intended to have gone to France last year, but I dissuaded him from so doing in order to prevail on him to proceed again in search of news of said Sieur de la Salle. Sieur de Tonty is a very enterprizing lad, of good qualities. It were desirable that the King would do something for him hereafter. We have also Durantays, du Lhu and la Forest with some others who, up to this time have done good service. I shall have the honor to give you this fall, a more reliable account of the conduct and of the capabilities of each of these gentlemen.

I have anticipated the order you gave of permitting our officers to contract marriage; two Captains have already got married, viz. Sieurs de Meloise and Dumus.[1] I expect that Sieur des Cayrac will also get married on returning from the campaign. Those [whose marriages] I opposed are young persons, minors having fathers and mothers who will never consent to such disadvantageous connections as those they wished to form, which cannot be of any benefit to the colony. We have also one lieutenant and two sub-lieutenants married.

I am with profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble, most obedient
and most faithful servant
Ville Marie, 8th June, 1687. The M. DE DENONVILLE.

Louis XIV. to M. de Denonville.

Versailles, 17th June, 1687.

Monsieur le Marquis de Denonville.

Although I have explained to you fully enough my intentions in my despatch of the 5th of the month of February last when I sent you the Treaty of Neutrality concluded at London on the 16th of Novembr of last year, between my subjects and those of the King of England in the Islands and countries of the Continent of America; and have, in my other despatch of the 30th March following, most expressly forbade you to make any attack on the English, I have thought proper to write you this letter to advise you that I have given full power to Sieur de Barillon, my Ambassador to the King of England, and to Sieur de Bonrepaus whom I have sent for that purpose to London, to terminate with the Commissioners whom his Britannic Majesty has named on his part, all the contraventions that might have been committed on that Treaty, the existing differences between the French and English Companies respecting Hudson's bay, and generally all whatsoever may have occurred in that country between the two Nations; And as the said Commissioners have agreed that nothing new should be undertaken by one party or the other during the negotiation, and as it is my intention that such should be observed throughout the whole of the country under my obedience, I am very glad to state too that I desire that you conform to my intentions in that regard, and forbid you making any attack on the English, and that I order you even to prevent any injury being done them in their persons or property pending the continuance of the actual negotiation at London. Willing, on the contrary, that you cultivate a good understanding with those who command in that Country for the said King of England, and that you so act that I may not receive any complaint of your conduct in this matter. And the present, &c., &c., &c.

[1] *Sic.* Qu! Dumas. — ED.

M. de Champigny to M. de Seignelay.

My Lord,

When I was on the point of starting to dispatch the troops for the rendezvous near Montreal, where M. de Denonville had already arrived for the purpose of issuing the necessary orders for his march, Chevalier de Vaudreuil came here in the Sloop *L'arc en Ciel* which anchored at Cape Torment, 9 leagues from Quebec. He brought me the news that the King had the goodness to send some Troops and ammunition for Canada, which arrived very apropos in the present state of affairs, and caused universal joy. Though my presence appear necessary here in this conjuncture, I considered myself, notwithstanding, obliged to leave immediately to get the troops and militia on the march, having agreed with M. de Denonville to that effect and to leave my orders with the Lieutenant-General to whom M. de Denonville had also left his, for the distribution of the troops, in case any should arrive during our absence, as he was considered highly qualified, of which duty he, in fact, has well acquitted himself.

I started, then, on the 31st March with Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who, fatigued as he was and without attendants, was desirous to join M. de Denonville and take a share in the expedition. On the same day, I sent forward the Regulars, and the Militia of the vicinity of Quebec and of the other places on my route. On the 7th of June we arrived at the Camp on St Helen's Island, near Montreal, the place of rendezvous. There I mustered the Regulars and Militia. The former numbered 832 and the latter 930 men, exclusive of a hundred who were engaged to conduct the convoys. The Indians who are domiciled among us in various missions were present to the number of 300.

On the termination of this review, the Marquis de Denonville divided the troops into four battalions, and gave each officer his rank, according to your orders, My Lord. The Militia were in like manner divided into four battalions, and the whole embarked in two hundred flat bottomed batteaux, and in almost as many bark canoes. They will have provisions for three months, including what has been supplied at Montreal and what is to be obtained at Cataraquoy, to which place a hundred men are constantly conveying supplies.

The whole army departed on the 11th June. I followed it for three days, and witnessed the difficulty of the route and the courage both of the Regulars and of the Militia who were obliged to be incessantly in the water up their waist, to haul the batteaux through the cascades and rapids which are frightful even to behold. The Indians performed good service in those difficult places.

As I was in haste to arrive at Cataracouy as early as possible, I left the army and went in advance with a detachment of thirty men for the purpose of giving orders, and of having every necessary in readiness so that the army should make only a brief halt. Owing to the care of one Sieur d'Orvilliers who has been two years in command there, I found every thing in good condition. He is an officer so strongly attached to the service, and who does every thing so well, that I cannot speak to you of him in sufficiently high terms. Whilst there, a good number of Iroquois Indians who happened to be in the neighborhood, were seized, for fear they might furnish intelligence of the march, and in order to weaken so far our enemies. I dispatched a vessel from that place with provisions and ammunition for Niagara where Sieurs de la Durantaye, du Lhu and Tonty are to be with all such Frenchmen and Indians, our allies, as they will be able to collect in the country of the Outtawas.

I, also, had two other barks freighted with provisions and ammunition, and two large flat bottomed bateaux prepared to convey some petereros *(pierriers)* and field pieces for the use of the army; and as I was to return to Quebec before the departure of the King's ships, I tarried only two days and left M. Gaillard, Commissary, there to attend to every thing pursuant to my orders. I met M. de Denonville with the whole army at a place called La Gallette,[1] 25 leagues from Cataracouy, after having surmounted all the rapids and dangerous places. It was very fortunate that the Iroquois did not oppose his march in the different passes where, assuredly, they could have given him a great deal of annoyance and caused him the loss of some of his men. The entire army was in high spirits and in good condition. M. de Denonville expressed to me his satisfaction, especially at the vigor and obedience of the Canadians and of all their officers.

In passing Montreal, I gave the necessary orders to continue the uninterrupted transportation of provisions to Cataracouy for the victualling of the recently arrived troops, and to arrange so that the farmers who have remained at home should, conjointly with the soldiers, perform the work of those who are with the army. I did the same every where I passed.

On arriving at Quebec, I paid a visit on board the King's ships in the harbor. M. d'Amblemont, who commands *l'Arc en Ciel* lying at Cape Torment, came here in a sloop to confer with me, and told me that on the 16th June he had dispatched *la Friponne* and *la Bretonne* to Acadia, as the former could not contain the ammunition and other articles embarked for that place, and as he was sending the soldiers who are designed thither, with orders to take in Coal at Cape Breton. I was to visit *l'Arc en Ciel* at Cape Torment. I found her in good condition. M. d'Amblemont informed me that he could wait no longer for a Merchant vessel which was to bring them supplies, and requested me to have provisions furnished from this country, to be replaced on the arrival of the ship. I did so, for which I have taken a receipt; also from Chevalier d'Harvaux, commander of *la Perle*, from Sieur Croiset, Chief purser acting as Commissary of the fleet, and from the Commissaries of Provisions. *La Perle* and *le Profond* leave this harbor to-morrow to join M. d'Amblimont. *Le Fourgon*, commanded by Sieur de Saint Michel, is obliged to remain here because seventeen of his crew are sick in hospital. I have, with M. d'Harvaux, Dutast sent by M. d'Amblemont, Jullien and Croiset, drawn up a proces verbal thereof, and, afterwards, of the requisition said Sieur de Saint Michel presented to me.

I yesterday received a letter from M. de Denonville, dated Cataracouy the 3d instant advising me that he transmits me fifty Iroquois taken in the vicinity of that place to be forwarded to France in the King's ships agreeably to your orders. I'll take advantage of the delay of *le Fourgon*, on board which I shall have them embarked, and as the crew are insufficient to convey so many prisoners who are difficult enough to guard, I reinforce them by some passengers and seamen belonging to *la Catherine*, a merchantman that was wrecked last autumn near Tadoussac, and could not be got off.

I learn from the same letter of M. de Denonville that Sieur de la Forest had come to give him notice that Sieurs de la Durantaye, du Lhu, and Tonty had arrived at Niagara, the place indicated to them, with a hundred and sixty Frenchmen and nearly 400 Indians; that they had captured 60 Englishmen of New-York, in two divisions, escorted by some Indians, our enemies, and conducted by a French deserter from Canada. They were on their way to seize Michilimaquinac and other posts, and to establish trade there with the Indians to the prejudice of us who are a long time in possession thereof. Those Englishmen will remain

[1] Now Prescott, C. W. — Ed.

prisoners until his return, in retaliation for those of Orange and Manhatte having furnished powder, arms, ball and assistance to our enemies, the Iroquois. They sent, likewise, to the Illinois, to take possession thereof, and to set up the arms of England there. They are our most dangerous enemies from whom we have the most to fear. All these proceedings of the English who are backed by the Iroquois, were, if not stopped, sufficient to ruin the entire commerce of Canada.

I have learned by a letter from M. Gaillard that M. de Denonville left on the 4th instant, the weather being fine, and that they ought to be, by this time in the enemy's country. We have so much the more reason to anticipate a successful issue of this expedition as the Iroquois have not, up to the present time, appeared to us to be advised of it, the residence of Father Lamberville among them having removed all suspicion. He, very fortunately, extricated himself from them, and is at present with the army. If I receive any news of him before the sailing of *le Fourgon* I shall communicate them to you.

Through the care bestowed by the Captains of the King's ships on the troops they have had on board, the latter have suffered less than in past years. Only seventeen died on the voyage; it is true that several have fallen ill since their arrival, and that as many as 130 have been in hospital. They have not been dangerously sick. I know not how they could be attended to, were it not for the assistance we received from the good Hospital Nuns. They exhibit indescribable care and charity, and have expended more in six weeks than they would have done in one year.

The ammunition, pork and brandy were found in good condition in the quantities specified in M. de Maucler's lists. I reserve, My Lord, my answer to the several points of the despatches you write me, until the last vessels, when I shall give you exact information of the entire harvest and of the expense incurred both this and the preceding year; and send you the estimates and advise you fully of the actual state of the Colony.

I leave in a few days according to my arrangement with M. de Denonville on a visit to the several districts to see whether my orders have been executed respecting the harvest and other agricultural labor on the farms of those who are with the army; whether the troops are in good health and live orderly; and whether they adopt measures to oppose the incursions the Iroquois may possibly make into the country. I shall take information, at the same time, of the state of the Churches and Priests' houses in order that Divine Service be performed and spiritual consolation afforded the people.

I shall afterwards go to Montreal to await there the arrival of M. de Denonville and of the army, and to attend to every thing of which I shall render you an account by the last ships.

It would afford me great satisfaction if I were sufficiently fortunate as to be able to arrange matters in a manner that would be agreeable to you, having no stronger passion than to prove to you that I am, with most profound respect, &c.

Quebec, 16th July, 1687.

French Conquest of the Seneca Country.

Minute of the taking possession of the Country of the Iroquois, called Senecas.

On the nineteenth of July, One thousand six hundred and eighty-seven, the Troops commanded by Messire Jacques René de Brisay, Chevalier, Seigneur, Marquis of Denonville and others places, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the whole of Canada and country of New France, in presence of Hector, Chevalier de Callière, Governor of Montreal in said country, Commanding the camp under his orders, and of Philippe Rigaud Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Commander of the King's troops, which being drawn up in the order of battle, Charles Aubert, Sieur de la Chenays, citizen of Quebec, deputed by Messire Jean Bochart, Chevalier, Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Verneuil and other places, Privy Councillor of the King in his counsels, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in all Northern France, presented himself at the head of the Army, who stated and declared that on the requisition of the said Seigneur de Champigny, he was taking possession of the village of Totiakton, as he has done of the other three villages called Gannagaro, Gannondata and Gannongarae, and of a Fort half a league distant from the said village of Gannagaro,[1] together with all the lands in their vicinity as many as they may be, and how far soever they may extend, conquered in His Majesty's name, and to that end has set up in all the said Villages and Forts His said Majesty's Arms, and has caused to be proclaimed in loud voice: *Vive le Roi*, after the said troops had beaten and routed eight hundred Iroquois Senecas, and laid waste, burnt and destroyed their provisions and cabins. Whereof, and of what precedes, the said Sieur De La Chenays Aubert has required that an Acte be granted to him by me Paul Dupuy Esquire, Councillor of the King and his Majesty's Attorney at the Provost's Court of Quebec: Done at the said Village of Totiakton, the largest of the Seneca Villages, in presence of the Reverend Father Vaillant, Jesuit, and of the Officers of the Troops and of the Militia Witnesses with me, the said King's Attorney undersigned, the day and year above mentioned. And have signed the Minute, Charles Aubert de la Chenays, J. René de Brisay, Monsieur de Dénonville, Chevalier de Callière, Fleutelot de Romprey, de Desmeloizes, de Ramezay, François Vaillant of the Society of Jesus, de Grandville, de Longueuil, Saint Paul and Dupuy.

Collated with the Original in my hands, by me the Undersigned Councillor Secretary of his Majesty, and Chief Clerk of the Sovereign Council at Quebec.

Signed PENURET.

Compared and certified according to the collated copy on paper, lying at the Secretary's Office, Castle St. Louis, Quebec, (where it remains) by the undersigned resident Royal Notary in the Prevôté of Quebec, this twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand, seven hundred and fifty.

(Signed) DULAURENS.

[1] For the location of these Seneca towns, see III., 251. — ED.

Francois Bigot, Councillor of the King in his Councils, Intendant of Justice, police and Finance and of the Navy in the whole of New France

To all whom it may concern: We certify that Monsieur Dulaurens who has signed the Collation on the other side is Royal Notary in the Prevôté of Quebec and that credit is to be attached to his signature in his said quality. In Witness whereof, these Presents We have signed and caused to be countersigned by Our Secretary, and have had affixed thereto Our Seal at Arms. Done in Our hotel at Quebec, the first of August, one thousand seven hundred and fifty.

Signed: BIGOT.

By my Lord.
DESCHENAUX.

Establishment of the French at Niagara.

Taking possession of Niagara by Monsieur de Denonville.

JACQUES RENÉ DE BRISSAY, Chevalier Seigneur Marquis of Denonville and other places, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in the whole extent of Canada and Country of New France. TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This day, the last of July of the year One Thousand Six hundred and Eighty-seven, in presence of Hector, Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal in the said Country and Commanding the Camp under our orders, and of Philippe Derigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Commanding the King's troops, being encamped with all the army at the post of Niagara, returning from our expedition against the Seneca villages, We do declare that being come to the camp of Niagara situate south of Lake Ontario, west of the Senecas, twenty-five leagues above them, in the angle of land East of the mouth of the River of the same name which is the outlet of Lake Erie flowing from Lakes Huron, Illinois, the Great Lake Superior and several others beyond the said Great Lake, to reiterate anew for, and in the name of, the King the taking Possession of the said Post of Niagara, several establishments having been formerly made there many years ago by the King's order, and especially by Sieur De La Salle, having spent many years two leagues above the Great Fall of Niagara where he had a Bark built which navigated Lakes Erie, Huron and Illinois for several years, and of which the stocks *(les chantiers)* are still to be seen. Moreover the said Sieur De La Salle having established quarters *(logemens)* and some settlers at the said Niagara in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, which quarters were burned twelve years ago by the Senecas, constituting one of the causes of discontent that, with many others, have obliged us to wage war against them, and as we considered that the houses we have thought fit to rebuild could not remain secure during the war, did we not provide for them, We have Resolved to construct a Fort there in which we have placed one hundred men of the King's troops to garrison the same, under the command of Sieur de Troyes, one of the Veteran Captains of His Majesty's Troops with a necessary number of Officers to command said soldiers.

This Acte has been executed in Our presence and in that of Monsieur Gaillard, Commissary on behalf of the King attached to the Army and subdelegate of Monsieur de Champigny, Intendant of Canada: and We have signed the same with Our hand and sealed it with Our Seal at Arms, and caused it to be subscribed by Mess^{rs} de Callières and Vaudreuil and by M. Gaillard, and countersigned by Our Secretary. And have signed: J. René de Brissay, Marquis de Denonville, le Chevalier de Callières, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Gaillard; and lower down By Monseigneur, Tophlin.

Collated at Quebec with the original remaining in my hands, by me the undersigned Councillor Secretary of the King and Clerk of the Sovereign Council at Quebec. Signed, Penuret, with paraph. Compared at Quebec the 12th 9^{ber}, 1712.

VAUDREUIL.
BEGON.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Ville Marie, 25th August, 1687.

My Lord,

It is time that the expeditions of the English be put a stop to as those of this year have been cut short by the measures we adopted last season in collecting our Coureurs de bois in the redoubts which were constructed at Michilimaquina and at the Detroit of Lake Erie, an account of which I had the honor to communicate to you last year.

It was time, My Lord, to have done what we have just executed against the Senecas in order to reëstablish the French reputation which was destroyed among the entire of the Indian Nations, as well allies as others; the French name was disgraced, but God be thanked, I believe every thing is in good order and promises well. In all that has been done, it appeared to me that God has visibly blessed the King's pious designs for the maintenance and support of this Colony, for which his Majesty evinces love by the support he extends to our Missionaries in order to spread the gospel.

It is certain that had the two English detachments not been stopped and pillaged, and had their brandy and other goods entered Michillimaquina, all our Frenchmen would have had their throats cut by a revolt of all the Hurons and Otaous, whose example would have been followed by all the other Farthest Nations, in consequence of the presents which had been secretly sent to all the Indians. This is a truth notorious to all our Frenchmen.

It is likewise very certain, and known to all, that had we not marched against and humbled the Senecas, all the Otaoas and Hurons would have pulled off the mask, submitted to the Iroquois, and placed themselves under the protection of the English, in whose behalf I know several presents have already been made. M. Dongan played his part very well, and thought he had completely deceived me.

On returning from the Campaign which I have just concluded, I found a merchant from Orange at Ville Marie with a letter from M. Dongan. I send it to you, My Lord, with the answers I had caused to be given thereunto. I consider it important that you take the trouble

yourself to read both letter and answer. I should wish they were shorter and less wearisome, but, My Lord, it seems to me of consequence that you see with your own eyes whatever evil has been committed by M. Dongan, in order to apply a remedy to it; and by me, so that you may have the goodness to inform me thereof, that I may correct myself and not fall again into errors which possibly I shall frequently repeat.

I have considered it my duty to detain, as I do, the English prisoners, and to write as I have done to Colonel Dongan, who is a shrewd man in money making, being certain that the Senecas after having been beaten, had gone to see him, and knowing from some deserters who had been prisoners *(esclaves)* among them, that the English merchants have supplied all their munitions of war to be made use of against us. This English merchant has even told us that the merchants of Orange had, since the publication of the Treaty, furnished the Indians with all that they required against us.

I annex to my letter and to that of Colonel Dongan all the papers found in the hands of the English, whereof I have had an abstract made which I send you.

Before concluding what regards the English, I must inform you, that I have received the Treaty of Neutrality concluded by the King on the 16th of November, and that it shall be most religiously observed on my part, but I must warn you that in the direction of Orange, it will be executed only as far as will suit them; and that it will not be in the power of M. Dongan's government to cause it to be respected, even were he so inclined, he having, for money, divested himself of the finest right he possessed, that of nominating the Magistrates and other officers,[1] whereby he was enabled to execute the orders of the King of England. Thus he is, now, no longer master of the Merchants with whose interests, in order to extract money from them, he must identify himself, as he has just done in dispatching thirty canoes which the sixty prisoners were carrying to Michilimaquina.

I have learned that the King of England sent an Intendant, this year, to Manat, and that M. Dongan had made use of his authority to send him back by the same ship which had brought him, because that Intendant wished to follow his instructions, and M. Dongan wished him to be his clerk.[2]

Respecting the English, My Lord, I have nothing to add to what I already had the honor to write you, viz[t] that I know not greater enemies to the colony than they, and that no reliance can be placed on any treaty with them, after the manner they have acted towards their own people of Virginia and Pennsylvania, on whom they caused the Iroquois to make to make war so as to deprive them of every pretext for trading with those colonies.

I perceive that Sieurs de Tonty, La Durantaye and, du Lhu have, all three, done right good service; they brought three hundred Indians of all nations, who have engaged anew in this war, without being able to decline it.

The first thing with which I occupied myself on my arrival[3] was to select a post easy to be fortified for securing our bateaux to the number of 200 and as many canoes. We cut 2,000 palisades the planting of which we completed in the forenoon of the 12th of July.

I had brought with me Sieur Doruilliers as the most capable to be entrusted with the whole of Canada; for the loss of this post would be the assured loss of the entire country, a circumstance that obliged me to leave 440 men there.

[1] Alluding to the Charter granted to the city of Albany.

[2] See III., 421, 422.

[3] At Irondequoit Bay. There seems to be something omitted in this part of the letter, when compared with the abstract, post, p. 346. — Ed.

On the 12th at three o'clock in the afternoon, I marched with all our French and Indian allies and Christians having caused them to take 15 days' provisions. We made only three leagues that day across the woods which are very open.

On the 13th about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having passed through two dangerous defiles, we arrived at the third where we were very vigorously attacked by 800 Senecas, 200 of whom fired, wishing to attack our rear whilst the remainder of their force would attack our front, but the resistance they met produced such a great consternation, that they soon resolved to fly. All our troops were so overpowered by the extreme heat and the hard day's work we had done, that we were obliged to bivouac on the field until the morrow. We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages, who cut the dead into quarters, as is done in slaughter houses, in order to put them into the kettle; the greater number were opened while still warm that their blood might be drank. Our rascally Otaoas distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities and by their poltroonery, for they withdrew from the battle; the Hurons of Michilimaquina did very well, but our Christian Indians surpassed all and performed deeds of valor, especially our Iroquois, on whom we dared not rely having to fight against their relatives. The Illinois did their duty well. We had five or six men killed on the spot, French and Indians, and about twenty wounded, among the first of whom was the Reverend Father Angleran, Superior of all the Otaous Missions, by a very severe gunshot. It is a great misfortune to us that this wound will prevent him going back again, for he is a man of capacity, of great influence, who has conducted every thing at Michilimaquina well, and to whom the country is under vast obligations. For had it not been for him, the Iroquois had been long since established at Michilimaquina.

We learned from some prisoners who had deserted from the Senecas, that this action cost them 45 men killed on the field, 25 of whom we had seen at the shambles, the others were seen buried by this deserter; and over 60 very severely wounded.

On the next day, the 14th July, we marched to one of the large villages where we encamped. We found it burned and a fort which was very advantageously situated on a hill quite nigh, abandoned.

I deemed it our best policy to employ ourselves in laying waste the Indian corn, which was in vast abundance in the fields, rather than follow a flying enemy to a distance, and excite our troops to catch only some straggling fugitives.

We learned from the prisoners who had deserted that the Senecas had gone to the English where they will not be allowed to want for any thing necessary to make war on us. Since that time, I have had no news of the enemy.

We remained until the 24th at the four Seneca villages; the two larger being distant 4 leagues, and the others, 2. All that time was spent in destroying the corn which was in such great abundance that the loss, including the old corn in *cache* which we burnt, and that standing, was computed, according to the estimate afterwards made, at 400 thousand Minots. These four villages must exceed 14 to 15 thousand souls. There was a vast quantity of hogs which were killed; and a great many both of our Indians and French were attacked with a general rheum, which put every one out of humor.

'Tis an unfortunate trade, My Lord, to command savages who, after the first broken head, ask only to return home carrying with them the scalp which they lift off like a skull cap. You cannot conceive the trouble I had to detain them until the corn was cut.

During the whole time we were in the Senecas country, we did not see a single enemy; a circumstance that caused me divers alarms lest they had been at our bateaux, but fright and consternation deterred them too much from effecting their first threats.

On returning to our bateaux I should have greatly wished to have been able to visit other villages, but the sickness, the extreme fatigue among all, and the impatience of the savages who began to disband, determined me to proceed to Niagara to erect a fort there, in their presence, and point out to them a secure asylum in order to encourage them to come this winter to war in small bodies. I have selected the angle on the Seneca side formed by the Lake and the river; it is the most beautiful, the most pleasing and the most advantageous site on the whole of that Lake; the Map and plan of which you will have if Sieur de Ville Marie[1] will take the trouble, for I tormented him considerably for it. I sent him expressly to Quebec that he may have nothing else to do.

This post being in a state of defence I have left a hundred men there, under the command of Sieur de Troyes, who made the Northern expedition last year. He is a worthy fellow, who richly deserves some share in the honor of your good graces and protection. He can be very useful to you in many things; he is prudent and intelligent, very willing, and has served well on land.

This post has caused much joy to our farther Indians, who, having no place of retreat, scarcely dared to approach the enemy. They have made me great promises—especially our Illinois—to harrass the Iroquois this winter by a number of small parties.

M. de Tonty has gone back with them designing to invite them to come. He could collect only very few Indians, because an alarm had been spread among them that a large body of Senecas had set out against them last fall on a war expedition, which fell through on the information M. Dongan gave the Senecas that I was about to attack them. Meanwhile, as that large force had been six days out, it was the cause that only 80 came of the six @ 700 savages on whom we relied, and that M. de Tonty was obliged to go to join Sieurs du l'hut and de la Durantais at the fort of the Detroit, being unable to take the Senecas in the rear.

On quitting Niagara, I left M. de Vaudreuil there for a few days with the troops to cut fire-wood, after having done what was necessary for the lodgings. The inconvenience of that post is, that timber is at a distance from it. M. de Callieres and I returned without delay with our militia, to issue such commands as are necessary for the interior of the Colony.

M. de Vaudreuil had, likewise, orders to tarry some days at Cataracouy, in order to have fire-wood prepared for the garrison, for it begins to be somewhat distant from the fort. He is to leave a hundred men at that post under the command of Sieur Doruilliers who does very efficient service there, with spirit and affection. As his son has his Company, he has no allowances but those that you will have the goodness to grant him. [You will not have it in your power to grant any] to a better subject.

I left in those two forts some officers of good will, who have requested my leave to remain there. I send you a list of them. They will suffer somewhat at those posts.

I have not told you, My Lord, that the militia who left the lower part of the Colony, will, on their return to their homes, have made four hundred and sixty leagues from the 24th May to about the 17th or 18th of August. You will readily conceive, what with the two forts which it was necessary to build, the destruction of the enemy's Corn and the thirty leagues of road we had to travel by land, going and coming, that they will not have been idle.

[1] *Sic.* Villeneuve. — Ed.

It was altogether impossible to effect any more than we accomplished, for provisions would have failed us, had we made a longer stay. It is full thirty years since I had the honor to serve, but I assure you, My Lord, that I never saw anything that comes near to this in labor and fatigue. In like manner, I can state to you that, without Mess^rs^ de Callieres and de Vaudreuil, I could not have accomplished what I have. I can not too highly congratulate myself on their skill.

M. de Callieres has considerable experience, and is very anxious for the good of the service. He has skilfully led both the troops and the militia. You can confide in him and be sure that he will do well whatever is at all feasible. He is a man of detail, is provident of supplies, and would thoroughly prepare commissaries of stores; loving order there is no fear that he will allow any roguery where he has the superintendence. I know it by experience.

As for M. de Vaudreuil, no one can serve with more zeal than he. I depend greatly on him to discipline our troops, and to keep our officers to their duty. He already applies himself particularly thereto.

I had the honor to advise you by my last letter, previous to my marching, that I had placed the old Carignan Officers at the head of our militia, and that I had selected the honestest of the colonists for captains. I am obliged to tell you, in their favor, that there are among them some of great distinction whom I would wish you much to appoint Captains. It would be a benefit to the country, by reason of the emulation that would be excited by the selection of the honestest persons, and it would assist them in settling their Seigniories.

I have conferred the Company, the blank commission whereof you had the kindness to send me, on Sieur Dugué, the oldest of all the Carignan Captains. He commanded all our militia.

Sieurs de la Durantais, Grandville, dupuis, Berthier, la Valterie and Longeuil, who have done good service, would make very excellent Captains. It is out of my power to express in adequate terms how much Grandville and Longueuil, to each of whom I had confided four companies, have distinguished themselves beyond the others. You conferred last year on the latter a Lieutenancy which he has accepted with pleasure. He is the oldest of 7 brothers of the family of le Moyne which has been ennobled by the King in consequence of the services their late father has rendered in this country. It is, with that of Lebert brother-in-law of said Le Moyne, a family I cannot too highly praise, and which is most deserving of distinction on account of the good conduct and good education of the children of both families, who are all honest people. I should wish much to have something whereby to distinguish them ; there were three brothers le Moyne[1] in the northern expedition who participated largely in whatever good was accomplished under M. d Troyes.

We have still remaining some fine young men of whom we could make good subaltern officers. It would afford a very sure means to subsist and discipline them, for what can their fathers do for them who have no bread to give them, and have, I know not how many children to support; too big to enlist in the Cadets, the woods are their resource, where a great many become bad boys.

During the campaign I left Sieur Prevost, Major of Quebec, in command here. I cannot adequately express to you how worthily he has acquitted himself of that charge, and the Intendant highly praises the services we have received from him.

I took the liberty last year, My Lord, to demand of you some regular troops. I know not but I may have insisted too strongly on the point. The country's welfare alone prompted my

[1] Lemoyne d'Iberville, Lemoyne de St. Helène, Lemoyne de Chateaugué. *French's Louisiana Historical Collections, Part* III., 11. — Ed.

warmth. Possibly in regard of the zeal I entertained for the good of the Colony, I may have done or written something displeasing to you. If I have done, or if I do, so, My Lord, I assure you that you ought to pardon me sooner than any other, as I am thoroughly penetrated with respect for you, with desire to please you, and with anxiety to efficiently serve the King and the Religion which, in his Majesty's heart, enters more largely in the attachment he feels towards the country, than does the desire to conquer this New World.

You have ordered me to send you the prisoners we should make; you perceive, My Lord, that it has been impossible for us to make any among the Senecas, and even if we had taken some, we could not dispense with distributing them among our Indian allies and among those who had captured them in the vicinity of Fort Cataracouy who are, also, native Iroquois, but, for the most part, of the villages on the north side of Lake Ontario where there were some fine and extensive (towns) which the Iroquois on the south of said Lake have forced to join them. This has begun to increase the number of the latter, and to depopulate that North shore. Our interest would be to repeople these villages because they would be better allies and more more under our control.

Among the number of these prisoners are some I must not send you, as they are near relatives of our Christian Indians; some, moreover, belong to the village of the Onontagues, whom we must manage in order to detach them from the Senecas, and to make use of them in negotiations, should we find such necessary.

As I have no news, as yet, of the movements of the Iroquois, I should wish much not to divest myself of the whole of those prisoners. However, as you desire [to have] them, I shall content myself to retain those who, I think, can be of use to me, and will not be guilty of all the disorders that the others have committed. In the meantime, My Lord, if you be so good as to detain them in a place whence they can be withdrawn in case of need, could a general accommodation eventually be brought about, I believe it would be of great benefit to the country. As regards all their women and children, I have distributed them throughout our missions in the colony. All the men, women and children have had themselves baptized, evincing joy on the occasion. It remains to be seen if it be in good faith.

This war, My Lord, was an absolute necessity, for without it, all was lost. On the other hand, however, the condition of the country—open on all sides, without a single place inclosed by walls—does not require war. In truth, had we to do with people who were aware of their advantages over us, what injury could they not inflict on us. Doubtless, it is God alone who blinds them.

We have, assuredly, humbled the Senecas to a considerable degree, and seriously lowered their pride and raised the courage of their Indian enemies. I had greatly desired to be able to go to the other villages also, but was forced to yield to the impuissance of our troops. I had clearly foreseen this vexation.

To accomplish such a purpose effectually, we should have to march by divers routes to all those villages, and this it was that caused me to ask for more troops than you were disposed to grant me, aware, as I was, that the enemy could muster a force of more than 15 @ 1800 able men.

You are aware, my Lord, that I could not employ the troops you sent me this year, as they had arrived too late, for I was already on the march when the first ship—that of M. Damblimont—reached our first Settlements. The Intendant, no doubt, has advised you of the condition in which they landed and the number of sick among them.

We must now bethink ourselves of another campaign. In this it will be necessary to spare our Colonists who would be absolutely ruined, if we were to draft as many of them as on this occasion. However, 400 of them at least will be absolutely necessary, for assuredly, My Lord, they are the very best we have. I don't think I can have our Coureurs de bois next year; again, trade must not be destroyed and merchants and private persons ruined by depriving them of the means of getting their peltries down to discharge the debts of the colonists who, without this assistance, would find it difficult to live.

This war has greatly diverted the trade of our Coureurs de bois whom I must send in search of their furs. They would have to be sent to engage the Indians to follow them, but I doubt if we could collect together the same Indians next year that we have done this; for, besides costing a great deal to collect and start them, they are not in the habit of waging war in large bodies, as they find it difficult to subsist when marching together in the woods; and these parties dwindle away in a short time, every one being at liberty to return at the first freak of fancy that takes him. The most sure course, then, is to rely only on ourselves, by managing our Christian Indians some of whom we want with us; for if we had none of them in an expedition the enemy's Indians would continually harrass us on our flank and rear.

I believe we may assure ourselves, that, with the help of God, we will next year be able to do as much to the village of the Onontagues or that of the Cayugas as we have done to the four Seneca Villages, although the route is much more difficult in consequence of the lakes and rivers that are to be crossed, and of their distance from the great Lake Ontario. But forcing these Indians too much may have its inconveniences; by obliging them to retire and establish themselves elsewhere, we will make them remove from us and locate themselves where it will be impossible for us to reach, and to go in a body to, them: Being, thus, no longer under our control, they will become thereby more dangerous.

As I do not yet learn what the enemy meditates against us, I must defer, until the last ships, writing to you on the interests of the country in connection with the war, and the advantages of peace which is most necessary for the maintenance of the Colony; but the question is, to secure that peace. This is not a very easy matter, having the English for enemies. All these considerations cause me to desire constantly, My Lord, that his Majesty would make an arrangement about their country, either by exchange or otherwise. That, My Lord, is the surest means to maintain this Colony and promote the Religion, for as long as all will be neighbors, the merchants, envious and jealous, will always trouble us. I believe, however, that they are much puzzled about their trade, which will be interrupted by this war, especially if the Far Nations perform their duty against the Iroquois as they have promised me to do.

I am, in the mean while, very uneasy about this Colony, exposed as it is and open on all sides, for it is impossible to place all the people under cover. The Intendant and I are about to endeavor to oblige the people to construct redoubts and to surround themselves with pallisades, but each farmer would wish his house had a citadel, and no one will quit his home, much less form villages. We shall confer together so as to effect therein whatever will be possible for the security of the people, who may by example be brought to consent, after the enemy will have broken some heads.

As regards inclosed places, can you, My Lord, eventually dispense with inclosing Ville Marie with walls? It would have been accomplished since the time you appropriated 20,000^{lb} per

annum for fortifications in this country, had that fund been well employed. You will have to direct your attention, My Lord, to this and the other points, where safe posts are required, such as la preyrye de la Magdelaine and Chambly where we want villages inclosed simply by walls, like Catarocouy, which will be finished next June, according to the plan Villeneuve is to send you. Mr. de Vauban will possibly growl at the one bastion erected there, but we required a powder magazine and a vault, above which are two rooms to store flour, and over that a place from which the shores *(bordages)* of the lake and the barks are visible.

The preservation of that place is of the greatest moment; but it will be always exposed to destruction as long as it will not be cultivated by settlers who ought to be fixed there; but in order to attract them thither, the trade to be carried on there, must no longer be in the hands of a single person.

I am resolved not to grant any new licenses this year, so as to afford the old traders an opportunity to finish their operations, and to return, all of them, next season. Some order will have to be afterwards introduced to put a stop to the debaucheries in the woods which are corrupting our entire youth and ruining every body, for our rascals consider nothing too dear to purchase a Squaw with. To effect this reform it will be necessary to consult with the most enlightened and wisest people in the country in order to avoid all inconveniences, and to do every thing for the good of the Colony. The Intendant and I will apply our best energies to accomplish this.

Du Lut's brother, who has recently arrived from the rivers above Lake of the Allenemipigons,[1] assures me that he saw more than 1,500 persons come trade with him. They were very sorry to find he had not sufficient goods to satisfy them. They are of the tribes accustomed to resort to the English of Port Nelson or River Bourbon where they say they did not go, this year, through Sieur du Lhu's inflence. It remains to be seen whether they speak truth.

The overland route to them is frightful on account of its length and of the difficulty of finding food. He says there is a multitude of people beyond these, and that no trade is to be expected with them expect by sea, for by the rivers the expense is too great.

I have informed Sieur de Tonty that you were very desirous he should discover means to learn some tidings of M. de la Salle. He has set out with the design to direct all his attention to that object.

The discovery of the mouth of the River Micissipi would, it appears to me, be more certain according to the plan he proposed, but I doubt if he be in a condition to incur that expense unless you assist him. I conversed freely with him about that means, and the reasons M. de la Salle had for not adopting it. He told me it had been, indeed, his idea, but he could not accomplish it in consequence of the obstacles he would have experienced at this side.

M. de la Salle has made grants at Fort S[t] Louis to several Frenchmen who reside there since many years without desiring to return. This has given rise to infinite disorders and abominations. Those to whom M. de la Salle has given grants are all young men without any means of cultivating the soil; every 8 days they marry Squaws after the Indian fashion of that country, whom they purchase from the parents at the expense of the merchants. Those fellows pretending to be independent and masters on their distant lands, every thing is in disorder. This year 10 plotted to go off to the English, and conduct them to the Micissipy. The war arrested that. The remedy for all these things is, that all those distant grants be revoked by the King; that the garrisons of these distant posts be changed every two years at

[1] See Note 2, supra, p. 301. — Ed.

least; that trade be carried on in future only at the posts to be selected and fortified, and where there will be commandants. Plans must be drawn up to introduce discipline among our people, to regulate the trade on the rivers by associations among our Coureurs de bois, otherwise they will all turn Savages and ruin commerce. And it is for this purpose that companies of Canadians are necessary, under commanders of greater austerity than simple captains.

The copper, a sample of which I sent M. Arnou, is found at the head of Lake Superior. The body of the mine has not been yet discovered. I have seen one of our Voyageurs who assures me that some 15 months ago, he saw a lump of 200 weight, as yellow as gold, in a river which falls into Lake Superior. When heated, it can be cut with an axe, but the superstitious Indians regarding this bowlder as a good spirit, would never permit him to take any of it away. His opinion is that the frost undermined this piece, and that the mine is in that river. He has promised me to search for it on his way back. Should it turn out of the same quality as the piece I sent Mr. Arnou, it would be an excellent good thing, being very pure, and free from loss. For that reason, it will be necessary that barks be constructed on Lakes Ontario and Erié above and below the Falls, wherefrom great advantages would accrue, but the body of the mine must first be discovered. This knowledge cannot be acquired from the Indians, who believe they would all die did they show it to us.

I have just received news from our forts at the head of Hudson's Bay *(du nord)* where d'Yberville is in command. He has had advices this fall that an English ship was in the nip near Charleston island. He sent four men thither across the ice to reconnoitre. One gave up through sickness, the others were surprised, taken and bound. One of the latter escaped though fired at several times. He communicated the news, and the other two were put, bound, into the bottom of the hold, where they passed the winter. The commander of the vessel hunting on the Island in the Spring, was drowned. The time being arrived for setting sail, the pilot and the others, to the number of six, caused the weaker of the two Canadians to work, and obliged him to assist them. One day, whilst the most of the English were aloft, the Canadian seeing only two on the deck grasped an axe with which he split both their skulls, then ran to release his comrade; they seized the arms and went on deck, where from being slaves they became masters. They next steered the ship towards our forts, and met Sieur d'Yberville on the way who had fitted out a vessel to go and release his men at the moment the ice would permit him. This English ship was laden with merchandise and provisions which have been of great service to our forts.

I am with much respect
My Lord
Your most humble, most
obliged and most obedient
Servant
The M. DE DENONVILLE.

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 465.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 469.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 466.]

Summary of M. de Denonville's Despatch and M. de Seignelay's Remarks thereupon.

Extracts from the Summary of the Letters and the Answers thereto.

M. de Denonville. Villemarie, 25 Aug., 1687.

Had the two English detachments not been captured, and had they entered Missilimakinak with their Brandy, all the French would have been killed by a Revolt of all the Hurons and Outawas who would have been followed by all the other farthest Tribes.

It is, also, certain that, had the Senecas not been attacked, those Hurons and Outawas would have submitted to the Iroquois under English protection.

Colonel Dongan had adopted measures for that purpose, and he sends a letter which this Colonel wrote him with his answer to it.

He has learned that the Senecas whom he had driven from their villages have retired among the English, and that the English Merchants have given those Savages all their munitions of war to be used against the French.

* * * * *

He knows no greater enemies than the English, and it is impossible to rely on any Treaty with them.

I explain to Mess^{rs} de Barillon and Beaurepos the grounds of complaint his Majesty has against Colonel Dongan's conduct, respecting the shelter and aid he has afforded to the Iroquois contrary to the execution of the Treaty of Neutrality, and I notify them that it is his Majesty's intention that they complain thereof.

* * * * *

He perceives that they are making great exertions to undertake explorations towards the Mississipi, in order to discover its outlet by the sea, and attract to themselves the trade of the Illinois.

He has returned from his expedition against the Senecas, and has sent the militia back to their settlements to attend to their harvest.

He remarks that the troops have experienced great difficulty in surmounting the Rapids and that there were as many as three hundred persons lamed in the legs and feet by the rocks and stones.

He had fixed the 10th July as a rendezvous for the Indian allies and French Coureur de bois, and they arrived at the place designated at the precise hour.

There were 170 Frenchmen under the command of Sieurs de Tonty, La Durantaye and Du Luth with three hundred Indians of all nations.

* * * * * *

He has received intelligence from Acadia that the English encroach openly on the King's territory in that quarter; and from what is written to him on the subject, it seems that Sieur Perrot is in league with the Governor of Boston.

If that continue, there is no more means of resistance. It would be much better to wage war against the English than against the Iroquois.

The passages omitted in the above summary, as denoted by Asterisks, are already printed at length in M. de Denonville's despatch of the 25th of August, 1687, supra, p. 336, *et seq.* They are not accompanied by any observations of the Minister. — Ed.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir on the present state of Affairs in Canada in reference to the Iroquois War. 27 October, 1687.

The state of affairs at present is so similar in all respects to what is stated in the Memoir I had the honor to send My Lord last year, that I cannot enlarge this without repeating the major portion of the articles comprehended in that memoir.

To avoid all repetition and to be less tedious I shall most humbly supplicate My Lord to be pleased to order an account to be rendered him of the paragraphs that treat of the necessity that existed for declaring war, and of the dangers of its continuance any longer than is consistent with the interests of the country. In the present situation of the settlements it can ruin and utterly destroy the entire colony.

My Lord's observation in the Memoir of the King of the 30th of March of this year is perfectly true—that nothing is so prejudicial to the colony as war, and that its continuance is capable of ruining it. But, My Lord, you know better than I that we cannot master events.

In my Memoir of last year it is stated, that the most certain means to destroy the enemy was to march simultaneously against all the Five Nations, and to ruin them all at once, but, more troops were requisite than you had sent us, and they were needed two years ago so as to be employed during this season, for preparations must be made a long time in advance in this country, where a supply of workmen does not exist, as in France.

The expense you incur mortifies me more than you can imagine, and the more so, as you wish to see it terminate. I should like to serve you to your satisfaction, but that is impossible in this instance.

Hitherto the Iroquois business was represented to you as easy, and, when I arrived, every one's mind was impressed with this absence of difficulty. Abbé de St. Vallier, our bishop, can tell you, My Lord, that I had no dispute here with those who entertained that opinion except to make them understand its difficulties with our number of troops, and the sad consequences of a war, so long as we should have a hundred enemies on our hands.

All this, My Lord, is not for the purpose of justifying myself for not having accomplished more than we have done. God is witness of, and knows, my good intention, my troubles and the enemies I have had, which prevented me doing any more. Those who, hitherto, have obstinately believed the affair so easy have learned by experience that they were greatly mistaken; they have been witnesses of all that transpired, and know whether I could do any better. God knows if it will do any good. We have no news from the Iroquois villages and learn nothing yet of their sufferings. If our Indian allies perform their duty, the former will suffer immensely, and [our Indians] will derive great advantage from Fort Niagara.

My Memoir of last year states that I fully expected to see all the Senecas, after I had put them to flight, retire to the other four Iroquois cantons in order to receive supplies of provisions. They are there, as we anticipated. It remains to be seen in what manner this war will be continued for the purpose of both attacking the enemy and protecting ourselves from their incursions.

M. Dongan sustains the enemy and sends him arms and ammunition, reunites the Five Nations and encourages them to wage war on us. His last letter of the ninth of September of this year,[1] which I transmit to you, affords proof of this. It is in answer to mine to him of the 22d August last, duplicate whereof I send herewith. It is very necessary, My Lord, that you have an abstract made of the contents of said letters, and especially that you take the trouble of reading that of the Colonel.

He cannot say that what he has done has been in reprisal for my having detained the English, as I had not seen nor detained them until I knew that M. Dongan had contravened the third article of the last Treaty of Neutrality of the 16th November, 1686.

[1] See III., 472.—Ed.

He, himself, acknowledges in his letter that he had supplied arms and ammunition to our enemies only on learning that I was marching into their country.

I detained the English prisoners longer than I would have done had I not been apprehensive that, by sending them back early, they would be able to get up some new expedition. Now, there is nothing to fear this year, the season being too far advanced.

On my return from Montreal to this city I received the King's letter of the 16th June forbidding me to make any attack on the English, and even commanding me to prevent any injury being done them either in their persons, or goods pending the negotiations for an arrangement. I've considered it my duty to obey blindly his Majesty's orders by sending back all the prisoners, which I have accordingly done.

Yet, My Lord, you see that the English are our most dangerous enemies, and the more so because they do us all the harm possible and we cannot do them any, so long as the King will forbid us undertaking anything against them, and we have only complaint as a resource, whereby we shall never obtain satisfaction.

You will remark, My Lord, by Colonel Dongan's letter, as you have perceived by his preceding one, that he claims the Iroquois as belonging to the King of England. This pretence came into existence the year Monsieur de la Barre sent him notice of his march against his enemies. You will see, My Lord, how I answer Colonel Dongan on this point.

The Memoirs I have sent, your Lordship of the rights of the King over these countries;[1] these I now transmit, and all My Lord must have besides, sufficiently prove that the King's rights must prevail over all the Colonel's pretensions which have no valid grounds save the desire for territory and the right of availability and convenience.

They could easily attract all the trade, with the aid of that powerful people, if permitted to proceed.

The King orders me to observe great moderation towards the English. But, My Lord, can any one wage war more openly against us than M. Dongan has done, when he admits that he aids and abets our enemies with whatever ammunition is necessary to operate against us.

It is very proper, My Lord, that you inform me of the King's intentions regarding the conduct I have to observe in such cases, and that his Majesty adopt very sure measures to oblige the King of England's subjects to execute the last Treaty of Neutrality, by no longer protecting our enemies, against whom they ought to declare themselves, considering the good understanding that exists between the King and his Britannic Majesty.

But I greatly fear, My Lord, that we shall ever be the dupes of those treaties which we shall execute in good faith and they will not observe in this country, so long as M. Dongan will remain in it, and a Governor of New England will not make it a point of honor to execute to the letter his Master's orders.

I doubt not but the King will easily arrange all things with the King of England, but you ought to consider that so long as we shall prevent the descent of our Indian allies on Orange, and thwart the design of the English to extend their trade among all the Nations, they will always be affording all needful aid to our enemies in order, if possible, to destroy us. It would be much better for us, My Lord, to declare war against them and pillage their villages, than to see ourselves plundered through their agency.

All my letters of last year have sufficiently informed you, My Lord, of the difficulties that oppose the carrying on this war; of the expenses to be incurred and of the length of

[1] Supra, p. 303.

time it must continue. I would very much wish to be able to apply a remedy thereto according to your desire. It would be well for the Colony were the war to terminate as soon as it had commenced. But, if we do not humble a powerful and haughty enemy, what safety can there be for the Colony?

In my letters of the month of June, and of the 8th of November of last year, I had the honor to submit to you my opinion as to what I considered most expedient to crush our enemy and abridge this war, by requiring a complement of troops sufficient to proceed, at once, against all the Iroquois villages by different routes. That was the decision of [the council of] war. To insure success, time for preparation is necessary and it is not to be expected that troops can take the field the same year they arrive. If you approve this plan, My Lord, you will so inform us, in order that we may put ourselves in a condition the year following to make a general attack on all the villages. Meanwhile, this year, we would amuse and effectually disquiet the foe by small redoubts which we will be able to construct at La Famine, and at the mouth of the Onnontagué river, and by parties we hope to detach to harrass the enemy whilst hunting. Your orders, which we shall receive in the month of May, will determine us on the various matters we shall have to do.

The intelligence your Lordship sends me in your letter of the 25th June of this year, of the formation of a considerable Company in England to erect a commercial establishment in the neighborhood of the Great Lake called *La Mer douce*, which is Lake Huron of Michilimakinac, is a consequence of that grand design which began to unfold itself as early as last year by the dispatch of the Colonel's canoes which were at Missilimakinac, where the latitude was taken as I had the honor to advise you last year. M. Dongan thought he had gained his point, his people having been well received and supported by the powerful and redoubtable Iroquois of whom he had become master. He has continued his design this year with two parties of thirty men each commanded by officers.

I have had intelligence, this spring, from New England that Colonel Dongan was preparing to send them a reinforcement, and I am certain his plan was to occupy the post at Niagara. Had they succeeded, the country was lost. There they are circumvented. Nothing is left, but to maintain that affair. The Memoir of the King's Rights sufficiently establishes our possession of all the Lakes.

The post I have fortified at Niagara is not a novelty since Sieur de la Salle had a house there which is in ruins since a year when Serjeant La Fleur, whom I placed at Cataracouy, abandoned it through the intrigues of the English who solicited the Senecas to expel him by threats. My Lord if you do not wish to lose the entire trade of the Upper Country, we must maintain that post; also that of Dulhu, at the Detroit, and the possession of all the lakes.

There is no doubt but we must prepare to wage war effectually, and to furnish troops to the whole of the country; for to guarantee it against any incursions of the enemy whilst the settlements are scattered and surrounded by forests for more than seventy leagues on both sides of the river, is naturally impossible how many troops soever there be; so much the more so, when we have not enough of them to station in all the Seigniories. Many of these are unprovided with troops as we have been obliged to post a great number of them at Montreal, which is the head of the Colony. It has been out of my power to station as many as I should wish at Chambly or at the other frontier posts of the country.

My Lord will please to reflect that, previous to undertaking any expedition against the enemy, we must decide on leaving a body of troops on the frontier; otherwise, whilst we will

be ascending the rapids, they will be easily able, with small parties in the woods, to lay waste and ruin the whole country. It is not to be expected that all the rapids can, hereafter, be ascended as freely as this year, for according to all appearances, we shall have to contest each rapid.

Two hundred men additional are required, My Lord, for the protection of forts Cataracouy and Niagara. In going to the enemy's villages by land, four hundred men more must be detached from the army to guard our bateaux and the provisions, as, if that post be captured, it will involve the loss of the Country.

My Lord is aware that, we require besides a force capable of resisting the enemy who, when united, can put two thousand men under arms.

It is, again, necessary for My Lord to consider that we cannot have, this year, any Indians with us except those belonging to our settlements, who do not muster at this time more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty men capable of taking the field, as a number of them have died of the Measles since our return from the Campaign.

The difficulties we have to surmount, in order to reach the villages, are greater than those we have experienced this year. It is twenty leagues over land from Lake Ontario to the nearest village. The roads are much more difficult than that of Seneca. Swamps and large rivers are to be crossed in going to the Onnontagué and Cayuga towns. The Map which I submit to My Lord will give him an idea of the route; the difficulties are as nothing as far as I am concerned, but I must render an account of all the impediments.

Though the blessing of God attend this expedition also, there is reason to fear that, should we destroy only one village without being sufficiently strong to proceed against all the others at the same time, we may oblige the enemy to take up a position in the depths of the forest within twenty leagues of us, a distance that would not be the least obstacle to their coming and finding us, whilst they would be beyond our reach to chastise them, which would be a great misfortune for us.

My Lord must not expect our being able to bring into the field, this year, more than four hundred Colonists without ruining the country, which would suffer too much were we to make a greater levy.

My Lord must, also, be informed that in our several expeditions we cannot dispense with the Militia even should all the troops I demand be sent, as they are more conversant than any others with this mode of warfare.

Wherefore I have been obliged to form a Company of one hundred and twenty men under the command of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, and four good lieutenants, natives of the country, most worthy men, whom I have stationed at the head of the Island of Montreal. I have selected them from among our Coureurs de bois, whom I brought from the Campaign. They cannot return with safety to the Outtawas to get their peltries, because the enemy has parties out on the Outtawa river. I hope to derive great advantages from this Company for the security of the country. It will cost us only six sous French currency, a day, for each man.

It is highly important for the service and the public interests that My Lord provide us with means to confer some benefit on the Provincial Officers in our service; otherwise my employing them will be their ruin, and I shall discredit myself in their estimation, so that it will be no longer in my power to enter [upon] any service. Wherefore, My Lord, it is highly expedient, should you send us troops which you cannot avoid doing, that you furnish us means to commission those officers whom we shall consider qualified. The Intendant and I send you a list of those we know are the most capable.

M. de Champigny and I have begun to deduct from the *haute paies*[1] in each Company sufficient to add sixteen ensigns to the old Companies at the rate of fifteen sous a day, which they are allowed. It is a trifling advantage which we are able to confer on sixteen young men who are without bread, who will serve us well, who belong to the first families of the country, who are capable of being good officers, and all of whom are brave fellows. I thought, My Lord, that you would approve it. In this way all the Companies, both new and old, will be uniform in officers.

But, My Lord, this is not yet enough. You must have the goodness to give employment to those whose names we shall transmit to you. It were well, likewise, if you were so good as to make Captains of those Lieutenants of Regulars who distinguish themselves by their application, in order to create a spirit of emulation in the rest: For the surest way to get them to serve in a proper manner, is to promote those who do better than others.

A lieutenancy and ensigncy have become vacant in Iberville's company in consequence of a terrible misfortune. Chevalier de La Guerre, Lieutenant of said Company, being intoxicated, ran Sieur de Porteaux, an Ensign in the same corps, through the body with his sword for a mere trifle, without affording him time to defend himself. Sieur de Porteaux died two days afterwards. He was a very fine young man. The murderer has fled. The Intendant had him tried. This is the second murder he has committed when in liquor, as I am informed.

I thought you would approve my nominating for that lieutenancy, Sieur de S[t] Helene, one of Lemoine's children who was in command, last year, under Sieur de Troye, in the Northern expedition; he acted with great bravery, and participated largely with his brother d'Iberville in all the good done there. I considered it necessary to reward that action with some thing that may create emulation.

A half-pay Captaincy *(reformé)* being vacant, I gave it to Sieur de la Durantaye who, since I have been in this country, has done good service among the Outtawas, and has been very economical of labor and expense in executing the orders he received from me. He is a man of rank, unfortunate in his affairs, and who, by his great assiduity at Missilimakinac, has efficiently carried out the instructions we had given him to seize the English; he arrested one of the parties, within two days journey of Missilimakinac. On the other hand, Sieurs de Tonty and du Lhu have acquitted themselves very well towards the other party. All which would richly deserve some reward.

It is time, My Lord, to give you an account of the measures we are endeavoring to adopt for the safety of the Colonists by constructing redoubts and obliging the people to take shelter in them. But herein we shall experience difficulties on the part of the settler who is accustomed to have elbow-room near his wood and field, without any witness of his conduct. He must work at the redoubts; 'tis necessary that he make a new tenement; he must thresh his grain, convey his fodder. The seasons are short and the winter long and severe.

Considerable time, My Lord, would be required to execute the plan necessary for the formation of villages; in truth, the bare thought of it creates fear. Many years of peace with exceeding great labor are needed to insure success. In many parts, it will be necessary to recommence making settlements *(concessions)*, and to do so properly would require that the Colony be begun over again. For all this, My Lord, peace is requisite.

[1] Hautes payes were soldiers selected by the Captains of Companies to attend them personally, for which service they received something more than the common pay. *James' Military Dictionary.* — Ed.

Do not imagine it possible, My Lord, easily to inflict on the Iroquois all the injury people have imagined. I shall be censured, perhaps, for having induced you to wage war this year, but I think I have sufficiently pointed out to you, in the letters and memoirs of last year and in the manifest conduct of the English, how necessary it was to commence hostilities this season; for assuredly, the English detachments having been taken, Colonel Dongan would, most undoubtedly, have engaged the Senecas, more insolent than ever, to come and make war on us, and they would have inflicted considerable injury on us, had they anticipated us.

I have already explained to you, at sufficient length, the situation of our settlements, not to repeat to you the dangers to which they are exposed. Suffice it to say, My Lord, in one word, that the preservation of each part of the Colony is a palpable miracle; for, had not God blinded our enemies, it needed only a hundred of their determined men to lay waste all our settlements. I defy the most skilful to apply a remedy thereto, except by forming inclosed villages with farms around them. My letters and memoir last year are sufficiently explicit on this point. But we must hope for God's assistance whilst doing our best.

Could the King exchange with the King of England the entire coast of Manate, it would be a great advantage for Religion and our country which will, sooner or later, suffer from the vicinity of the English. After such exchange it would be easy to support M. de la Salle, by sea and land, the route to him being shorter.

I had the honor to advise you, on my return from the Campaign, that I had left M. de Vaudreuil at the head of the rapids to protect a convoy for our forts at Cataracouy and Niagara, as I had caused two barks to come to La Galette, where the navigation terminates. M. de Vaudreuil had orders to send a strong escort with the remainder of the canoes, all which could not discharge their freight into the barks. Eight remained which were to be escorted by a hundred men whom M. de Vaudreuil had sent for that purpose; but an imprudent confidence caused these hundred men to be sent back, under the impression that there was no danger. The next day, our Canadians being off their guard, were surprised and taken by a party of the enemy who killed eight of them, and carried one away alive who has since been conveyed to Orange. The seven men remaining fortunately escaped. The greatest difficulty we have with our Canadians is to make them keep a good look out. In other respects they are very brave men, but cannot be brought to keep watch. Those who had a right to command them, and who sent back the escort, were entirely to blame.

Towards the end of August, being anxious to learn what was passing in the Mohawk country, the chief of our Iroquois of the Sault, whom we call the Great Mohawk,[1] offered himself to me as the sixth *(lui sixième)* to go there, and to bring his nephew to the village to see his father.[2] He met on Lake Champlain a party of sixty of those Mohawks who were coming from M. Dongan into our country to make prisoners, as he was informed by the party. They were stopped by our Great Mohawk, and he addressed his relatives, who were among the party, with such force and eloquence that he persuaded them all to turn back, telling them that we were not making war against them, and that nothing was required of them but to become Christians. He invited them to accompany him home to pray. Four of them allowed themselves to be convinced, followed him and are at present in our village. He sent his nephew and another to the Mohawk village, to invite his relatives to come and be Christians,

[1] Le Grand Anié.

[2] A figurative expression; meaning to induce the Mohawks to come and treat with the governor of Canada. — Ed.

with orders, also, to tell the Onnontagués and Oneidas that we were not at war with them, a proof of which was that we had not been to their country.

Had this party not been turned back, it would have done us much injury, for it was just the time of our harvest, and we had no redoubts.

These recently arrived Mohawks say, that the Senecas will suffer for want of their corn which has been destroyed.

They likewise inform us, that the enemy had resolved on sending a large force against the Colony. I suspect their design is against our village of the Sault S^{t}. Louis, where M. de Vaudreuil proposes to station himself with his Canadians when the communication between that village and Montreal will be interrupted by floating ice and the river has not yet taken.

Four Squaws of the Saut Saint Louis made an attempt, a few days ago, to desert to the enemy with an Indian of the same village which sent (some persons) in pursuit of them. They were overtaken and brought back. As soon as the Indian deserter was caught, his brains were knocked out as a traitor. This proof of fidelity afforded me great pleasure.

Our enemies have parties in the woods, who, from time to time, kill such as travel without precaution, and then retreat into the depths of the forest.

Another party of sixty men attacked the house of Sieur Labert at La pointe de l'Isle. Some have been bold enough to attempt the pulling down of the pickets. Five or six of their men have been killed or wounded and retired after having killed only an old Squaw and taken one Indian.

A party of Iroquois came on the Island of Montreal some few days since, and killed four men and wounded one very dangerously. The enemy had three of their men killed on the spot, and several others severely wounded whom they carried off. M. de Vaudreuil and our Indians followed them several days without being able to overtake them, as they retreated very hastily. They numbered nearly two hundred. Four barns were burnt. Had we not the troops ready to turn out, they would have committed terrible havoc.

Four Iroquois prisoners belonging to the two Onnontagué and Oneida villages, who seemed to us the best disposed, have been sent back by me with the design to detach those two tribes from the Senecas, which would be a great advantage to us. I had given orders that some peltries which had been taken from them when they were captured, should be restored to them at Montreal, but they refused accepting them, saying they would come for them, and would assuredly return.

If they come, they will inform us of the condition of the enemy whereby we shall regulate our conduct; for, possibly, the enemy will be worse off than we imagine in consequence of hunger, sickness, some misunderstanding which I suspect, and of some parties of our Indian allies, if they perform their duty. But we cannot reckon on any thing.

Meanwhile, My Lord, whatever turn matters take, you could not do better than to send us eight hundred soldiers, and a hundred and fifty recruits, to replace existing or future losses, with arms and money to meet indispensable expenses.

I cannot praise too highly the services and assistance we receive from the Great Mohawk and his warriors of our Iroquois village of the Sault Saint Louis. Though the King had the goodness to make them some presents to aid in clothing their children, as they have been unable to hunt this year, the Intendant and I have been obliged to have some supplies given them for their subsistence, as an encouragement to act well, and as an evidence that care is taken

of them. The same is the case, My Lord, with the other Indians belonging to our Christian villages.

The interruption of the communication between this place and Missilimakinac, by parties of the enemy who are on the river leading thither, is annoying. We must manage, however, to send thither on the ice, this spring, in order to communicate intelligence to them from here.

God severely visits the Colony this year with general sickness. The King's ships brought the Measles, which have broken out at our Hospital at Quebec and spread every where. Very few have been exempt. There has been also, some spotted fever. A great many persons, without distinction of age or sex, have died of this disease. I cannot say whether we shall be able to send you the number of them before the departure of the ships for deaths are occurring every day.

A great many Indians belonging to our missions have died. More than one hundred and thirty deaths have occurred in the Village of Sillery alone. Sickness prevails at this moment in our Iroquois village. The last accounts state that over three hundred are down sick there. This will be a serious drawback to us.

Father Bigot, who is in charge of the Sillery mission, has gone towards Boston with his Indians to induce their relatives, who are still there, to come this spring and join us in the war. The worthy Fathers have incurred considerable expense for the relief of their Indians. This mission is in great need of the continuance of the King's benevolence.

Such, My Lord, is our condition. We beg and urge our farmers to be on their guard. But it is difficult to make them accomplish what is desirable in so short a time. Meanwhile, we are about preparing for another campaign, in the hope that God may grant us favorable opportunities which we shall endeavor to profit by to the best of our power, and whilst awaiting any orders you may communicate to us before the end of May. It is very important that I have them, which I can very easily, before marching.

I must inform My Lord that the surest way of getting the troops here in health and with dispatch, is to have them leave before the fifteenth of March. The ships will thus fall in with favorable winds for coming up the river which ordinarily prevail at that season, and the hot weather not having yet set in, sickness will be avoided.

We must construct a hundred new bateaux to replace the old broken ones. The greater number of them are so damaged by the rocks, that they can no longer hold nails, or be caulked.

I must not neglect to acquaint you, My Lord, that it is very important for the King's service that I be accompanied by officers qualified to conduct an expedition more difficult than the one of this year. Independent of the difficulties of the communications by land and water, which are circumstances favorable to the enemy, the latter is on his guard and can no longer be surprised, how cautious soever we be.

It is certain, My Lord, that had I been alone this year, I could not have accomplished the quarter of what had to be done. M. de Callière and M. de Vaudreuil having had sufficient occupation, I know not how I could have managed without them. I lack not the will, but the strength, My Lord.

The order you sent me to invest M. de Callière with a command, was only for the last Campaign. If it be your pleasure that we make this one, you will have the goodness to send him another Commission. It is impossible to be more satisfied than I am with his care and experience. I had the honor to inform you that M. de Vaudreuil is extremely attentive and that he is a valuable officer and very zealous for the service.

The M. DE DENONVILLE.

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

[Already printed, III., 512.]

Governor Dongan to M. de Denonville.

[Already printed, III., 472.]

M. de Denonville to Governor Dongan.

Quebec, 12th October, 1687.

Sir,

I have received the letter of the ninth of September, which you have taken the trouble to write me. I have nothing else to reply than what I have already told you in my preceding, which is that you desired of me that we should refer the decision of the limits to our masters and not undertake any new expedition. Yet you will, of yourself, determine all the limits, and want me to subscribe, without the King's orders, to your pretensions.

You perceive clearly, Sir, that this is in absolute contradiction of what you stated to me were your intentions, not to do any thing which could disturb our good understanding.

You wish to justify yourself by M. de la Barre's advances to you which he ought not to have made, and which cannot in any wise prejudice the King's right over the villages that, according to you, are subject to the King your master. But, Sir, it is neither you, nor I, who are to decide this question which is referred to our Masters, who will make known to you their wills and what we are to abide by.

Meanwhile, Sir, it is well that I observe to you, that since nothing is determined between our masters whereby we might conclude precisely that the Iroquois belong to you, in your letter of the ninth of September you frankly avow that you have contravened the last Treaty of Neutrality entered into by their Majesties, inasmuch as you inform me that you have furnished the Indians with powder, arms and ball to make war on us. Take the trouble to read the Treaty of Neutrality and you will see that this is in reality a contravention of the third article, which forbids you to give any aid to the Indians with whom we shall be at war, and it is in virtue thereof that I was justified in retaining Mr Gregoire, your officer, with the detachment you had dispatched under his orders. Am I wrong, Sir?

Think you, Sir, that you have not, again, contravened the same Treaty of Neutrality, when you point out to me, in the same letter, the care you have taken to assemble the five nations in order to wage war on us, inasmuch as I have attacked only the Senecas against whom I had greater cause of complaint than against the others. If all this, Sir, be not making war on us, and contemning the orders you have to live at peace with the King's subjects, I know not how you understand it.

Your Messenger, however, will tell you, Sir, how I had not neglected to send back, before I heard from you, the said M^r^ Gregoire who will inform you that I was unable to see him before my return from the Senecas, and how he has been treated since he came down, by me, and by those under my orders.

Your menaces, Sir, are of no avail between you and me; let us adhere to our Masters' instructions and think only, you and I, of complying with their Majesties' commands and instructions to us.

If their Majesties agree that the Iroquois belong to you, so much the better for you; you will, at least, be bound to prevent them making war on our Indian allies, as we shall be obliged to prevent ours attacking them; and this, Sir, will be the means to arrive at a general peace which is absolutely necessary for the establishment of the Religion throughout the entire country. Then, Sir, when you will restrain your Indians we will restrain ours, and shall effectually deprive them of the use of arms whenever you will do the same by yours, should they misbehave.

Did I regard the style of your letter, and did not my orders to live well with you prevail over my private interest, I would still detain the four men whom I have here. But I am too happy to consider myself as nought in the matter, and to make on my side all the concessions, in order to put you entirely in the wrong, should you persist in the course you have hitherto pursued.

It therefore only remains now, Sir, to obey our Masters, and to cultivate mutual good understanding; to promote which, I will perform every thing consistent with my orders. We shall, afterwards, see whether you act in the same manner.

For that purpose it will be necessary for you to cease affording protection to the Indians who will make war on us, and to prevent the King of England's subjects supplying them with arms and powder.

You will, doubless, receive orders on that subject which, I am persuaded I, also, shall receive; they will be the rule of the conduct I shall always observe.

Meanwhile, should the Iroquois continue to commit acts of hostility, be assured, Sir, I will not forget seeking for means to make them feel the penalty.

I am aware the Senecas have sent some of our soldiers prisoners to Orange. I doubt not but you will give the necessary orders for the conveyance of all of them hither, as I have sent all of yours back.

As regards the Indian prisoners whom I have, you know very well that I cannot restore them, without embarrassing myself, until it be decided whether they belong to you. Besides, it will be time enough to speak of them, when the Iroquois will return to their duty. You are well aware that they have executed no part of the last Treaty of peace concluded at La Famine, which you have mentioned to me in your letter.

You will plainly see, Sir, whenever you please, that it depends only on yourself that we live always in friendship, according to our Masters' intentions.

I am deeply penetrated, Sir, with the grandeur of the King your Master, whose rare virtues have attached to him the hearts of all the French. We shall honor him, Sir, with profound respect and from inclination, and because we know that he has been long beloved by the King our most Christian master. Therefore, Sir, you may rest assured that I shall ever feel great pleasure in proving that I will, during my whole life, pay particular regard to the cultivation of a good correspondence with all belonging to him, as far as is consistent with my Master's interests.

I am, &c.

MEMOIR

OF THE

VOYAGE AND EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN PURSUANT TO THE KING'S ORDERS,

BY THE

MARQUIS DE DENONVILLE,

GOVERNOR OF CANADA,

AGAINST THE SENECAS,

ENEMIES OF THAT COLONY.

BY M. DE DENONVILLE.

1687.

Expedition of M. de Denonville against the Senecas.

Memoir of the Voyage and Expedition of the Marquis de Denonville, pursuant to the King's orders, against the Senecas, enemies of the Colony; By the same M. de Denonville. October, 1687.

The strength of this enemy consists in the firm union which exists among the Five great Cantons of the Iroquois nation, each of which has several particular dependencies. They muster altogether under arms more than two thousand men capable of carrying on war, and have, for many years, been held in such dread by all the nations of North America, that we were expecting every day to see them joined by all the Indians, allies and friends of the Colony, through fear of so formidable an enemy.

These reasons, combined with that of the Religion, which, in consequence of the opposition of these enemies has for a long time made no progress, induced the King to send me orders to wage war against those Barbarians.

We were all winter getting ready for that purpose, and providing ourselves with everything necessary for an enterprise so arduous by reason of the remoteness of the enemy, and the difficult navigation of the River S^{t}. Lawrence, which for the space of thirty leagues, is full of cascades, waterfalls, and rapids. Add to that, the great Lake Ontario, a sea of two hundred leagues in circumference, which is subject to very frequent and violent gales.

Those Cantons are situated on the south side of, and at unequal distances from, the said Lake, widely separated from each other, and surrounded by small lakes, swamps, woods and rivers, so that they cannot be reached except by land across forests, and provisions have to be carried on the back during all the time that it will be necessary to be away from said Lake.

The plan which we adopted for the prosecution of this war, was to place in security the post of Cataracouy, which is a small redoubt built by M. de Frontenac, at the mouth of Lake Ontario. That place is, as it were, necessary for the establishment of a magazine, and the security of three barks, which were in a very bad condition. Two of them were built by Sieur de la Salle for the fur trade on that Lake, and the third by M. de la Barre for the King's service.

During the entire summer, last year, I was very desirous to lay up a store of provisions and munitions at that place, but was restrained from so doing through fear of alarming those Barbarians, who incited and instigated by the English from that very time to make war upon us, in order to monopolize for themselves the fur trade, were on the point of falling upon the whole Colony. They would undoubtedly have done so, had it not been for the care and shrewdness of the Rev. Father de Lamberville, a Jesuit missionary in one of their villages, who by his influence, averted the storm, which was the more dangerous as we were unprepared to protect ourselves against their incursions. We were daily on the eve of great misfortunes, but Heaven ordered it otherwise, since it willed that we ourselves could be the assailants. Thus all the last summer was spent in negotiations, which terminated by the adoption of a resolution that both parties should meet at Cataracouy, to take measures for the conclusion of a general peace. But the pride of that nation, accustomed to see others yield to its tyranny, and the insults which they have continued to heap both upon the French and upon our Indian allies, having induced us to believe that there is no negotiating with

them save with arms in our hands, we made preparations during the entire of the winter to pay them a visit.

Early in the spring at the breaking up of the ice, we determined to send flour to Catarocouy, with whatever bark canoes we could collect, and urged the farmers to hasten the sowing of their grain, that they might be ready to march with the eight hundred Regulars which have been in the country for two years.

Our Militia levies amounted to eight hundred men, besides more than a hundred of the most expert settlers who were detailed to escort them.

The first muster of the Militia from the environs of Quebec, was fixed for the 24th of May, but was retarded eight days by a furious northeast wind, so that the general muster of the eight hundred Regulars and the eight hundred Militia could not take place at Montreal, until the 10th of June, when we distributed among them the bateaux, designed each to carry eight men with their provisions for two months.

Our troops were arranged for the march as follows: Eight platoons of two hundred men each, under the command of eight of the best officers, as well of the Regulars as of the Militia; six bateaux per company, each bateau carrying eight men, each commandant of two hundred men, having the charge of 24 bateaux which were marked and numbered up to 24, the first bearing the flag by which the 24 bateaux were distinguished.

The names of the four commandants of the Regular troops, are d'Orvilliers, St Cirq, de Troyes and Vallerennes, veteran captains of infantry and good officers. The four commanding the Militia are, Berthier, la Valterye, Grandville and Longueil Le Moyne, all four very competent for that duty.

The four commandants of the Regulars were accompanied by Chevalier de Vaudreuil, recently arrived from France to command the King's forces in this country. The four Captains of the Militia had for commandant General Sieur Duguay, a veteran officer of the Carignan, a long time settled in this country.

M. de Callières was commander in chief of both divisions under my orders. The order of march throughout the entire voyage, is one battalion of regulars, succeeded by one of militia, alternately, so that they might be in readiness to afford each other assistance, our colonists being more experienced in this mode of traveling.

In respect to our Indian allies who live in the Colony and who followed us to the number of about four hundred, their order of march was not prescribed, so that they might serve as scouts or in the detachments we should send out, or to facilitate the passages, getting through according to the necessity of the case, reserving them for such use as is made of dragoons in France.

On assembling our troops at Montreal, we received intelligence of the arrival at Quebec of M. d'Omblement, with a King's ship, called *L'Arc-en-ciel*, which arrived from France in thirty-three days, a thing unprecedented since the settlement of Canada. He brought us news of the reinforcement of eight hundred men the King was sending and which afforded the means of replacing in the settlements the farmers whom we had drawn from their homes.

Notwithstanding all the diligence we could use, our little army was not able to set out from Ville Marie, in the Island of Montreal, until the 13th of June.

14th June. In the morning, we passed the rapids and the Saut Saint Louis, and all the troops encamped, a part on Isle Perrot, and a part at Château gué, where our Christian Indians were waiting for us, who sung and danced the war dance all night, at a feast which was

prepared for them by means of two lean cows, and some dozen dogs, roasted, hair and all. In this consists the *true enrolment* for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

15th June. We were obliged to halt on account of very bad weather, rain and contrary winds, that prevailed all day and prevented us crossing the Lake, which is very dangerous, should it blow ever so little, in consequence of the two currents of two large rivers meeting there, and the existence of a great number of rocks and shoals.

16th. In the morning our little fleet, composed of about three hundred and fifty sail, appeared in a body on the Lake, and favored by a fair wind and fine weather, reached the foot of the Cascades,[1] where a portage of all the luggage, munitions of war, and provisions became necessary; and there it was a beautiful sight to behold our soldiers and Canadians, stripped to their shirts, in many places up their armpits in the river, working like water-dogs, dragging with ropes, or pushing with their shoulders, the bateaux and canoes, so as to overcome the rapidity of the current. We found our Indians of great service on that occasion.

This day's work was severe on account of three difficult places. The great vigor of our men surmounted all the impediments, the least of which would have appalled the stoutest heart in Europe; showing what man can accomplish when he undertakes an object. We this day passed the Cascades, le Trou and le Buisson, and in the evening encamped in three different divisions, apart from each other. The first two battalions were at the foot of the Côteau des cedres rapid; the next two a little lower down, and the other four a little lower still.

17th. Our troops set out at daybreak, and the most we could accomplish was to pass the Côteau des cedres rapid and that of the Cedres. The greater number unloaded their boats at the former; the remainder more courageous, passed very safely. We encamped half a league above the latter, having advanced, this day, only about two leagues by reason of the length of the last rapid, which is nearly three-quarters of a league, and where all the boats and canoes had to be passed one after the other. In this difficult passage we lost two bateaux, which were swung around by the current and swamped; also two bags of biscuit which got wet.

M. de Champigny, our Intendant, who left Montreal with us, went ahead to-day with some fifteen Canoes employed to convey provisions to Cataracouy, so as to arrive in good season at the fort, and to have leisure to make every arrangement for our arrival.

18th. We encamped a full quarter of a league from Lake Saint Francis after passing the Coteau du Lac, which is one of the most difficult water-falls, where, aided by our good friends, the Indians, we were obliged to make a portage of all the loading, and even of a greater part of the bateaux. We advanced three leagues this day.

19th. We were able to make only three leagues, on account of a heavy rain storm, which obliged us to encamp at a place in the said Lake called Pointe à Baudet,[2] where Sieur Peré arrived in the evening with four Iroquois, their wives and two children whom he had captured fifteen leagues higher up at a place where I had sent him for that purpose. Two of these Iroquois are the most influential of the Cayuga nation, who are open enemies of the colony and strongly attached to the Senecas. One of them named Oreouaté cruelly maltreated and persecuted the Reverend Father de Careill, when he was a missionary in their village, besides committing many robberies on him, and on many of our Frenchmen and Indian allies. To him also is attributed the expedition last year against the Hurons.

[1] Opposite the upper or western extremity of Isle Perrot, at the junction of the Rivers Ottawa and St. Lawrence. — Ed.

[2] The S. W. corner of the county of Soulanges, C. E. See supra, note 1, p. 99.

20th June. All these captives were sent to the prisons of Montreal, to join the four other Iroquois who had been surprised in the neighborhood, whither they had come as spies. We set out from our camp, at the same time after a heavy rain, and crossed the Lake, a distance of five leagues. The bad weather detained us the remainder of the day, and compelled us to encamp among the Islands at the head of the Lake.

21st. We encamped at the foot of the Petits Chesneaux, a little above Pointe Maligne, and advanced only three leagues, being overwhelmed by severe storms which continued to prevail.

22nd. We passed the rapids of the Petits Chesneaux and of the Long Saut, except two battalions which were obliged to encamp at the foot of the latter. The bateaux had to be towed for more than two leagues, and made no more than two leagues and a half.

I say nothing of the difficulties we had to surmount in passing these rapids. They must be seen to be appreciated. Many of our men were crippled there in their feet and legs. Yet, the current carried off only three of our bateaux which were brought ashore, having escaped with only a leak of a few pails of water, some biscuit wet, and the loss of a few guns. It cost the life of a poor soldier, who, being less expert than the rest, was drowned after surmounting all these rapids.

23rd. We were obliged to remain in the same place, waiting for the two battalions which were unable to pass the Long Saut on the 22nd. The day was employed in caulking the damaged bateaux; yet we were unable to finish them by reason of the heavy and incessant rain, and of the great number injured.

On the same day, the 23d, two canoes, sent out to reconnoitre, brought in an Iroquois of some note among the Cayugas, together with three women and two children. The man had been sent to watch our movements, and he informed us that Oreouatié, of whom we have already spoken, had gone down to Montreal, with the intention of discovering what was passing among us and of carrying off some French prisoners on his return. We did in fact find among his baggage some cords with which they are accustomed to bind their prisoners, and which they do not carry, except on warlike excursions.

24th. The Intendant sent a canoe to advise us that several Iroquois were fishing at the Island of Otoniato,[1] and also on the main land, south of and opposite said Island, twelve leagues below Cataracouy. I sent a detachment of a hundred Indians under the command of Sieur de St Helène le Moyne, to capture them. The heavy rain of the preceding day not having permitted us to repair the leaky bateaux, we were unable to set out from the camp until noon. Even then we were obliged to leave behind us a part of our Militia, who were more accustomed to the navigation, to join us the next day under the command of M. de Callières. We made only three leagues to-day.

25th. Set out from the camp and passed the Rapide Plat, above which we encamped, having accomplished but three leagues and a half. These rapids occasioned the loss of one of our soldiers who was drowned. In the evening we had news from Catarocouy, by a canoe sent by the Intendant, that he had seized all the Indians to prevent their carrying news of our march to the enemy, and that he had engaged those who were at Otoniata, to meet him at Catarocouy, where they like the others will also be seized.

The same day, ten Algonquins, from the neighborhood of the Temiscamins, towards the north, came on hearing of our march, to join us, and told us that others would come with the same view. M. de Callières could not join us to-day but arrived within half a league.

[1] See note supra, p. 77. — Ed.

26th June. Passed the rapid des Galots, which is the last, and thenceforth entered a more gentle current. After this our navigation was much easier, because the soldiers were relieved from getting into the water, and we advanced by the aid of oars and sails alone. We encamped a good league and a half above les Galots and made this day four leagues.

27th. A strong unfavorable wind from the southeast obliged us to halt, and we passed the day in refitting those bateaux which were found to be out of repair. The Intendant arrived at our camp from Cataracouy, on his return to give the necessary orders for the interior of the Colony, and informed us of the manner in which they had arrested all the Iroquois in the environs of the fort, to the number of one hundred and twenty, thirty of whom were men, the rest women and children.

In the evening of the same day, 27th, the wind lulling, we proceeded all night in order to make up for lost time, and encamped eight leagues from where the rain commenced.

28th. Severe storms and continual rain during the whole day obliged us to remain stationary.

29th. We set out early in the morning, with fine weather, and made nearly nine leagues. On reaching our camp, we had the pleasure of witnessing the arrival of the Reverend Father de Lamberville of the Order of Jesus, missionary to the Onontagués, whom I had sent for under the pretence of bringing the most influential of the Iroquois to consult with them respecting the means to settle our differences.

Last day of June. We arrived within half a league of Cataracouy, whither I proceeded the same day, to arrange every thing, and procure what provisions we should need until the end of August. On arriving at that Fort, I thought proper to send to the village of the Onnontagues, the son and the brother of an Indian named Hotre-houati,[1] one of the most distinguished and influential of the said village, from whom we had derived great assistance in checking the incursions which the Senecas and other Iroquois had made the past year under the instigation of Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York, and whose influence, as well as that of his other friends, Father de Lamberville made use of to frustrate the Colonel's ill designs.

1st of July. All our troops arrived at Cataracouy, where they occupied themselves in unloading whatever was in the bateaux for the fort, and for fitting out the three barks, one of which had already left with provisions and ammunition for Sieurs de la Durantaye and du Lhu, who had orders since last year to repair hither by the last of June, with all they could muster of the French that were in the woods with permits to trade for beaver, and such of our Indian allies, enemies of the Iroquois, as they could induce to join them. The rest of the day was pased in inspecting and replacing the provisions which had been damaged by the rain and other incidents to navigation; we were unable to finish the work to-day.

Being advised on the same day, the first of July, by the Sieur Perré, who had been sent with a party of Indians, that he had not force enough to seize and carry off all the Iroquois from Ganneious,[2] I sent thither a detachment of forty Canadians, in bark canoes, under the command of Captain Repentigny and Lieutenant Port Neuf to hasten that expedition with orders to return the next day, although Ganneious is ten leagues distant from Cataracouy, as I wished to set out on the third.

On this same day, 1st July, the Sieur de la Foret arrived at Cataracouy. He is a resident of Fort Saint Louis among the Illinois, where Sieur de Tonty is in command. He informed me that he had come from Niagara, along the north shore of Lake Ontario, although it is more than eighty leagues by that route. He brought me letters from Sieur de Tonty and

[1] See note 1, supra p. 243.

[2] Now Nappanee, C. W. — Ed.

from Messieurs de La Durantaye and du Lhu, who had arrived at Niagara on the 27th June, with about one hundred and eighty of the most active Frenchmen of the Colony, and about four hundred Indians, and were waiting impatiently for news from me by the bark I had promised to send them loaded with provisions and ammunition. This bark had left Cataracouy as early as Thursday, the 26th of June, and favored by the northeast wind, should have arrived at Niagara on the 2d day of July.

Sieur de la Foret informed me that Sieur de la Durantays had seized thirty Englishmen, who, under an escort of some Iroquois, were on their way to trade at Missilimaquinak, the same as last year, under pretence that that post belonged to them, although we have held it for more than 25 years, it being the store, the entrepôt of all our commerce. Those thirty Englishmen were taken in Lake Huron, twenty leagues from Missilimaquinak. They were pillaged and made prisoners without any further injury, although it would have been lawful to have treated them as enemies, being in arms with our foes.

He further informed me, that the corps which was at Niagara, had met another party of about thirty Englishmen, also escorted by hostile Indians, who were likewise going to Missilimaquinak under the guidance of some French deserters. They were met by our people at the Detroit of Lake Erie, near the Fort we occupy there, and were treated like the others.

I directed Sieur de la Forêt to return immediately having charged him with the necessary orders for the junction of the said corps of French and Savages at Niagara, with ours at the rendezvous I had fixed near the mouth of the Seneca river, but the wind being too violent, he could not set out until the evening of the next day; and then he could accomplish only two or three leagues.

2d of July. Passed this day in distributing provisions, and in repairing all the leaky bateaux, it being our intention to leave on the morrow, the 3d. We arranged the two large bateaux for carrying in each a small cannon, some long guns, and some arquebuses à croc,[1] and twenty men to cover our landing when we should reach the enemy's country.

3d. We waited for Peré, who, by reason of contrary and violent winds, had not been able to arrive on the 2d as directed. He came about 10 o'clock in the morning, with 18 Indian warriors, and a number of women and children, making in all about 80 persons. The men were all bound in the fort. The whole party numbered 51 able bodied men, and a hundred and fifty women and children. Orders were given to embark in the afternoon, but the wind did not permit, so the remainder of the day was employed in putting the provisions, ammunition and implements into the two remaining barks, to send them to the general rendezvous near the Senecas.

4th. We embarked at day break, and took the route by the way of la Famine, coasting along the south shore of Lake Ontario. Many traverses were made under favor of the calm which continued all day, and by which we happily profited. We advanced this day more than ten leagues, and encamped on the Island named des Galots,[2] which we reached very opportunely, for hardly had our bateaux arrived, when a wind from the southeast sprung up so violent as to have obliged us to make the nearest land, had it commenced sooner. It continued all night with such violence, that the waves compelled us to draw our bateaux ashore.

[1] An ancient firearm, resembling a musket, but which is supported on a rest by a hook of iron fastened to the barrel. It is longer than a musket and of larger calibre. *James' Military Dictionary.* — Ed.

[2] See III., 433, note 4.

5th July. The same wind continued all day and constrained us to remain on the above Island.

6th. The wind abated a little in the morning but we could not undertake to cross until one o'clock, at which time the wind wholly abated. We encamped a league from thence, at a river named Cataragarenre.[1] On the way our Indians discovered the trail of some fugitive Iroquois, whom they pursued without success. They had abandoned some sacks of provisions and their canoes.

7th. We resumed our march in the morning and encamped a league and a half from the River of the Onnontagués. The day's work was ten leagues. Some men were discovered stationed to watch our march, but they escaped into the woods by the path which leads over land from the Lake to Onnontagué.

8th. Advanced only five leagues, by reason of storms and severe winds. We encamped two leagues from Chroutons.[2]

9th. Made only four leagues on account of the incessant rain and the difficulty of approaching the shore. We camped two leagues beyond Chrstons. On arriving, we perceived at a distance the bark which, after having landed provisions at Niagara, had come to advise us that the detachment of Indian allies would leave Niagara on the 6th with all the French, so as to reach the Seneca river on the 10th pursuant to my orders.

That same evening, an Indian belonging to our company having wandered a little distance into the woods, was captured by three Iroquois scouts, who, having tied him, kept him prisoner a day and a night without perceiving that he had suspended from his neck a knife, which by chance remained concealed behind his back under his dress. The prisoner did not fail to use it on the second night, cutting his bands while his guards were fast asleep. He returned to our camp without any other injury than a very slight blow of a hatchet on one of his shoulders.

10th. Set out at daylight in order to reach the rendezvous at Ganniagatarontagouat[3] the same day, although the wind was rather strong, the waves high, and the Lake rough. We sailed so prosperously that just as we arrived at the abovenamed Marsh, *(Marais)* having first had it examined in expectation of finding the enemy there, we perceived at a distance our Frenchmen and Indian allies approaching under sail from Niagara. They arrived at the same time as ourselves at the embankment of said Lake, where we spent the rest of the day in selecting a position suitable for throwing up a retrenchment capable of protecting us, while we should go by land in search of the enemy in their villages, the largest of which is distant only nine or ten leagues.

11th. Was spent in constructing palisades, fascines and pickets, for securing the dike that separates the Lake from the Marsh *(Marais)* in which we had placed our bateaux.

12th. After having detached 400 men to garrison the redoubt which we had already put in condition of defence for the protection of our provisions, bateaux and canoes, we set out at 3 o'clock with all our Indian allies, who were loaded like ourselves with 13 days' provisions, and took the path leading by land across the woods to Gannagaro. We made only three leagues this day, among lofty trees sufficiently open to allow us to march in three columns.

[1] Probably Sandy Creek, Jefferson county, New-York. See III., 433, note 5.

[2] A passage that leads to the Cayugas. III., 434. Cayuga, or Little Sodus, Bay.

[3] Irondequoit Bay. For derivation of this Mohawk word, see note 1, supra, p. 261. Compare also Marshall, in 2 *Collections of New-York Historical Society*, II., 176, note. — Ed.

13th July. We left on the next morning, with the design of approaching the village as near as we could, to deprive the enemy of the opportunity of rallying and seizing on two very dangerous defiles at two rivers which it was necessary for us to pass and where we should undoubtedly meet them. We passed these two defiles, however, unmolested, no one appearing but a few scouts. These two defiles being passed in safety, there still remained a 3d at the entrance of said village. It was my intention to reach that defile in order to halt there for the night and to rest our troops, who were much fatigued in consequence of the extraordinary and sultry heat of the weather; but our scouts having notified us that they had seen a trail of a considerable party, which had been in that neighborhood, in order that we may call our troops together, M. de Callières, who was at the head of the three companies commanded by Tonty, de la Durantaye and du Lhu, and of all our Indians, fell about three o'clock in the afternoon, a short time after we had resumed our march, into an ambuscade of Senecas, posted in the vicinity of that defile. They were better received than they anticipated, and thrown into such consternation, that the most of them flung away their guns and blankets, to escape under cover of the woods. The action was not long but the firing was heavy on both sides.

The three companies of Outaouaies, which were posted on the right distinguished themselves, and all our Christian Indians from below *(d'en bas)* performed their duty admirably, and firmly maintained the position assigned to them on the left.

The severe fatigue of the march which our troops, as well French as Indians, had undergone, left us in no condition to pursue the routed enemy, as we had a wood full of thickets and briars and a densely covered brook in front, and had made no prisoners who could tell us positively the number of those that attacked us. Moreover, we had not sufficient knowledge of the paths, to be certain which to take, to get out of the woods into the plain.

The enemy, to our knowledge, left 27 dead on the field, who had been killed on the spot, besides a much larger number of wounded, judging from the bloody trails we saw. We learned from one of the dying, that they had more than eight hundred men under arms, either in the action or in the village, and that they were daily expecting a reinforcement of Iroquois.

Our troops being very much fatigued, we halted the remainder of the day at the same place, where we found sufficient water for the night. We maintained a strict watch, waiting for daylight that we may enter the plain which is a full league in extent before reaching the village. The Reverend Father Enialran, missionary among the Outawas savages whom he had brought to us, was wounded in this action. It cost us also the death of 5 Canadians, one soldier, and five Indian allies, besides six militia and five soldiers wounded.

14th. A heavy rain that lasted till noon next day, compelled us to remain until that time at the place where the action occurred. We set out thence in battle array, expecting to find the enemy entrenched in the new village which is above the old. We entered the plain, however, without seeing anything but the vestiges of the fugitives. We found the old village burnt by the enemy, who had also deserted the intrenchment of the new which was about three-quarters of a league distant from the old. We encamped on the height of that plain, and did nothing that day but protect ourselves from the severe rain which continued until night.

15th. The Indians brought us two old men, whom the enemy had left in the woods on their retreat, and two or three women came to surrender themselves who informed us that for the space of four days, all the old men, the women, and children, had been fleeing in great haste,

being able to carry with them only the best of their effects. Their flight was towards Cayuga behind the Lakes. They were sorely troubled for the means of support, and one woman informed us that they were to kill the Oumiamis prisoners *(esclaves)* which was the reason of her flight; and one of the old men who had been of note in the village, and was father or uncle of the chief, told us the ambush consisted of two hundred and twenty men stationed on the hill-side to attack our rear, and of five hundred and thirty to attack our front. The two hundred and twenty men did in fact direct a part of their efforts against our rear battalions, where they did not expect such strong resistance, those battalions having driven them back more rapidly than they came. In addition to the above, there were also three hundred men in their fort, favorably situated on a height, into which they all were pretending to retire, having carried thither a quantity of Indian corn. This same old man told us he had seen the enemy retreat in great disorder and consternation, and informed us that there were none but Senecas; that two hundred Cayugas were about to join them, and that they had sent to the Onnontagués, and other nations to invite them to unite against us.

After we had obtained from this old man all the information he could impart, he was placed in the hands of the Reverend Father Bruyas, who, finding he had some traces of the Christian religion, through the instrumentality of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, missionaries for twenty years in that village, he set about preparing him for baptism, before turning him over to the Indians who had taken him prisoner. He was baptised, and a little while after they contented themselves at our solicitation, with knocking him on the head with a hatchet instead of burning him according to their custom.

Our first achievement, this day, was to set fire to the fort of which we have spoken. It was eight hundred paces in circumference, well enough flanked for Savages, with a retrenchment advanced for the purpose of communicating with a spring which is half way down the hill, it being the only place where they could obtain water. The remainder of the day was employed in destroying Indian corn, beans and other produce.

16th July. We continued the devastation. Our scouts brought us from time to time, the spoils of the fugitives found scattered in the woods.

In the afternoon of the same day, we moved our camp towards those places where corn was to be destroyed. A party of our Indians about whom we had been anxious, arrived in the evening with considerable booty, which they had captured in the great village of Totiakton, four leagues distant. They found that village also, abandoned by the enemy, who on retreating had set it on fire, but only three or four cabins were consumed.

17th. We were also occupied in destroying the grain of the small village of St. Michael or Gannogarae, distant a short league from the large village.

18th. Continued, after having moved our camp in order to approach some fields which were concealed and scattered in the depths of the forest.

19th. Had a slight alarm in the night from a shot fired by a sentinel at an Illinois squaw, nine years a slave among the Senecas, and who had escaped from the enemy. She got off with only a wound in the thigh. She confirmed the report that the Senecas, being much frightened, had fled to the Onnontagués and to the English. She informed us that forty men had been killed in their attack on us, and fifty or more severely wounded. She added that all the old men, the women and children, were dispersed through the woods on their way to the Cayugas, but severely straitened for want of provisions, which they were unable to carry with them by reason of their sudden flight.

19th July. Moved our camp in the morning from near the village of St. James or Gannagaro, after having destroyed a vast quantity of fine large corn, beans, and other vegetables of which there remained not a single field, and after having burned so large a quantity of old corn that the amount dared not be mentioned, and encamped before Totiakto, surnamed the Great Village or the Village of the Conception, distant four leagues from the former. We found there a still greater number of planted fields, and wherewithal to occupy ourselves for many days. Three prisoners arrived the same day; a young girl and two squaws of the Illinois. They told us that many prisoners of their nation were to profit by the rout of the Senecas, to escape from their hands. They also confirmed what had already been told us, that the Senecas were to break the heads of most of their prisoners, and were going beyond Cayuga and retreating to the English.

20th. We occupied ourselves with cutting down and destroying the new corn, and burning the old.

21st. Went to the small village of Gannounata, distant two leagues from the larger, where all the old and new corn was destroyed the same day, though the quantity was as large as in the other villages. It was at the gate of this village that we found the arms of England which Sieur Dongan, Governor of New-York, had caused to be placed there contrary to all right and reason, in the year 1684, having antedated the arms, as of the year 1683, although it is beyond question that we first discovered and took possession of that country, and for twenty consecutive years have had Fathers Fremin, Garnier etc., as stationary Missionaries in all these villages.

The quantity of grain which we found in store in this place, and destroyed by fire is incredible. This same day a Huron of the Mission of St. Lorette, arrived alone with two scalps, one of a man and one of a woman whom he had knocked on the head, having found them near the Cayugas, where he had gone alone for that purpose. He told us he had noticed a multitude of paths by which the enemy had fled.

22d. We left the abovenamed village to return to Totiakton, to continue there the devastation already commenced. Notwithstanding the bad weather and incessant rain, the entire day was employed in diligent preparation for our departure, which was the more urgent as sickness was increasing among the soldiers, the militia and the Indians, and provisions and refreshments were rapidly diminishing. Besides, the impatience of the Savages to return with a great number of sick and wounded, gave us no hope of retaining them against their will, some having already left on the preceding day without permission.

This same day 4 Iroquois of Montreal stimulated by the example of the Huron of Lorette, who had brought away the two scalps, left without our knowledge to go on an expedition towards Cayuga.

23d. We sent a large detachment of almost the entire army, under the command of M. de Callières, and of Chevalier de Vaudreuil, to complete the destruction of all the corn still standing in the distant woods.

About 7 o'clock in the morning, seven Illinois, coming alone from their country to war against the Iroquois, arrived at the camp, as naked as worms, bow in hand, to the great joy of those whom Sieur de Tonty had brought to us.

About noon of the same day, we finished the destruction of the Indian corn. We had the curiosity to estimate the whole quantity, green as well as ripe, which we had destroyed in the four Seneca villages, and found that it would amount to 350,000 Minots of green, and

50,000 of old corn.[1] We can infer from this the multitude of people in these 4 villages, and the great suffering they will experience from this devastation.

Having nothing more to effect in that country, and seeing no enemy, we left our camp in the afternoon of the same day to rejoin our bateaux. We advanced only two leagues. On our way a Huron surprised a Seneca who appeared to be watching our movements. He was killed on the spot because he refused to follow us. I would have preferred to have had him brought along alive in order to obtain from him some news of the enemy.

24th July. We reached our bateaux after marching six leagues. We halted there on the next day, the 25th, in order to make arrangements for leaving on the 26th after we had destroyed the redoubt we had built.

25th. We despatched the bark for Cataracouy, which we had found with the other two at Ganniatarontagouat, to advise the Intendant of the result of our expedition, and by that opportunity, sent back those of our camp who were suffering the most from sickness.

26th. We set out for Niagara, resolved to occupy that post as a retreat for all our Indian allies, and thus afford them the means of continuing, in small detachments, the war against the enemy whom they have not been able to harrass hitherto, being too distant from them, and having no place to retire to. Although it is only 30 leagues from Ganniatarontagouat to Niagara, we were unable to accomplish the distance, in less than 4 days and a half by reason of contrary winds; that is to say, we arrived there on the morning of the 30th. We immediately set about selecting a site, and collecting stockades for the construction of the fort, which I had resolved to build on the Iroquois side at the point of a tongue of land, between the Niagara River and Lake Ontario.

31st of July and 1st of August. We continued this work, which was the more difficult, as there was no wood on the ground suitable for making palisades, and from its being necessary to haul them up the hill. We performed this labor so diligently that the Fort was in a state of defence on the last mentioned day; when we learned from a Chaouanon deserter from the Senecas, who was himself in the battle of the 13th July, that there were eight hundred Senecas in ambush, six hundred of whom were stationed at a rivulet we were to cross, who fired upon us, and two hundred in a gully for the purpose of attacking our rear. He assured us that they had twenty killed on the spot by our fire, whom they buried, in addition to the 25 that fell into our hands, and more than sixty, mortally wounded. They considered this check so decisive that we have since seen no more of them.

2nd of August. The militia having performed their allotted task, and the Fort being in a condition of defence, in case of attack, they set out at noon for the end of the lake, on their return home.

3rd. The next day I embarked in the morning for the purpose of joining the militia, leaving the regular troops in charge of M. de Vaudreuil, to finish what was the most essential, and to render the fort not only capable of defence, but also of being occupied by a detachment of a hundred soldiers, which are to winter there under the command of M. de Troyes, a veteran officer, now a full pay captain of one of the companies stationed in this country. We advanced 13 leagues this day, and encamped on the point at the end of the Lake, where there is a traverse of 4 leagues from the southern to the northern shore.

4th. Fearing the day breeze, we embarked in the morning as soon as the moon rose, and accomplished the traverse of 4 leagues. We made 14 leagues to-day.

[1] 1,200,000 bushels. — Ed.

5th July. The storm of wind and rain, prevented us leaving in the morning, but at noon, the weather clearing up, we advanced 7 or 8 leagues and encamped at a place to which I had sent forward our Christian Indians from below. We found them with two hundred deer they had killed, a good share of which they gave to our army, that thus profited by this fortunate chase.

6th. Having a light, favorable wind we encamped two leagues below Gannaraské, a place where salmon is very abundant, and accomplished this day about 15 leagues. We met on the same day the bark which was coming from Cataracouy with provisions for the garrison that is to winter at Niagara.

7th. We made twelve good leagues and encamped 2 leagues below Kenté.

8th. Favored by a light wind from the southwest, we advanced 15 good leagues and encamped near the Island La Forêt.

9th. Notwithstanding a contrary wind, we made 9 leagues, and arrived at Fort Cataracouy, where we remained the rest of that, and a part of the next day, to give the necessary orders for the wintering of the garrison we have left there, which consists of a hundred men under the command of M. Dorvilliers.

10th. Set out from the Fort in the afternoon and encamped at Point a La Mort, distant five leagues from Cataracouy.

11th. We advanced 18 leagues and encamped within 2 leagues of La Galette.

12th. Passed a portion of the rapids much quicker than when we were coming up. We encamped at Point à Baudet in Lake St. Francis.

13th. We reached Montreal at an early hour, where we were most impatiently expected, and, what is surprising, without once having in all our voyage heard any news of our Iroquois enemies.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal. To Monsieur the Marquis de Seignelay. Nov., 1687.

Since my return from the Campaign against the Iroquois, I have labored incessantly to secure our scattered settlements dependent on my government which is on the frontier of the entire country. In each Seigniory I have caused redoubts to be constructed of pickets 13 to 14 feet in length, so that the inhabitants and troops quartered there, may protect themselves against the forays of the Iroquois. The latter made their appearance quite recently at the upper end of this island, to the number of two hundred, burned five houses and killed six of our farmers with some others in divers places. They also lost some of their men. The incursions of our enemies have taught our people the necessity of fortifying themselves.

I have had this town of Villemarie surrounded with strong palisades until it shall please your Lordship to have it inclosed with walls, or at least to order some fort to be constructed there in which the people can take refuge. Quarters for the governor, who has none, with a store at the end, for provisions and ammunition, are still wanting there.

The Marquis de Denonville has organized, under the command of Monsr de Vaudreuil, a company of one hundred and twenty men of our Canadian Coureurs de bois. They are stationed on this Island, above the Saut Saint Louis, for the purpose of repelling the incursions of the Iroquois, should they come to harrass us during winter. I shall do all in my power to prevent them doing us serious injury.

The war was indispensably necessary to prevent the imminent ruin of the country through the intrigues of the English, their distribution of Rum and other presents. They were about to effect a general rising of all the Indians against us, a massacre of all the French who were in a pretty considerable number in the woods, and a monopoly of the entire Fur trade, by furnishing goods to the Indians fifty per cent cheaper than our Frenchmen. But the continuation of the war will necessarily produce two bad effects; one is, the extraordinary expense it will entail on his Majesty to support it; the other, the interruption of the trade of our Colonists.

The means to terminate it are, promptly to send out, all at once, the reinforcement demanded by the Marquis de Denonville, in order to be able to form two small armies and to attack the enemy in two places. If he be attacked only at one place and in detail, the war will be protracted, and inflict suffering on the entire country.

The Marquis de Denonville still requires 800 good recruits; otherwise he cannot form two separate corps and leave the troops necessary to defend the Colony, which, were there no soldiers to protect it, detachments of the enemy would attempt to burn whilst we would be in the field.

It would be proper to make complaints in England against Sieur Dongan, Governor of New-York, and his continual infractions of the treaty of Neutrality by the supplies of arms, ammunition and other aid he gives our enemies; and his recall from that government, could it possibly be procured, would be the surest means of terminating the war with the Iroquois whom he excites against us, and will always assist notwithstanding all orders to the contrary, in consequence of his cupidity to attract to himself the entire fur trade, acting at Manhat rather the part of a trader than of a Governor.

He is entirely mistaken when he pretends that the Iroquois belong to the English and depend on his government. It is only three years ago that he sent into their country, for the first time, to enter acts of possession there, by setting up his Majesty's arms in the several villages of the Iroquois, who immediately pulled them down, being unwilling to acknowledge the English; and it is over sixty years since they acknowledged the Governor of Canada as their protector and father according to their mode of expression. This has been confirmed by divers acts of possession *(prises de possession)* of their country in his Majesty's name by our French Missionaries who have always resided there, and also by the right of the Conquest of it made twenty years ago by M. de Tracy, who, after having defeated the Iroquois, subjected them to his Majesty whom they have ever since always acknowledged, as they knew nothing of the English at that time. Sieur Dongan is also very much mistaken in regard of the other extensions he pretends to give the limits of his government contrary to the disposition of the Treaty of Breda. He is a restless, selfish and meddling spirit who will foment disorder and division for the sake of his private interests as long as he remains on our Frontiers.

The acquisition of New-York in exchange for some of the Antilles, or by purchase, would render his Majesty master of all North America, by reducing the Iroquois, our sole formidable

enemies. It would furnish his Majesty with a beautiful harbor—that of Manhat—which is accessible at all seasons in less than a month's voyage; would put a stop to all the expense his Majesty incurs for the support of troops in Canada, and augment his revenues in that country nearly a hundred thousand écus annually, by the duties on peltries alone, the trade in which the French would monopolize, and eventually by larger sums from other branches of commerce which would become still more profitable than that of furs.

Memoir of the Right of the King of France over the Iroquois.

Copy of the Memoir communicated by Mess^{rs}. de Barillon and de Bonrepaus to Mess^{rs}. the Commissioners of the King of England, on the thirteenth of December one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven Concerning the right possessed by the King over the Iroquois.

[Already printed, III., 507.]

Additional Instruction to M. de Denonville.

Memoir to serve for Instruction to the Marquis de Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, respecting the information to be given on the subject of the differences between the French and English relative to the title to the Countries in North America. 8th March, 1688.

M. de Denonville has been informed by the copy which has been sent to him of the Treaty concluded at London on the XI. of the month of December last that the Commissioners named by the King and the King of England to terminate the differences and contests existing between the French and English in America are to meet again in the beginning of the month of January of the next year, 1689.

He is to be notified that these Commissioners have thought proper to take so long a delay in order to be able to receive, from the Colonies of the two Nations, the necessary information respecting the property of the lands and countries in dispute, and his Majesty's intention is that Sieur de Denonville furnish this information as far as relates to North America.

The Countries at present in dispute between the French and English are Hudson's Bay and the posts occupied by both nations there; the Country of the Iroquois and the southern portion of Acadia from Pentagouet to the River Quinibiniquy. It is necessary that Sieur de Denonville make the strictest search possible for the titles which prove the property the French have over those places, and send them by the return of the first vessels.

As respects the countries not occupied, at present, by any European Nations, His Majesty's intention is to appropriate unto himself those actually necessary for the maintenance of Trade and the preservation and increase of the Colony.

And in order to avoid all sorts of disputes in future, particularly with the English, the said Commissioners have thought proper, after the limits of the Countries and lands which belong to the two nations will be agreed upon, to draw an exact map whereon will be marked, in concert, by lines and different colors, what is the property of the one and the other nation, which is to be so distinguished as to obviate any further difficulty.

Sieur de Denonville must have this Map drawn with the greatest possible exactitude. Let him designate thereon all the points through which these lines will have to run, and all the forts, passes and places occupied by His Majesty's subjects, those occupied by the English, and those unoccupied by any person, and let him annex thereunto a Memoir explanatory of the reasons, whether of right or of convenience, which will have obliged him to select the places which are to be occupied by the French.

As this Map and Memoir will be required for the resumption of the negotiations to be renewed at the commencement of January, 1689, Sieur de Denonville must send them at the earliest moment by the vessels which will leave Quebec in the fore part of November.

In respect to countries not occupied by any European nation, and marked on that Map as not belonging to any person, Sieur de Denonville will, also, have to communicate his opinion and those of the principal persons of the country, respecting the formalities to be observed to obtain a sufficient proprietary title, inasmuch as it will be proper to regulate by the Treaty, to be concluded, the manner in which the property thereof can, in future, be acquired.

M. de Seignelay to M. de Denonville.

Extract of a letter from the Minister to M. de Denonville. March 8, 1688.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty has approved of your having caused to be seized the two parties of Englishmen who were on their way to Missilimakinac to incite the Hurons and Outaouas against us; and that you have afterwards sent them back, as you have done.

As respects Colonel Dongan, I am very happy to inform you that the King of England has recalled him; and as his successor is to have orders to live in harmony with you, it relieves you of the embarrassment which the cupidity and bad faith of that man were causing you.

His Majesty could not believe that the King of England would countenance the chimerical pretension that Colonel would fain claim for him over the country of the Iroquois, it being so notorious and so certain that the French had been in that quarter before any English had put a foot there; and although his Majesty's right in the premises be not difficult to maintain, yet to prevent disputes which may arise on that point, it would be desirable that you prevail on said Sieur Dongan to change his opinion, by showing him, either by letter or by some special envoy, what slender foundation that pretension rests on. And in order to render incontestable his Majesty's right to the countries discovered by his subjects as well along the Lakes as among the Illinois, he desires you to send capable persons thither to take possession anew of those posts, with all formality, by setting up posts with his Majesty's arms affixed thereto, and observing all the forms usual and customary on similar occasions, so as to repair any defects which might exist in the original taking of possession.

In regard to the designs possibly entertained by the English to oppose his Majesty's resolution to chastise the Iroquois, his Majesty is persuaded they will be modified by the recall of Colonel Dongan. Nevertheless, if, contrary to all probability, you should fall in with any English in arms against you, and disposed to prevent you executing your orders in this regard, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you charge and treat them in all respects as enemies.

Touching the exchange of Manatte and Orange which you propose, it is not possible at present; and 'twill eventually be necessary to find means to prevent the English of those two places thwarting the trade of the French. * * * * * *

I am, &c.

Summary of the Minister's Answers to Letters from Canada.

Extracts from the Summary of the answers to the letters received from Canada. 8th March, 1688.

To Messrs de Denonville and de Champigny.

1st Extract.

I inform them that his Majesty is satisfied with the conduct observed by each of them in the last Campaign in their respective departments; and that he is persuaded that Sieur de Denonville will do every thing that depends on him to draw from this war all the advantages necessary for the benefit of the Colony, and that he will terminate it in the most prompt and most glorious manner possible.

Meanwhile I advise them that his Majesty sends by the first vessels going to Canada, 300 soldiers, to wit, 150 to be incorporated into, and to complete the companies already there, and 150 to form three new companies.

That his Majesty has nominated only six of the 9 officers of those companies, viz[t] three Captains and 3 Lieutenants, to conduct those three hundred soldiers.

That he sends commissions for the three Ensigns, in blank, which he confides to Sieur de Denonville to be filled with the best persons of that grade in the country.

I observe to them that although it appears by the returns they have sent, that there are 1527 soldiers, so that only 73 are wanting to complete the old companies, yet his Majesty has not hesitated to send the 150 they have asked for, in order to afford them the means of replacing those who will become settlers. But as it is not the inferior who adopt this sort of resolution, and as they would, by that means, be deprived of their best men, his Majesty does not wish such soldiers to be absolutely discharged until the end of the war.

His Majesty approves of Sieur de Denonville having organized a company of Young Canadians, and has provided funds for their support this year, but as this creates a considerable increase of expense, he desires that it terminate as soon as possible.

I explain to them that the war supplies for this year have been limited to 75m[ll] by his Majesty, who has caused to be transmitted to them again from Rochefort the 600 fusils and ammunition they have demanded.

That he recommends them to use great economy in the employment of these funds.

And that his Majesty is persuaded that, with this aid and what management they will be able to apply, they will easily provide for all the wants of the ensuing campaign.

II. It has afforded his Majesty much pleasure to receive the high testimony they bear of the conduct of Chevaliers de Callières and de Vaudreuil, and he has granted a gratuity of 500 livres to the latter, and a commission to Chevalier de Callières continuing him in the command of the troops the same as last year.

In regard to the other officers who are in charge of frontier posts, and do not receive any pay from his Majesty, he remits to Quebec 3m[ll] to be distributed among them according to the merits of each, and relies on Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny to make this distribution in such a manner as will, in their opinion, promote the good of his Majesty's service.

III. The project of inclosing Villemarie is not feasible at present, inasmuch as his Majesty has plenty of other expenses to meet, and it is more expedient to employ the funds allowed for fortifications in the construction of such forts as they shall consider proper to be erected at places indispensably nccessary to be guarded.

His Majesty highly approves their having caused one to be built at Niagara, and is persuaded that it will afford friendly Indians, and particularly the Illinois, an opportunity to harrass the Iroquois this winter by small parties who will find a sure retreat in that post.

He has approved, also, of their having completed that of Cataracouy, the necessity and importance of which he admits.

In regard to the principal misfortune of the Colony that of being exposed and open to the incursions of the enemy, his Majesty sees nothing so necessary and so important as to concentrate the settlements, and form them into towns and villages.

As they are on the spot, and can judge better than others of the difficulty or facility attending the execution of that project, his Majesty desires that they do not lose sight of it, and that they employ such means as are best adapted to insure its eventual success.

IV. It is unfortunate that the Iroquois have captured 8 of our canoes, as it is to be feared it will render them arrogant and cause them to refuse such terms of peace as will possibly be proposed to them; and hence the evident necessity that exists for the adoption of effectual measures of safeguard.

V. His Majesty is surprised that they have not had any news of Sieur De la Salle inasmuch as intelligence is frequently received in France relating to him, which I communicate to them.

VI. To M. de Denonville.

[Here follows an Abstract of the Minister's despatch already printed, supra, p. 372.]

In advising him of the 300 men his Majesty sends, I recommend him to dispose matters in such wise that the forces he has may suffice, and his Majesty is persuaded that, with his industry, his capacity, the junction of the Regulars to whatever militia he may draft from the country, and the aid of friendly Indians, he will find means to operate advantageously and to put a prompt termination to this war.

I transmit him a Memoir that has been sent me of the means whereby it appears possible to bring the Iroquois war to a speedy conclusion; and I direct his attention to the fact, that it

is not intended thereby to determine his future action in that war; for knowing the country as he does, it is certain he will always adopt the best course. However, let him make the best use possible of that Memoir, observing that the plan of attacking the Mohawks and Onnontagues simultaneously this year, and of afterwards wintering among them appears the best that can be adopted, because he will thereby spread terror throughout their country, and put it beyond the power of the enemy to reëstablish themselves during the winter.

His project of disconnecting the Iroquois villages is very good, and its success is very desirable as 'tis, certainly, the most prompt and effectual means of terminating this war.

In case peace be proposed by those Indians, or by the English on their behalf, his Majesty wishes the most advantageous conditions possible be obtained from them; but it is desirable that, previous to the conclusion of such peace, he inflict sufficient injury on them as to strike them with terror, and to oblige them to comply with our wishes in future.

Let him so manage, during the continuation of this war, as to make the greatest number of prisoners possible as it is certain that these Indians, who are vigorous and accustomed to hardship, can serve usefully on board his Majesty's galleys.

I send him a Memoir to serve him for Instruction respecting the explanations he is to furnish in order to terminate the differences existing between the French and the English about the property of the countries of North America.

[Here follow the Title and an Abstract of the Memoir of Instructions already printed, supra p. 371.]

VII. To Sieur Parat.[1]

" As regards the English who have deceased in the French settlements, if their wives and children be Catholics and intend to continue to reside in the country, he has only to allow them the enjoyment of their property.

Plan for the Termination of the Iroquois War.

Project respecting the War to be waged against the Iroquois. 8 May,[2] 1688.

It appears by the Maps of the localities that have been sent hither, and by the report of those who have seen, and are acquainted with them, that the easiest mode to overpower the Iroquois would be to divide the army into two sections, one of which would proceed by Lake Champlain, and afterwards overland directly against the Mohawks, who are the Iroquois nearest the French settlements and can most distress them.

The other portion of the army would enter Lake Ontario and disembark at the place called La Famine, whence it would proceed direct to Theioguen, which is the beginning of the Onnontagué cabins; then crossing the river which falls into Lake Theioguen a little above the place where it discharges into that lake, it would reach other cabins in its vicinity, called Touenho, and thence proceed to the Great village of the Onnontagués, which is not far distant and consists of one hundred cabins.

[1] See supra, p. 318.

[2] Quere! March. See supra, p. 374. — Ed.

It would next be proper that the division of the army, which would have attacked the Onnontagués, should burn all the cabins and fortifications, and secure all the provisions that could be conveyed to Theioguen where the cabins would have been preserved, and where it would be proper to station, during the winter, a corps of four hundred men, one-fourth Militia and three-fourths Regulars, who would easily keep up a communication with La Famine, so as to obtain thence whatever provisions they would require; it would be necessary to leave at the last mentioned place one hundred soldiers well fortified to guard the bateaux and crews. It will also be necessary to station at Niagara two hundred men, well protected, one-fourth Militia and the remaining three-fourths Regulars, and a garrison of only fifty soldiers at Fort Frontenac. It would also be proper to have one or two barcalongas mounted with some small pieces of cannon and patereros on Lake Ontario, in order to cut off the passage of the Iroquois canoes, or to protect those of the Outawas or Hurons.

It would also be necessary that three or four hundred of the soldiers who would have marched against the Mohawks, should retain possession of, and fortify their cabins, and preserve all the provisions they might find in them, and that they draw the remainder from Lake Champlain where a guard of sixty or eighty soldiers well posted should be left in charge of the bateaux.

The entire force left in these various places would amount only to one thousand and sixty or eighty Regulars and one hundred and fifty Militia.

One chief officer would be required at Theiroguen, another at the Mohawks; at Niagara a man well acquainted with the country and conversant with the manners of the Indians, and some good captains at the other posts.

M. De Denonville could, afterwards, return with the remainder of the troops whom he would distribute throughout Montreal, Quebec and other necessary places.

If it would be requisite to recommence the war against those Savages in the following spring or at the beginning of summer, two hundred soldiers should be sent from Montreal to La Famine, to unite with the Indian allies that could be collected, and the 400 men posted at Theiroguen, in order to march in a body by way of Onnontagué to attack and entirely destroy Cayuga, another Iroquois hamlet of 80 cabins. All those troops would afterwards return by the same road from that expedition to Theiroguen, and, after having utterly destroyed every thing, proceed thence to La Famine where a fort could be erected and two hundred men stationed, as at Niagara, and a hundred at Fort Frontenac with the two barcalongas.

The other troops that would have wintered at the Mohawks, strengthened by some other reinforcements to be sent from Quebec by Lake Champlain, could march against Oneida, another Iroquois Nation, which they would utterly destroy and then return to the Mohawks, whom they would ravage and annihilate in like manner, and thence proceed to Lake Champlain on whose banks it would be necessary to build a fort at the place of debarcation, where a hundred men would have to be left.

The execution of this plan necessitates the practicability of conveying sufficient provisions for the troops who will winter among the Mohawks, at Théiroguen and at the other posts. That admitted, the scheme appears feasible, and one of the best means effectually to conquer those Indians, without imperiling the French settlements which will be covered by the march of those various troops and of the guards on Lakes Ontario and Champlain.

It appears also that the only means of preventing these tribes collecting together again, consists in stationing large garrisons among them until they be utterly destroyed or peace be

reëstablished; whilst annually marching against them, would leave them at leisure to repair easily in the autumn, in the winter, and even in the spring, what might cost a great deal of trouble to destroy in the summer, and would be the means of perpetuating this war, which it is advantageous to terminate promptly.

It would be necessary that Sieur de Tonty should repair at the appointed time next year, with the French and Indians, and one hundred and fifty of those men stationed at Niagara, to the Bay of the Therotons[1] whence they would march to Onnontatae where there are some Indian Cabins, and thence to the principal canton, called Cayuga, whilst the commander of the corps posted at Theiroguen would arrive there with his troops, from a different point.

That post of the Bay of the Theiotons appears considerable, inasmuch as two roads terminate there, one of which leads to the Senecas, the other to Cayuga. Thus a fort constructed there, to be garrisoned by two hundred men, would keep these tribes in check; and the people of that fort and of Niagara, with those who would be stationed in the Fort of La Famine and at Fort Frontenac, could coöperate together; and, as the communication between all these posts is easy, by Lake Ontario, they could, whenever 'twas considered proper, effect a junction in order to exterminate such of those tribes as might begin to reëstablish themselves in their country. In this way terror would be spread among them and they would be forced to sue for peace, and a long and very difficult march, every year, to reduce those tribes to reason would be no longer necessary.

Moreover, those posts at Niagara, Tehirotons, La Famine and Frontenac with the two barks which would cruise on Lake Ontario, would put a complete stop to the communication of the Iroquois with the Outawas and Hurons, and assuredly prevent all commerce in that direction.

As seven hundred men only would be in those posts on Lake Ontario, M. de Denonville would still have plenty of troops remaining, which he could post at points he may judge most necessary to secure the French settlements. A fort at the end of Lake Champlain towards the Mohawks, being at the head of the whole, could contribute to that object.

Memoir of M. de Denonville on the French Limits in North America.

Memoir explanatory of the Right the French have to the property of the Countries of North America, especially the South part of Acadia, from Pantagouët to the River Kinibeky; of the Countries of the Iroquois and Hudson's Bay, with the posts occupied there by them and by the English, sent to the Court for its information by the Marquis de Denonville, the King's Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France. Done at Versailles, the 8th March of the present year, 1688.

Signed, Louis.
And lower down, Colbert.

Sieur de Champlain has treated this question very fully in his Book entituled: *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dite Canada, par le Sr de Champlain. À Paris, chez Pierre Le Mur, dans la grande salle du Palais*, 1632.

[1] Little Sodus Bay. See note 2, supra, p. 364. — Ed.

At p. 290, towards the end of that work, Sieur de Champlain makes a sort of dissertation which clearly decides the question. He gives it this title:

"Abstract of the discoveries of New France, as well of what we, as of what the English have discovered from the Virginias to Davis Strait, as of what they and we can pretend to according to the report of the Historians who have written thereupon, as I report below, which will enable every one to judge dispassionately of the whole.[1]

If a desire exist, then, to treat this matter thoroughly, and to be perfectly informed of the right of the French and of the English, it is necessary only to read that Abstract of Sieur de Champlain; every thing will be found very well examined, and it will appear that the French have taken possession of all the Countries, from Florida to Cape Breton prior to any other Christian Prince.

For, to quote only a few words of what that Abstract contains, it will be seen there:

That in 1504, the Bretons and the Normands first discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland as can be seen in the History of Wiflet Sieur de Magin, printed at Douay.[2]

In 1523, Jean Varason, in virtue of a Commission from Francis I., took possession of the territory beginning at the 33^{d} degree of Latitude as far as 47th.

In 1535, Gibault[3] and Laudonnière having gone to Florida by authority of King Charles IX., to inhabit and cultivate that country, founded Carolina there in the 35th and 36th degrees.

But particularly in 1603 and following years, Sieur de Champlain being in Canada was in command of that Colony, and in 1609, went with two other Frenchmen into Lake Champlain, of which he took possession in the name of King Henry IV., and called it after himself; and he relates, in his book of Voyages, that after he had discovered Lake Champlain, he was as far as the Country of the Iroquois.

In the years 1611 and 1612, he ascended the Grand River[4] as far as Lake Huron, called the Fresh Sea;[5] he went thence to the Petun Nation, next to the Neutral Nation and to the Macoutins who were then residing near the place called the Sakiman;[6] from that he went to the Algonquin and Huron tribes, at war against the Iroquois. He passed by places he has, himself, described in his book, which are no other than Detroit and Lake Erié.

And as it is an established custom and right recognized among all Christian Nations, that the first discoverers of an unknown Country not inhabited by Europeans, who plant the arms of their Prince there, acquire the property of that Country for that Prince in whose name they have taken possession of it.

On that principle[7] and no author being found who states that the English had taken possession of the countries of Canada, or discovered them, unless subsequently to the French, they having come to the countries of Canada, Virginia and Florida only in 1594, whilst the French took possession of them in 1504, 1523 and 1564, which fact the English cannot question, inasmuch as Jacques Cartier visited in 1534 all the coasts of that country; his Relations and those of Alphonse Xaintongois and Verazon attest it, and are inserted at length in the Collections of divers accounts which Purchas and Hackluit, Englishmen, have published in London, in their language. And it is notorious that Sieur Champlain did for many years prosecute the fur trade at the place where Boston now stands, and further down towards the

[1] See supra, p. 1.

[2] Histoire Universelle des Indes Occidentales et Orientales, et de la Conversion des Indiens. Fol: Douai, 1611. *Ternaux*, 343.

[3] Ribault. [4] Ottawa. [5] La Mer douce.

[6] See note, supra, p. 293. [7] Something seems omitted here in the text. Compare supra, p. 265. — Ed.

North or East, along the same Coast, during more than ten years, before any English or Dutch inhabited that quarter.

The foundation of the English pretences is this:—About the year 1594, some Englishmen being on the Coasts of Florida, arrived at a place they called Mocosa, and which they since named Virginia. James, King of England, granted them, for their encouragement, great privileges, among others to extend their right from the 33d degree to the 45th or 46th. The Royal Charter was issued on the 10th of April, 1607, in these words: *Potestatem facimus occupandi possidendique tractus omnes ad gradum usque quadragesimum quintum ita si a christianorum principe nulli teneantur.*

This is all the foundation the English have; it is manifestly null, because it is stated in the above Letters patent of King James:—We grant them all the countries up to the 45th degree not possessed by any Christian Prince. Now, it is indubitable that at the date of the aforesaid Grant, the King of France was in possession of at least up to the 40th degree of Latitude, the place where the Dutch since settled.

And in 1603, commander de Chastes was Lieutenant-General for the Most Christian King in New France from the 40th to the 52nd degree and it is even certain, as already stated, that, as early as the year 1523, Jean Varason took possession of all the countries from the 33rd to the 47th degree.

And in 1564 the French, in the name of Charles IX., took possession of Florida in the 35th and 36th degrees, where Carolina was situate. All this is clearly seen in the above Abstract of Sieur de Champlain, which it is well to consult in order to have fuller knowledge thereof.

Almost all the same matter can be likewise seen in the History of New France published by Sieur L'Escarbot, *à Paris chez Jean Milloit, devant St Barthélemy, aux Trois Couronnes*, 1612.

The King's Edict of the Month of May, 1664, will also show among other things, that the property of Canada, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland &c. the Main lands from the North of Canada unto Virginia and Florida, did belong to the West India Company, to which it was granted by the King, as far and as deep as they could extend into the interior. This is proved by an Extract of said two Edicts, signed Panvset, chief clerk of the Sovereign Council at Quebec. App. A.

And by another revoking said Company, of the Month of December, 1674, his Majesty has united to and incorporated with the Domain of his Crown all the said lands and countries, to wit, among others, Canada or New France, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland and other Islands and the Mainland from the North of said country of Canada unto Virginia and Florida.

Acadia having been taken by the English from the French during the war between France and England, and peace being, afterwards, concluded between the two Crowns, Chevalier de Grandfontaine, his most Christian Majesty's Commander throughout the entire coasts and countries of Acadia, and Chevalier Temple, Lieutenant-General and Governor of those countries for the King of Great Britain, made a Treaty at Boston on the 7th July, 1670, restoring to France the forts of Pentagouet, of the River St. John, Port Royal, Cape Sable, La Heve and generally all the lands and rivers comprehended within the said country of Acadia, conformably to his Britannic Majesty's letter, of which Sieur de Grandfontaine was bearer, and Articles X. and XI. of the Treaty of Breda, as is to be seen by the said Treaty of the 7th July, 1670.

In consequence whereof, said Sieur de Grandfontaine on the 14th of August following, commissioned Sieur de Marson, sub-Lieutenant, to take possession of Port Royal and of the fort

of the River S[t] John, (as is proved by the aforesaid Treaties and Commissions found in the files of the Sovereign Council at Quebec, produced under collation. Signed PENVCET. App. B.) whence it appears that said Sieur de Grandfontaine was at Pentagouet; wherefore, it is to be noted that S[r]. Andros, Governor of Boston, ought not to have, this year 1688, plundered Sieur de S[t]. Castin, at Pentagouet, as he has done.

It is also to be remarked that, besides the said treaty concluded between said Chevalier de Grandfontaine and Chevalier Temple, they have concluded still another which bounds the country of Acadia and separates it from that which the English occupy by the River Kinibéki. M[r]. de Grandfontaine and M[r]. Temple ought to have each a duplicate thereof. A copy of it has been seen in the hands of M[r]. Richard Denis de Fronsac, or of Jean Fevrean S[t] Aubin, inhabitants of Acadia. Sieur Denis, father of said Sieur de Frontenac[1] has written the history of Acadia, to which reference may be had.

Other titles and papers, proving the French right to that country, can also be found in Acadia by researches that can be made there on the spot, which is at too great a distance from this place. See thereupon, the Memoir entituled—Of the Right which the French may have to the South part of Acadia, from Pentagouet to the River Kinnibéky; also marked 20.

And to come to the right of property the French have over the country of the Iroquois. In addition to what has been already stated of Sieur de Champlain, he has been, twice at war (in that country) long before the Dutch or English of Manat or Orange had set foot on shore, which also is proved, by the Relations already mentioned, an extract whereof, which must be read at length, forms App. C. Not to mention the fact that the King has, for over forty years, kept at his own expense, in the Iroquois country, several Frenchmen who with some Jesuit missionaries, have been to build and have resided in the five Iroquois cantons all at the same time, down to these latter days when the rumors of war forced them to retire, one after another.

In 1656, M[r]. de Lauzon, the King's Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France, sent, at the solicitation of the Iroquois themselves, into their country, to a place called Ganentaa, as many as sixty Frenchmen including a Garrison of twelve soldiers under the command of Sieur Dupuis, who caused to be constructed at that place a Royal fort whither were conveyed four pieces of Bronze Cannon, which have remained there, and will be found again by the French who were there at the time and are still living. This is proved by said Sieur Dupuis' commission of the 15[th] May, 1656. App. D.; by the discharges *(congés)* granted by said Sieur Dupuis to some of the Soldiers of the garrison of Ganentaa, on the 1[st] and 8[th] September, 1657; by the account of the said Soldiers; by an Order of the Council of the last of April, 1658, and by another Order of said Council of 19[th] May, 1656, for the payment of the repair *(réfraction)* of the arms of said soldiers, the whole being on the same sheet, Signed Penvcet, App. E. In which country, the said sixty Frenchmen cleared, and planted lands with French grain and other legumes, built many large houses, (Statement of the payments and wages made to said Sr. Dupuys and Soldiers by the Commissary of stores, from 26 Nov[r]., 1657; also signed Penvcet. App. F.) and lived there peaceably and without any opposition on the part of those who were then in possession of Manat and Orange, who, far from being masters of the country of the Iroquois, purchased from them some portion of their lands, when they wished for any, as they still do at present. And what is worthy of remark is that the Iroquois themselves came in 1655, on an Embassy to Quebec to request of said Sieur de Lauzon, those

[1] Sic—ED.

sixty Soldiers aforesaid, and conducted them, the following year to the said place of Ganentaa; where they located, established, and put them is possession, (Inquest made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, the 29 and 30th October, 1688. App. G.) and where they remained until the Iroquois having committed some acts of hostility in the direction of Montreal, the Commander of said Fort thought proper to retire with his garrison in order to protect the sixty men aforesaid from the wicked designs the Iroquois had concocted against them.

And in order to show that the country of the Iroquois was at the disposition of the Governor of Quebec to make grants thereof in the same manner as of the other lands of his government, it is worthy of remark that, at the time Sieur Dupuis was sent with his soldiers on the part of the King, to construct the aforesaid Fort of Ganentaa and garrison it, Mr. de Lauzon made a grant in due form of a part of said lands to the Jesuit missionary fathers, who were of the sixty Frenchmen aforesaid. (The Deed is dated, the 12th of April, 1656. App. H.)

In 1665, as is proved by the copy of the articles of peace of the 13th December, 1665, collation whereof is certified by Penvcet, App. I., the four Iroquois Nations of Onnontagué, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca being come to sue for peace, it was granted them by Mr de Tracy according to the terms thereon concluded.

And in order to check the Mohawk Indians, who were frequently coming to kill our French people even in their settlements, Mr de Tracy went with an armed force in 1666 as far as their country of which he made himself master, and set up the King's arms there, taking by that means possession anew of the Iroquois territory without any opposition on the part of the English who were then at Manatte and at Orange. This is proved by the *prise de possession* thereof drawn up on the 17th October, 1666, by Sieur Dubois, for Mr Talon the King's Intendant, by Acte passed before Duguet Notary, who had, for this purpose, accompanied the Army. App. L.

And what adds great weight to all this is, that, besides the taking possession of the Mohawk country by said Sieur de Tracy with an armed force in the fall of the year 1666, the Deputies of the other four Iroquois Nations came to said Mr de Tracy in 1667, and in due form, by an Act signed on the one part and the other, by the Iroquois after their fashion, and by us after ours, did give themselves to the French and placed their country under the King's dominion. The originals have been approved and carried to France at the request of Mr Talon, the then Intendant.

Since that time, our Frenchmen have always carried on trade with the Iroquois; Mr Courcelles having gone up with a number of French to Lake Ontario, to the place named Katarakui where the said Iroquois being, they were [he was] received by the latter as their Father; and in the year 1673, Count de Frontenac having gone to Katarakui, likewise accompanied by a number of Frenchmen, had a Royal fort to be erected there where the King has always kept a garrison and a Governor, whom Sieur de Frontenac caused to build at the said Katarakui divers barks which have always navigated and traded with the Senecas and other Iroquois as far as Niagara, where Sieur de la Salle (as is proved by two writings drawn up by Sieur De la Salle for the benefit of Moyse Hilser, dated at Fort Crevecœur the 1st and 2nd March 1680 which affords evidence of said Sieur De la Salle's residence and trade at Niagara in 1676. App. N.) had built in 1676, a store, a forge and other buildings for the greater accommodation of the trade with the said Senecas and other Iroquois, who used to come to us in the French settlements at Katarakui and Niagara (See the Procès Verbal of the new entry into possession of said peace of Niagara by the Marquis de Denonville, last July, 1687,

on the return march of the army commanded by him against the Senecas, signed by Collation Penvcet. App. O.) and this trade has continued, and our Frenchmen have always had peaceable possession of the Iroquois Country, going and coming to their villages and many residing with the Missionaries there, until the war with the Iroquois having broke out, the Frenchmen, Missionaries and others were obliged to withdraw, (See also the two last depositions in said inques theretofore lettered G., and by the Act of the New Entry into possession of the Country of the Senecas, dated 19 July, 1687. App. . . . 21.) whereupon Colonel Dongan, Governor of New-York, took occasion, in 1684, to send to the Iroquois village to set up the arms of the King of England therein and to take possession thereof, offering them powder and other munitions of war to induce them to admit the necessity that existed of giving themselves to him. But this entry into possession being illegitimate and posterior, by so many years, to that of the French, cannot convey any right to the English over those lands, which already belong to the French by so many anterior titles, as has been previously remarked, and by so many lawful and incontestable rights.

The futility of Sieur Dongan's claim to the property of the country of the Iroquois, and that the latter are within his government (That is proved by the said pieces signed by Collation, Penvret and lettered P.) is manifest according to what Sieur de Champlain hath done and what has been heretofore stated, and among other things, by a letter written by the Council of Quebec, the 20th of June, 1651, to the Commissioners of New England to the effect that the Iroquois had no connection with nor dependence on the English; which is sustained by the Commission to the Deputies therein named from Mr d'Aillebout, then Governor of New France. (This is again confirmed by the articles of Peace made with Mr de Tracy and the Iroquois in 1665, lettered already I., and by the Act and Declaration recently made by them at Montreal the 15th June, 1688. App. L.)

For as regards Colonel Dongan's assertions, that the country of the Iroquois belongs to his government because, according to him, it is South of his jurisdiction, we answer in the first place, that it is not South, but in fact West North West of Manatte.

Secondly, though it were South, that cannot derogate from the rights of the French who had taken possession of it even before the Dutch or the English had set foot at Manatte, and who, since they are there, never opposed it, until within three or four years, which cannot confer any right on them.

To come now to the possessions and establishments (these will be proved by the acts which Mr. Talon has in Paris,) which have been acquired in ascending the St. Lawrence, since the post of Niagara, Sieur de la Salle with thirty Frenchmen, of which number was Mr. Jollier,[1] Priest, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, made the tour of Lake Erié and took possession of the circumjacent lands, after Sieur Jolliet, with Father Marquet, Jesuit, had long before done the same thing, in order to renew the entry into possession of Sieur de Champlain in 1612.

And after that, in 1676, (Proved by a writing of said Sieur de la Salle for the benefit of Moyse hillers in March, 1680. App. N.; by the procés verbal of the M. de Denonville of last July, 1687. App. O. and by the inquisition of the said Lieutenant General of Quebec. Also App., supra, G.) said Sieur de la Salle caused a ship and a large house to be built above the Falls of Niagara, within three or four leagues of Lake Erié, where are still visible the stocks whereon was built the said vessel, which having been completed in 1677, about the feast of St. John the Baptist, was conducted, freighted with Merchandise into the said Lake Erié, and thence

[1] *Sic.* — Ed.

passed through the Detroit, where Fort St. Joseph or du Luth is built and where Sieur de la Durantaye renewed the entry into possession of the neighboring countries, North and South, (Entry into possession is dated 7 June, 1687. App. R.) navigated Lake Huron as far as Missilimakinak and thence through that of the Illinois or Missagans beyond the Huron islands, which said bark was constructed for the greater convenience of trading with the French who inhabited the said place of Missilimakinak for more than forty years; some French established at the Bay des Puans, with those at Fort S^{t}. Louis established by said Sieur de la Salle who had discovered the great River of Mississipi and descended it as far as the South Sea. For the continuation of which trade, he caused a fort and buildings to be erected and a bark to be begun at a place called Crevecœur, in order to proceed as far as the said South Sea, two-thirds of which bark only were built, the said Sieur de la Salle having afterwards employed canoes for his trade in said Countries, as he had already done for several years in the rivers Oyo, Sabache and others in the surrounding neighborhood which flow into the said River Mississipi, whereof possession was taken by him in the King's name, as appears by the Relations made thereof. The countries and rivers of Oyo or Abache and circumjacent territory were inhabited by our Indians, the Chasanons, Miamis and Illinois.

It is to be remarked that, as early as the year 1633, a good many Frenchmen having gone up to the Hurons with the Jesuit Fathers and Missionaries, settled there; and ten years afterwards, the King sent thirty soldiers thither, who remained there until the destruction of all the Hurons by the Iroquois, obliged the French to retire for a time; but they returned thither shortly afterwards in a much more considerable number, and spread themselves throughout those vast countries. (It is proved by an Arrêt of the Council of State of the 5th March, 1648, that his Majesty had authorized the sending to the Huron country a company of thirty men commanded by a Captain, for the purpose of escorting the Hurons and other Indians tribes, and to accompany the Missionaries who were no longer able to continue their Missions without aid.)

Thirdly, what is more authentic in this matter is the entry into possession of all those Countries made by M^{r}. Talon, Intendant of New France, who in 1671, sent Sieur de S^{t}. Lusson, his Subdelegate, into the country of the Stauas, who invited the Deputies of all the tribes within a circumference of more than a hundred leagues to meet at S^{t}. Mary of the Sault. On the 4th of June of the same year, fourteen tribes by their ambassadors repaired thither, and in their presence and that of a number of Frenchmen, Sieur de S^{t}. Lusson erected there a post to which he affixed the King's arms, and declared to all those people that he had convoked them in order to receive them into the King's protection, and in his name to take possession of all their lands, so that henceforth ours and theirs should be but one; which all those tribes very readily accepted. The commission of said Subdelegate contained these very words, viz^{t} That he was sent to take possession of the countries lying between the East and West, from Montreal to the South Sea, as much and as far as was in his power. This entry into possession was made with all those formalities, as is to be seen in the Relation of 1671, and more expressly in the record of the entry into possession, drawn up by the said Subdelegate. (See hereupon Mr. Talon who must have the procès verbal of the entry into possession by said Sieur de S^{t}. Loison.)

The next year, 1672, the River Mississipi and, at the same time, the Illinois, Chasanons, and other tribes unknown to Europeans, were discovered by Sieur Jolliet and the Jesuit Father

Marquet, who were as far as the 32nd degree, and set up the King's arms, taking possession in his name of all those recently discovered nations.

And some years after, Sieur de la Salle, extended the same discovery farther, even unto the Sea, taking every where possession by the King's arms, which he erected there.

All the foregoing demonstrates sufficiently the incontestable right the French have to the Iroquois lands, to those of the Stasas and all the other tribes inhabiting the countries aforementioned, and others whereof possession has also been taken in his Majesty's name, along the River St. Lawrence, the lakes it forms and the Rivers discharging therein, which constitute the continuation of the waters of said River St. Lawrence, (The River St. Lawrence is proved by the concession of Mr de Lauzon of the 15th May, 1656, to Sieur Dupuy, already mentioned under App. D.) from the gulf always following the some point of the compass, and extends beyond Lake Superior, proceeding from the Lake des Alépinigons, without any interruption of the navigation, our bârks having always sailed from Lake to Lake along said river, the one making their voyage from the place called la Galette, to Niagara on Lake Ontario or Frontenac, and the others from above the Falls of Niagara unto the head of Lake Missigamé, or Illinois, passing through that of Erié, then following said River St. Lawrence by the Detroit and Fort St. Joseph, or du Luth, and thence into Lake Huron or the Fresh Sea, which communicates *(repond)* with the said lake of the Illinois as well as the said Lakes Superior and des Alépinigons, where the French actually are trading and have divers establishments; and it demonstrates their possession of the great River Mississipi which they have discovered as far as the South Sea, on which river also they have divers establishments, as well as on that of Oyo, Ouabache, &c., which flow into the said River Mississipi, and of the countries and lands in the vicinity of said rivers, where they actually carry on trade, which countries are easily recognized on the general map of North America.

Declaration of Neutrality by three of the Iroquois Nations.

Declaration of the Iroquois in presence of Monsieur de Denonville at Montreal, 15th June 1688.

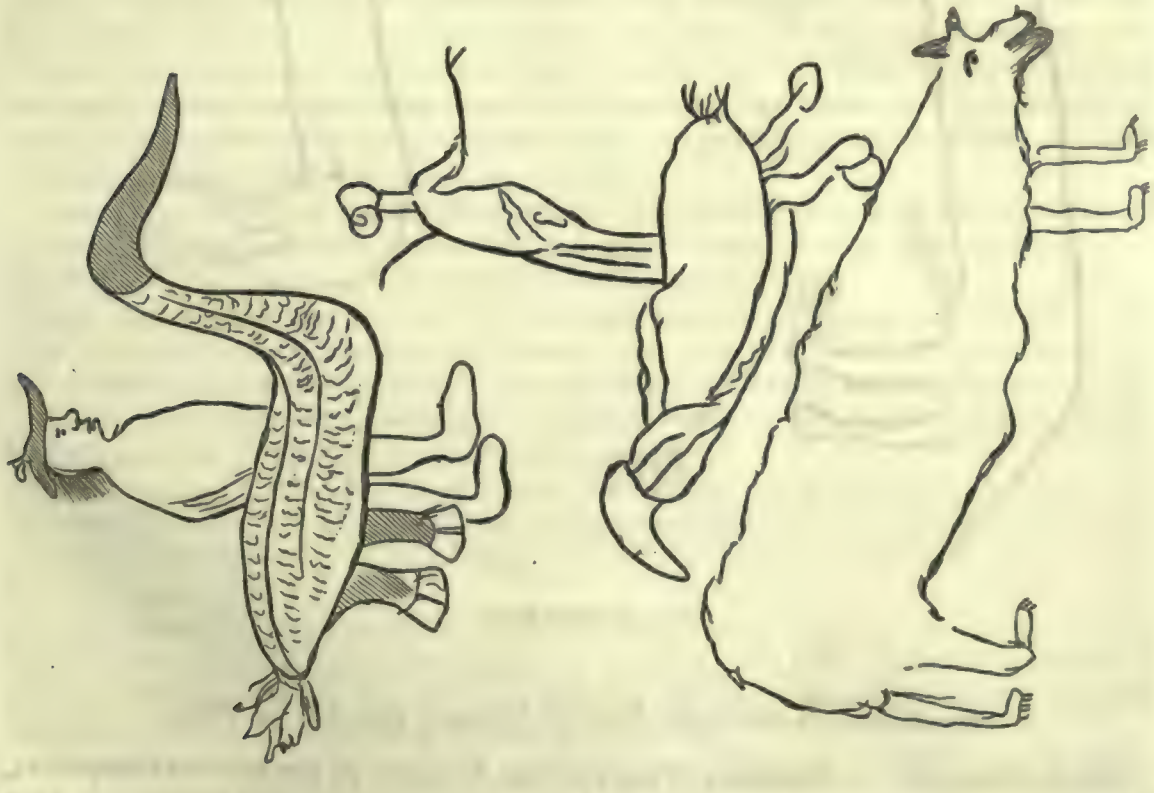
The Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas being come to Montreal to see the Marquis de Denonville and the Intendant, and to assure them that they were come to negotiate a durable peace and to live henceforward in good understanding with them, Mr de Denonville and the Intendant having proved to and told them that they desired nothing else, but that it was difficult, as Mr Dongan had informed us by divers of his letters that you were his subjects and could conclude nothing except by his orders; to which the aforesaid Onondagas, etc. answered, — That it was not true, and that they had always resisted his pretensions and wished only to be friends of the French and English, equally, without either the one or the other being their masters, because they held their country directly of God, and had never been conquered in war, neither by the French nor the English, and that their intention was only to observe a

perfect neutrality; and in order to leave forever a mark of their will and intentions, they have subscribed in the manner following, which are the marks of their three Nations—

Totems.

The Rattle Snake		The Oneida Otatchette
The Loon	The Cayuga.	The Wolf Sagoyenthon
Otroouaté	Tonnonehiouta.	Tiagouhente.
The Onnontaé	Orehouae	Onnakouemouton
	Oskonnonton.	Tannonchies
	Tiotorekoui	
	Tegajami	

Tahionhoueta Laonendio gajannetonchera
Annagoga Toukouriennert
Garagontié Guaonhahé



The man called La grande gueule by the French, and Otreouaté by the Iroquois,[1] who spoke here at Montreal in public on several occasions in June, and twice repeated what precedes in the speeches, did himself, assisted by two Iroquois, affix the subjoined Totems and delineate with his own hand the figures of these Animals; which he did in quality of Speaker and Deputy of the three Iroquois Nations, to wit, Of the Cayugas, Onontagues and Oneidas.

Collated with the original remaining in my hands, by me Councillor, King's Secretary and Chief Clerk to the Sovereign Council at Quebec. Signed Penuset, with paraph.

Compared at Quebec this 12th 9ber, 1712.

VAUDREUIL.

BEGON.



Condition in which the Fort of Niagara was left in 1688.

On the fifteenth day of September of the year One thousand, six hundred and eighty-eight, in the forenoon, Sieur Desbergères, Captain of one of the companies of the Detachment of the

[1] See note, supra, p, 243. — ED.

Marine and Commandant of Fort Niagara, having assembled all the officers, the Reverend Father Millet of the Society of Jesus Missionary, and others, to communicate to them the orders he has received from the Marquis de Denonville Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the whole extent of New France and country of Canada, dated the 6th of July of the present year, whereby he is commanded to demolish the fortification of said Fort, with the exception of the cabins and quarters, which will be found standing *(en nature)*.

We, Chevalier de la Mothe, Lieutenant of a detached company of the Marine, and Major of said Fort, have made a Procès Verbal, by order of said Commandant, containing a Memorandum of the condition in which we leave said quarters which will remain entire, for the purpose of maintaining the possession His Majesty and the French have for a long time had in this Niagara District.

Firstly:—

We leave in the centre of the square a large, framed, Wooden Cross, eighteen feet in height, on the arms of which are inscribed in large letters, these words:—

REGN· VINC· ℣ IMP·CHRS·

which was erected on last Good Friday by all the officers and solemnly blessed by the Reverend Father Millet.

Item, a cabin in which the Commandant lodged containing a good chimney, a door and two windows furnished with their hinges, fastenings and locks, which cabin is covered with forty-four deal boards and about six other boards arranged inside into a sort of bedstead.

Item, in the immediate vicinity of said cabin is another cabin with two rooms, having each its chimney, ceiled *(lambrisés)* with boards and in each a little window and three bedsteads, the door furnished with its hinges and fastenings; the said cabin is covered with fifty deal boards, and there are sixty like boards on each side.

Item, right in front is the Reverend Father Millet's cabin furnished with its chimney, windows and sashes, shelves, a bedstead and four boards arranged inside, with a door furnished with its fastenings and hinges, the which is of twenty-four boards.

Item, another cabin, opposite the Cross, in which there is a chimney, a board ceiling and three bedsteads, covered with forty-two boards, with three like boards on one side of said cabin, there is a window with its sash and a door furnished with its hinges and fastenings.

Item, another cabin with a chimney, a small window with its sash and a door; covered with thirty deal boards; there are three bedsteads inside.

Item, a bakehouse furnished with its oven and chimney, partly covered with boards and the remainder with hurdles and clay; also an apartment at the end of said Bakery containing two chimneys: there are in said Bakery a window and door furnished with hinges and fastenings.

Item, another large and extensive framed building having a double door furnished with nails, hinges, and fastenings, with three small windows: the said apartment is without a chimney; 'tis floored with twelve plank *(madriers)* and about twelve boards are arranged inside, and without 'tis clapboarded with eighty-two plank.

Item, a large storehouse covered with one hundred and thirty boards, surrounded by pillars, eight feet high, in which there are many pieces of wood serving as small joists, and partly floored with several unequal plank. There is a window and a sliding sash.

Item, a well with its cover, above the scarp of the ditch.

All which apartments are in the same condition as they were last winter, and consequently inhabitable. Which all the Witnesses, namely, the Reverend Father Millet of the Society of Jesus, Missionary; Sieur Desbergères, Captain and Commander; Sieurs De la Mothe, La Rabelle, Demuratre de clerin and Sieurs de Gemerais, Chevalier de Tregay all lieutenants and officers, and Maheut, Pilot of the Bark *la Generale* now in the Roadstead, certify to have seen and visited all the said apartments and have accordingly signed the Minute and Original of these presents:—Pierre Millet of the Soc^{y} of Jesus, Desbergeres, Chevalier De la Mothe, De La Rabelle, Murat, De Clerin, de la Gemesais, Commander de Tsegimo, and Maheut. Collated with the original in my hands, by me the undersigned Councillor, secretary of the King, and Chief Clerk to the sovereign Council at Quebec. Thus signed Penuset, with Paraph.

Compared at Quebec the 12th 9^{ber}, 1712.

Signed VAUDREUIL.

Signed BEGON.

Relation of the Events of the War, and State of the Affairs in Canada.

Quebec, 30th October, 1688.

You will understand from the account I am about to give you of the events of our war, and of the state of the affairs of this country, that the presentiments, I informed you last year I entertained on the subject, arose only from the knowledge I have these twenty-three years past of the advantage our enemies possess over us, by reason of the woods and the great difference in their mode of life and ours.

Therefore, I beg you to believe that whatever I shall state to you respecting the faults committed in this expedition and since, does not proceed from any resentment I entertain against others, but solely from the interest I take in common with the rest of the country, in the public welfare.

M. de Saint Vallier[1] was greatly surprised on arriving in the country, to find things in a different condition from that in which he had left them, and was very sorry to have so much exaggerated, in the Letter he had printed at Paris, the morality of the people here and the blessings which God shed on them, since by a policy very usual among those of his rank and

[1] Right Rev. JEAN BAPTISTE DE LACROIX CHEVRIÈRE DE SAINT VALLIER, second Bishop of Quebec, was born at Grenoble, on the 14th of November, 1653. He was Chaplain to Louis XIV., in 1684, when he was appointed Vicar-General by Bishop de Laval. He arrived in Canada on the 30th of July, 1685, and remained in that country until November, 1687, when he went to Paris and was consecrated Bishop of Quebec on the 25th of January, 1688, and in August following, returned to Canada. He founded the General Hospital of Quebec, in 1693, and in revisited France, where he sojourned until 1704, when he embarked on board the King's ship *la Seine* for Canada. This vessel was captured in the month of July by the English, and M. de St. Vallier was carried to England, where he, and the several clergymen who were accompanying him, remained prisoners until 1709, the House of Lords having presented an address to Queen Anne that in exchanging the Prelate, regard should be paid to the French Protestants in prison in France. Bishop St. Vallier died in the General Hospital of Quebec, on the 26th of December, 1727. Whilst in Paris, in 1688, he wrote the "Letter" mentioned in the text, which was published in March 1688, under the title of "Etat present de l'Eglise et de la Colonie Francoise dans la Nouvelle France. Par M. l'Evêque de Quebec." It also appeared under the title of "Relation des Missions de la Nouvelle France," without, however, any other change than that of the title page. It is a small 8vo., containing pp. 267. — ED.

profession, he was obliged, in a Sermon he preached, to attribute the scourge with which Canada was afflicted, to the sins of the people, and to exhort every one to penance and prayer so as to appease the wrath of God. But that discourse only increased the murmurs of his hearers, who attributed the war to human, rather than divine causes, and the dissatisfaction obliged him to suppress the two hundred copies he had brought of his book, which have not since made their appearance.

You have learned that since the treaty concluded by the two monarchs on colonial differences, the King of England has instructed Colonel Dongan, Governor of Orange, to negotiate peace between us and the Iroquois, forbidding him at the same time to furnish them arms and ammunitions should they refuse to comply. Hence, Miss d'Allonne and three soldiers belonging to the garrison of Fort Frontenac, having been surprised by 40 Iroquois of the Mohawk, Onontagué and Oneida cantons, who lurked around the fort, and having found means to give intelligence of their capture to Sieur d'Orvilliérs the commandant, that officer sent proposals for a conference to the Indians, informing them that if they would send three of their men to the Prairie he would delegate as many. The Indians having consented, Sieur Dorvilliers sent Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit, with two soldiers. This Father spoke to them first, and asked them why they were seizing our people since we were at war only with the Senecas. They answered, wherefore had we taken so many of their tribes; if we would restore them, they would give up our people. The Father having stated that they were at Quebec, and that notice of the present demands must needs be communicated to Onontio, they inquired respecting the condition of their men and having been answered that they were confined merely with a view to their safer detention, the Father presented them two belts to oblige them not to injure our prisoners, nor to take part with the Senecas. They received the belts, and went to rejoin Miss d'Allonnes, but with faces so sad and so pensive that she thought they were going to dispatch her. She, however, suffered only fear, and was immediately conveyed, with the other two, to Onontagué.

Those two belts were afterwards carried to Colonel Dongan who immediately sent the man named Gregoire to the Marquis de Denonville to know what he meant thereby. He made answer that he was about dispatching to M^{r} Dongan a gentleman who would communicate his intentions to him.

This was Father Vaillant, Jesuit, who set out on the last day of the year, and was instructed to demand of this Colonel what proposals he wished to offer, being unwilling to appear as having made the first advances.

The Colonel, surprised, said, that he had sent only to convey the two belts given by Father de Lamberville; however, he did not omit entering into discussion and submitting some proposals, but they were for the most part such as honor did not permit us to accept.

Namely, That the Prisoners who had been sent to the galleys in France should be restored:

That the Indians who have been settled for so many years among us at La Prairie de la Magdelaine and at the Montreal Mountain, should be sent back:

That the forts in the upper country, viz., Niagara and Frontenac, should be razed, and that we should restore what had been taken and pillaged from their people.

One of our Indians belonging to La Prairie de la Magdelaine, who had been taken last fall on the return ofour army, having escaped in the beginning of May, related that as soon as Father Vaillant set out from Orange on his return, Colonel Dungan held a meeting of several

Chiefs of the Nations, and told them that Onontio had sent him to request a negotiation of peace between us and them; but that he did not wish to promise it except on condition of razing the forts we occupy in their country; that we should restore all their prisoners and whatever we plundered from their people, and that he was waiting for Onontio's answer; that, meanwhile, they must lay down the hatchet, without burying it however, merely covering it under the grass, so as to be able to take it up again, should needs be; that his King forbad him furnishing them with arms and ammunition in case they wished to make war on the French, but they need not be alarmed at that, because, if peace should not be concluded, he would give them some of his own rather than abandon them; that they must be on their guard for fear of treachery on the part of the French, and divide themselves into two detachments, one to occupy the River *des Forts*, and the other Lake Champlain, in order to prevent as well surprisals as the victualing of the forts by killing all the French who would make their appearance in that quarter.

And so it happened. For early in the spring they spread themselves on all sides in those directions, so that no person dare venture so far, had it not been for the convoy which had been dispatched to Fort Frontenac early in the season and before they had occupied the avenues to it, and on the return of that convoy, a party of 25 to 30 of the enemy seized one of the rear canoes, and with blows of a sabre cut off the heads of two men who sat at the sides, in view of 120 men of that convoy, the commander whereof instead of going to the relief of those poor people ordered seventeen of his canoes to be destroyed so as to reinforce the others and to escape the quicker.

The Iroquois thus dispersed, daily made similar attacks, breaking heads, and taking prisoners, and even lay seige to the Fort of Chambly, which they thought of taking.

In the beginning of July, La Grande Gueule,[1] one of their Chiefs, accompanied by six warriors, came to Fort Frontenac to request an officer to conduct him to Montreal, whither, he said, he was desirous of proceeding for the purpose of negotiating peace with Onontio. Sub-Lieutenant de la Perelle was detached with him, and having embarked in their canoe, was not a little astonished to encounter, five leagues below, six hundred Indians who, by the discourse they held, made him bethink himself of his conscience. But after having amused themselves at his expense, they accompanied him as far as Lake S[t] Francis, where they met another party equal in number and halted, leaving him to continue his voyage to Montreal with La Grande Gueule.

After having exaggerated in the presence of Onontio the advantages of those of his Tribe, and the facility with which they could exterminate our people, in consequence of the knowledge he possessed of our weakness, this Savage said, that as he ever loved the French, he had done all in his power to prevent his people executing the project they had formed of burning all our barns and houses, killing all our cattle, setting fire to our grain when it would be ripe, and after we should be suffering from famine, *(affamés)* coming the night following and attacking our forts and our redoubts; that through his exhortations he had induced them to consent to visit Onontio in order to make peace on the conditions already set forth; finally, that he was allowed but four days to return to his people; that Onontio should give him a prompt answer and not pretend to delay him any longer, as he would not be responsible for what might occur.

This is, literally, what he said, and there is every appearance that they will easily execute their design in consequence of the discouragement under which the Colonists are laboring,

[1] See note, supra, p. 243.

who hear every day of their women and children being daily carried off, and more especially when they had learned that, of the hundred and twenty men that had been there[1] in garrison five soldiers, one captain and a lieutenant only were remaining; and that 93 had died of the same sickness at Fort Frontenac.

This was caused by the putridity of the provisions, which, owing to the carelessness of those entrusted with supplying and transporting them, were tainted even last fall when carried thither, and by neglecting to send medicines to those two places for the relief of the sick.

Those who had furnished and transported the supplies would have run the risk of being assuredly punished, had they not been favorites, and had means not been found to forget designedly, at a carrying place, the chest of Commissary-General Gaillard who was sent to investigate the matter on the spot. All those straits forced the Governor to connive at the bravadoes of this Savage, and to agree to a cessation of hostilities which he proposed, until the wane of the August moon, when he promised to return to consent to the truce being converted into a peace on the preceding conditions and not otherwise.

In the month of July, deputies arrived at Montreal from Colonel Dongan, who brought back 13 of our French people, among the rest Miss Dallonne, and a convoy of eleven hundred men was at once prepared to carry supplies to Fort Frontenac. La Grand Gueule offered some of his men to assist in this work, but his offer was thankfully declined, and not without reason, for as soon as the canoes set out, the enemy seized near La prézentation, at the point of the Island of Montreal, one of those in the rear with three men; and a party of Mohawks and Mohegans *(Loups)* made a foray on the River St. Francis, to which place those barbarians even went, as well as to River du Loup, Saurel, Contrecœur and S^{t} Ours, where they burned all the buildings except the redoubts; killed all the cattle they found there and on the adjacent islands, whither they had been conveyed; and all this without any opposition on our part, for the majority of the people of those places were engaged in conducting the above convoy.

The English delegation to Onontio, on its return, caused those parties to retire, by informing them of the truce, of which, perhaps, they were not ignorant; but they were desirous to serve us in the same manner that we had treated them. Besides, we learned from some among them, that Colonel Dongan had told them, that the true way to get their prisoners back was to capture some of our people.

No act of hostility has occurred since that time. The Governor waited at Montreal for La Grande Gueule, until the 10th of October, when he proceeded to Quebec. It is not known what could have detained that Indian — whether it was some new expedition, or the Meeting of all the Nations on the subject of what happened to four of their Deputies who were on their way hither to request the Governor to wait 20 days longer for their ambassadors.

The circumstance was this: — A small party of Hurons of the Upper Country, commanded by the Rat, a chief of the Indians under our protection, having met those 4 deputies at La Famine, killed one of them and made prisoners of the other three, whom he was unwilling to carry to Fort Frontenac for fear he should be obliged to surrender them; but one of the three, who had had his arm broken by a musket shot, having made his escape, took refuge there, and complained of the hostility of our allies; he was given to understand that we had no participation in it, and was escorted back to Onontagué.

Some Mohawks belonging to La Prairie de la Magdelaine having met, a few days before in the Grand river, four others of the enemy, carried off their scalps.

[1] Quere? at Niagara. — Ed.

The Abenakis indignant, also, on their part at our negotiations, having got up an expedition about the same time, killed seven of the enemy, both Mohegans *(Loups)* and Iroquois, on the River Chambly, and proceeding thence to the nearest English settlements, returned with 7 or 8 light haired scalps, in revenge, they said, for those whom Colonel Dongan had caused to be taken and killed.

Possibly these occurrences may retard matters, and consequently afford no little annoyance to the Governor who is embarrassed by the management he has to employ with our Indians, who act thus only through vexation at his past conduct.

In fine, it is to be admitted that affairs are at a bad pass, and that there is every reason to doubt whether we can retrieve the errors committed in the prosecution of this war; four at least of which are of a grave character:—

I. Being the first to break the peace which is so advantageous to the Colony, and by making war without any just cause.

II. Having seized those who had been publicly informed there was no intention to injure them; and having sent them to the galleys in France, in order to be under the necessity of bringing them back again, or continuing a war utterly ruinous to the country.

III. After having commenced the war, by not following up our advantages and pursuing the enemy, who would undoubtedly have been defeated—which would have justified our conduct, and proved that our designs were against the Senecas only—instead of contenting ourselves with burning the Indian corn, whereby we have drawn down upon ourselves only the contempt of the other Iroquois nations, and of our own Indians who taunt us, by saying that an ambuscade of only 200 men, who fled on the first discharge of their own guns, had frightened us, and prevented our pursuing and annihilating them.

IV. Having erected Fort Magaret[1] which we were forced to abandon the very first year without any articles of peace, having served no other purpose than to weaken us and to strip the country of men who were employed in conveying provisions thither, whilst the enemy were laying waste our settlements.

Without mentioning the loss that the Colony experiences from the interruption of the Indian trade, nor the neglect of preparing any ambush on the enemy's route during the war, and of making any irruption on the Mohawks, after their acts of hostility, which might have been easily effected with the forces sent with the convoy, as these consisted of the élite of our people.

I speak not of the disgrace of fifty of those Barbarians having ravaged so many settlements without encountering the least opposition from the people posted in the redoubts, who failed in their duty of making a sortie in pursuit of them, not having any orders, they say, to that effect.

But contented themselves with taking advantage of the ravages committed by the enemy, to kill the remainder of the Cattle and fowls; complaints were vain, the Governor paying no attention to them. This has caused universal dissatisfaction, and called forth in private circles an infinitude of murmurs, and severe reflections *(lardons)* on such conduct, which out of respect, I do not repeat.

Such is the state of the country, and of public opinion against the war, which it is considered impossible to terminate without large reinforcements, or a peace. Far from being of advantage, the latter will only aggravate in our regard, the insolence and contempt of

[1] Niagara. — Ed.

those barbarians and of the other Savages, our allies, which they already openly manifest towards us.

There is a desire, notwithstanding, to attribute the faults which have been committed, to the sins of the people; and with this view, Father Enjalran, Jesuit, one of the principal Agents of the expedition, has been sent to prejudice the public mind, and Chevalier de Callières, afterwards, to explain the new plans concerted since the Father's departure.

As for the other private news, I shall not relate it here, because it would lead me too far, and would include things too strong for some stomachs, should I amuse myself by giving a faithful report of every thing.

I shall add only one article on which possibly you will find it strange that I have said nothing; namely, whether the Governor carries on any trade? I shall answer, no — but my Lady the Governess *(Madame la gouvernante)* who is disposed not to neglect any opportunity for realizing a profit, has had a room, not to say a shop, full of goods up to the close of last winter in the Castle of Quebec and found means, afterwards, to make a lottery to get rid of the remainder of the rubbish which produced her more than her good merchandise.

As regards her husband's intrigues, many people say, that he takes advantage of the occasion, but I say nothing on this score, as I state only things with which I am perfectly conversant. Therefore, I mention this simply on public rumor. But for all the rest that precedes, I protest that I am not prejudiced by any passion, and that the interest of the Country and pure truth alone induce me to satisfy your curiosity.

Whilst I am occupied with my letter, deputies from Colonel Andros have arrived here to renew the proposals of Colonel Dongan whose place he occupies. But the answer is kept a profound secret, from which circumstance it is inferred here that the continuation of the war is certain.

Abstract of Letters from Canada and the Minister's Remarks thereupon.

Canada.

Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny. 10th August, 31st October, 6th 9ber, 1688.

The Deputies of Three Iroquois Nations had come to demand peace of Sieur de Denonville, and had promised him to return with those of the other Tribes and to conclude it. These Indians were about to keep their word, and whilst on their way a party of Hurons attacked them, killed some, and took the others prisoners.

That affair interrupted the measures he had adopted to terminate the war this year.

This is a very unfortunate accident at the present conjuncture when it had been desirable for the good of the Colony, and in view of the actual state of affairs in Europe, that a peace should be concluded on advantageous conditions. I hope, however, that things being

It was to be feared even that the Iroquois would believe this to be a snare laid for them by the French; fortunately, however, the principal of these Deputies having escaped from the Hurons went to Cataracouy where he received all sorts of good treatment, so that he returned home quite satisfied with the French and proclaimed that it was in no wise their fault. He, therefore, does not believe it will be any obstacle to the peace.

The greatest embarrassment will come from the English. Sir Andros, who has relieved Colonel Dungan and who has written stating that he had strict orders from the King of England to keep on friendly terms, has forbidden those Indians to make any treaty with the French except through him, pretending that they are under his government.

This induces him to believe that it will be fitter to make, in Europe, that treaty whereby the King will cede the Iroquois to the English, or the English to his Majesty, or they will remain neuter. And with this view he sends Chevalier de Callières who, being perfectly conversant with every thing regarding this country, will be of very great assistance in this matter.

He has found in the country scarcely any Title in support of the rights of the French, and it would be necessary to order the officers of the sovereign council to be more careful in enregistering for the future all the documents which may eventually be of some utility.

It is important that an intimate cordiality between the two nations be apparent on the face of the proposed Treaty, and that whatever be agreed upon in regard to the Iroquois, it be always provided that the French Jesuits shall be at liberty to remain among, and instruct them, without which we shall never succeed in establishing Christianity there; besides, they will be always governed by means of those Fathers. As it is impossible to detach the Iroquois from the English, owing to the cheap market they find with them, great reëstablished by the report the principal of the Iroquois deputies has made to those of his Nation, means will still be found to conclude this peace, and that we shall have intelligence thereof by the first vessels arriving from Canada.

The Prince of Orange having become master of England, it is to be expected that the English will soon declare war. Therefore, there is no probability of the negotiation he proposes entering into in Europe. On the contrary, he must be on his guard to prevent a surprisal by the English, who, possibly, will have orders to make some attack on the Colony. To treat with the King of England, would, besides, be acknowledging him Master of the Iroquois Nation, and it is not proper that this business pass through that channel, since in fact it is certain that the French have taken possession of the Iroquois country before the English could have had any pretence to it, and he can employ his every effort to maintain that possession or at least, to prevent the Iroquois uniting with the English to injure the Colony.

Answered

inconvenience would not result from ceding the property of their country to the said English provided these would be willing to pledge themselves to restrain them.

But it would be necessary to stipulate that they should not have power to make any establishment in the direction of the Iroquois. *(du côté qui regarde les Iroquois.)*

Should his Majesty desire eventually to chastise the Iroquois, we must wait until we have three or four thousand good troops, 2 years' supply of grain and flour, 4 @ 500 bateaux, so as to fall on them at one and the same time in several different places.

But in order to make peace, it will be necessary to send back to Canada the Iroquois who have been sent to the Galleys.

He proposes that they be dressed somewhat decently and that they be under the charge of young Serigny, Naval cadet, who is conversant with their language.

It must not be expected that during the peace, the Iroquois will forego making war on the Illinois and the other Tribes to the South, and therefore he has sent Sieur De la Forest to them with necessary instructions, in order that they be on their guard. And as they can place 2 @ 3 thousand men in the field and the whole of their country is prairie, they hope, if the Iroquois attack them, to be able to surround and conquer them.

The entire of this year has passed in negotiations, whereby the farmers have had an opportunity to make their harvest.

There have been merely a few attacks by the Iroquois who have burnt some settlements *(habitations)* in the direction of Montréal, but were immediately repelled.

They also attacked, in 40 canoes, a bark which was conveying provisions to Cataracouy, but she forced them off by means of 2 peteraros, with which she killed some of their men.

This is not the time to think of that war; the King's forces are too much occupied elsewhere, and there is nothing more important for his service, nor more necessary in the present state of affairs, than to conclude peace directly with the Iroquois, His Majesty not being disposed to incur any expense for the continuation of that war.

Such orders are given.

To give order to furnish them with clothes.

Those allies must be protected as much as possible and be not only notified of attacks meditated on them by the Iroquois, but they must be aided and assisted in defending themselves; as nothing contributes more to check the Iroquois—the sole dangerous enemies of the Colony—than the furnishing them employment elsewhere by means of those Indians, our allies, or at least the preventing by all sorts of means, any progress they might make, after which they would not fail to attack the French settlements.

The mortality has been very great this year both among the soldiers and settlers. The 35 military companies are reduced to 1,418 men, so that 332 soldiers would be required to render them complete.

100 soldiers have died at Niagara with Sieur de Troye who commanded them.

The bad air, and the difficulty of revictualling that post have obliged him to abandon it; besides, the Indians, our allies, for whose retreat he had erected that fort, have made no use of it.

So that he is reduced to preserve Cataracouy, which, however, he will be necessitated to abandon, if the war continue, in consequence of the serious difficulties and expense to be incurred in maintaining it.

The English are the greatest enemies of the Colony, and it would be highly necessary that his Majesty should make an arrangement for their country, without which neither the Religion nor trade can ever be established, and it is certain that, were it not for their aid, the Iroquois would have come with a rope around their necks, to sue for peace.

Sir Andros, governor of New England, has made himself master of Pentagouet and of Sieur de Saint Castin's settlement,[1] pretending that this post belonged to the English, though it has always been in the occupation of the French.

The King hopes he will have made peace this year, and his Majesty has such urgent need of men in the present state of affairs, that he does not send any recruits this year. He, therefore, desires him to reform the incomplete companies, and to incorporate them with the others to bring these to their full number; and to reduce to 28 the 35 companies which were in Canada. He will find annexed hereunto the King's orders to that effect.

The King is persuaded of his having adopted the most advantageous precautions for his service, and for the good of the country of which he is in command, and his Majesty relies on his prudence.

I have already remarked to him that matters are not in a position to enter into any negotiation with the English.

The evil dispositions of the English will now increase still more as they are on the point of declaring war against us, but he must renew his vigilance and care in order to prevent them injuring the Colony.

To report to me every thing that has been done on this subject in England.

Other handwriting. The preceding is bad enough to be from the hand of the Minister himself.

"On the complaint made by M. de Bonrepaus in London of the violence committed at Pentagouet, the English Commissioners told him that the fort which was built on the River of that name on the Acadia side, which is the one that has been plundered by the English, was the property incontestably of the French, but that the other side of that river belonged to them.

[1] See note, supra, p. 265. — Ed.

It is stated, also, that the booty obtained at Chedabouctou has been sold in Boston, and that the English wish to establish themselves on the River Mississipi; therefore, that Nation clearly is determined to destroy the French every where.

Moreover, Sir Andros appears very ill disposed towards us.

The company of young Canadians which had been organized, has been disbanded as soon as there was an opportunity to allow of their going in safety to the Outawas to collect the peltries there.

Economy in the expenses is studied as much as possible, and they beg not to be abandoned.

They send an account of the total application of the funds remitted in the year 1687, for the expenses of the War.

The French claim both sides of that river, and that they ought to have as far as another river called Quinibequy, but no Title thereof can be found up to the present time.

The conclusion of that has been deferred until the renewal of negotiations on the 1st of January, 1689.

I have seen that statement; they must not expect the King can continue such heavy outlays, and I have already informed them that His Majesty has need of men and money elsewhere, and therefore they must content themselves with negotiating a peace by all means with the Iroquois and maintaining the Colony quietly until, times being changed, the King can adopt the most suitable resolutions to render himself master of the neighboring countries.

2nd Extract.

It is indispensably necessary to arrange the Colony differently in order to place it in a state of security; and the best plan is, to collect the settlers into villages; otherwise, they are exposed to the smallest band of savages, and unable to secure their effects.

They even consider it expedient that his Majesty send orders to the Sovereign Council to oblige them to issue the necessary Arrêts on that point.

They will afterwards determine with the principal people *(notables)* of the country in what manner it will be arranged. But it is important that it appear to the public that his Majesty's intention is that the settlements be arranged in villages.

The King has always regarded this point as that which alone can maintain that colony, but however important the execution of this project be, it would destroy it to press it too strongly, and extreme prudence must be used therein. Therefore, even were his Majesty to authorize the issuing of the orders they demand to oblige the Sovereign Council to enact the Arrêts necessary for that purpose, they, on their part, must dispose the minds of the settlers to what is, in that regard, for their security and advantage, and prepare a general plan of the number of villages which can be established in a suitable manner, and endeavor to introduce it by degrees without using any force, commencing with those who will submit voluntarily to such order, and so managing that the example of the first, and the advantages which

The Beaver trade in the woods has been the original evil of the Colony, as it has scattered the settlers and prevented the clearing of the lands.

The use of Brandy has succeeded in entirely spoiling the greater portion of the Indians. Our allies have perished through the excessive use they have made of it.

The Canadians, also, ruin their health thereby, and as the greater number of them drink a large quantity of it early in the morning, they are incapable of doing any thing the remainder of the day.

So that it is considered absolutely necessary to find means to diminish its use among the Canadians and to prohibit its sale or barter to the Indians under severe penalties.

Colonel Dongan has prohibited the giving the Indians any of it to drink at Orange under pain of corporal punishment and 1,000^{lb} fine.

will be found therein, may excite the others to desire the like.

I explain to them, in regard to this, that his Majesty will not make any change in the regulation fixed by the Ordinance of the 24th May, 1679, whereby it is simply forbidden to transport Brandy into the Indian villages at a distance from the French settlements; nor deprive his French and Canadian subjects of the advantage they derive from that trade, which would not fail to fall into the hands of the English immediately on the French abandoning it. Besides, by inflicting condign punishment on those who by the immoderate use of Brandy will commit violences, it is to be hoped their continuance may be prevented.

3^{d} Extract.

They have not been able to learn any news of Sieur de la Salle's expedition, but it is greatly to be feared that the lawless Coureurs de bois among the Outawacs and Illinois will adopt the resolution to go and join him.

To communicate to them the intelligence we have had of his death and of the circumstances which have been described.

4th Extract.

M. de Lagny.

Working people and servants are very scarce, and so extraordinarily dear in Canada, that they ruin all those who undertake any thing.

The introduction of Negro slaves is supposed to be the best means of remedying the difficulty.

The Attorney-General of the Council at present in Paris, assures that if his Majesty approve this proposal, some of the principal inhabitants will cause some to be purchased in the Islands, on the arrival of the vessels from Guinea, and he, himself, is resolved to do so.

His Majesty approves the importation by the inhabitants of Canada, of Negroes for Agricultural purposes, but it is well to remark to them, that it is to be feared that those Negroes coming from a climate so different, may perish in Canada, and this project would then be useless.

Advantage of Establishing a Fort at Niagara.

Memoir on the advantage of the establishment of a Fort at Niagara. From 1686—1689.

The Iroquois Indians have, from all time, waged a cruel war against all the other Indians of the country called Canada.

Since the Dutch first, and the English afterwards took possession of Manatte and Orange, which adjoin the hamlets and villages of the said Iroquois, these have been excessively urged thereto by those Dutch and English who clearly foresaw that they would become masters of the whole of the hunting of the country, should the Iroquois destroy all the other tribes, and thereby gain a great trade and ruin that of Quebec.

The English have spared nothing to accomplish that object. They have supplied those Iroquois with merchandise, and particularly with arms and powder nearly at European prices; have given feasts and presents to their Chiefs, and sometimes to the entire Nation, and have, finally, succeeded, because the colony of Quebec and New France being formerly governed by Companies, these gave themselves very little trouble about the good or evil which might eventually result to the Colony.

Now, that things are changed by the favor of God, and the King takes care of that country, it appears very easy to return the compliment to those English if, as there is reason to hope, his Majesty's arms are victorious over the Iroquois, and these are reduced; particularly, by erecting a fort at Niagara with a strong garrison for the protection of the settlers who will establish themselves there in order to clear the land, which is most excellent, and to carry on the trade in furs with the said Iroquois Indians, who do all their hunting on the lands belonging to the King's domain.

The English will thus be deprived of a trade in Peltries amounting to four hundred thousand livres yearly, which will be very beneficial to the French colony.

All the inhabitants of said Niagara will pay to the revenue *(ferme)* of his Majesty's Domain the duty of one-fourth of the Beavers, and one-tenth of the Moose *(Orignaux)* the same as at Quebec. This will increase, by a large sum, the King's revenue in said country, and should his Majesty think fit to lease it to a private person when the said Iroquois are pacified, inasmuch as the establishment of the said Niagara must be considered a newly discovered country,

Persons will be found who will give a considerable sum for the privilege of receiving the duties on the Beaver and Moose *(Orignaux)* which will be exported from said Niagara.

Defences required in Canada.

Government of M. de Denonville from 1685 to 1689.

If the Iroquois be in the English interest, it will be almost impossible to maintain the establishment at the Detroit without very considerable expense; to garrison it two or three

hundred picked men, at least, would have to be sent thither so as to be safe from attack, and to open a communication by the river of the Outaouos; for I consider the route by Niagara too hazardous, being too nigh the Iroquois.

Less would not be required to maintain Catarocouy which appears to me very useless for the preservation of Canada in a War against the Iroquois. I do not understand how any idea can be entertained of going to conquer their country; which would not be of any use to us.

As for the supposition that the Iroquois could be destroyed by burning their villages and cutting down their Indian corn, it has been seen that great harm would not be inflicted on them thereby, inasmuch as they rebuild their Villages in less than a month, find Indian corn among their allies and live by hunting. It will be admitted that the only value that campaign possesses is as Material to be put in history, as if it were some glorious achievement.

It would be much fitter to let that conquest alone and not to think of it, and to be satisfied with preserving Canada which would require but a trifling expense, the Iroquois parties having only three routes leading to our Settlements — viz^{t}., one by the Outaouas river, by passing down the Rideau, or some other way, to that river.

The second route is by the Grand River which runs past Catorocouy, and the third, by Lake Champlain. They do not come any other way.

Three detachments are necessary from the month of May to the month of December to guard these passes and to give notice of the approach of the enemy. Each party will consist of Fifty good picked men, Canadians, Soldiers and Indians belonging to our allies. One will be stationed above the Long Sault of the River Outaouas, ten leagues beyond the head of the Island of Montreal, having their scouts on the avenues of the Iroquois paths. This party would be relieved every fifteen days or every month, by fifty other similar men. They should not be at liberty to quit their posts without being relieved.

A like body of Fifty men would be posted on the Grand River above the Rapids.

For the security of the River Chambly and the protection of the River St. Francis, Three Rivers, La Prairie de la Madeleine, Longueville, Boucherville and all those places, though the Iroquois of the Sault cover them considerably, a strong detachment of fifty to sixty men will be required to be stationed towards *Pointe au Chevelure*[1] or thereabouts, so that they may secure both sides of Lake Champlain, and give notice of parties that will possibly come from Orange and Lake S^{t}. Sacrament,[2] which, on being discovered will not pass by, except, indeed, some small ones that could be defeated either in going or returning.

These detachments would absolutely require at their head some active, vigorous captains, and ought not be commanded by old and broken down officers, incapable of marching and skirmishing; for to place officers who cannot bear fatigue at the head of these detachments, is just like sending in France an old officer a-foot to head a strong detachment of Cavalry in a distant enemy's country. It is very easy to infer that such an officer would not attend to all those guarded passes. It will be difficult for the enemy to approach the settlements undiscovered.

It will be proper to have a detachment of twenty men constantly at Chateaugué and at the head of the Island of Montreal, both which are frontier posts. These detachments ought

[1] Crown Point, New-York.

[2] Literally, Lake of the Blessed Sacrament, which name it obtained in 1646 from Father Jogues, because he passed through it on the festival of Corpus Christi. Major-General, afterwards Sir William, Johnson called it Lake George in 1755, in honor of King George II. — Ed.

to consist one-half of Soldiers, one [quarter] of Canadians, and one-fourth of Indians, With five or six hundred soldiers, the whole country within the government of Montreal ought to be well guarded.

The government of Three rivers ought to be well secured with two companies of fifty men, for it is covered by Montreal, Chambly, Sorel, and the River Saint Francis.

Quebec has nothing to fear except from the sea. I consider it in complete security in that direction; fortified as it is, and having in its vicinity more than fifteen hundred active settlers. That is amply sufficient for its defence. We who are more enterprising than the English, would look more than once before we should attack Quebec, which does not offer many facilities for posting five to six thousand men that would be required to take it. Canada is not a sufficiently fine country to tempt them to incur an expense so great as would be necessary for its conquest. They could, at a trifling outlay, drive us out of Newfoundland and Acadia, and take possession of all the fisheries, (which constitute a considerable trade) and of the avenues to Canada the annual exports whereof do not equal in value ten to fifteen cargoes of codfish, of which notwithstanding, I do not believe they think. I know not whether it be that they are aware the Colony of Acadia and Newfoundland do not increase in proportion to theirs of Boston and Yorque and that they will, in a few years, be much better able to fit out expeditions.

It is a country which suits them better than Canada, of which they will not think so soon but will content themselves with getting their allies to wage war on us without it costing them ten thousand écus a year. That is what, as smart men, they ought to do.

As for Acadia, it is to be feared that they will destroy it, and remove the settlers before it increases, lest when populous it may ruin their Fisheries.

Canada will not fail to say that she requires a post among the Outawas to maintain those Indians in our interests and to make them come down to trade with her. I believe it to be necessary and that forty soldiers are sufficient for it with the Voyageurs whom the Merchants of Canada will send thither every year.

It would be desirable for Canada that the entire Beaver trade should be carried on at Montreal only.

Canada will certainly be stronger and protect itself at half less expense when it has no frontier post.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal, for My Lord, the Marquis de Seignelay. On the State of the Affairs of Canada. January, 1689.

M. de Denonville having sent me expressly to report to you, My Lord, the veritable state of the affairs of Canada, and to furnish you all the information you will deem necessary for the adoption of proper measures in regard to the orders which it will please you to give me for the safety of that country, I consider myself obliged to add to my preceding Memoirs that it would be absolutely useless in the present conjuncture to flatter ourselves with the hope that we could conclude peace with the Iroquois, for the reasons which I shall, hereafter, submit.

You will have seen, My Lord, by M. de Denonville's letters that in carrying out the King's orders, he has not omitted any thing to induce the Iroquois to make peace with us; and with a view to that being effected with more dignity for the glory of his Majesty's arms, we concluded that it would be necessary to retain some of the Iroquois prisoners, whom we had taken, to employ them in persuading their compatriots to come and demand it. M. de Denonville selected for that purpose those of the Onontaguè tribe whom he separated from those he sent to France, because they had appeared less animated against us, and were in communication with Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit. He sent them back to their nation after having paid them attention, and made them some presents to gain them over; they succeeded in persuading their nation to send him a delegation, and also induced two other tribes, called Cayugas and Oneidas to add their deputies to it.

The delegates of these 3 Nations being come, escorted by 900 Warriors, to sue for peace from us, M. de Denonville received them with a great deal of attention, and by the advice of the principal men of the Country, answered them, that he was ready to grant them terms when they would bring with them deputies from the two other Iroquois Nations, called Senecas and Mohawks, prescribing to them the time when the Deputies of all the Five Iroquois Nations could return to conclude it conjointly with our Indian Allies: Whereupon, we remarked that those deputies repeated the proposition which had reference to our Indians, and led us to understand that they wished to make peace only with us so as to destroy the others after the conclusion of that peace; and as an evidence of that they entertained that design when those Deputies were at Montreal, a part of their escort went to pillage three Canoes belonging to our Indians, some of whom they killed and others they took prisoners. M. de Denonville thought proper to pretend ignorance thereof, in order not to interrupt the negotiation.

The time of their return being come, they sent four delegates from the Onontagué Nation to create in our minds the hope of a general deputation from the Five Nations.

These four Onontagués were met and attacked by a party of our Indians who killed one, and took the three others prisoners, with a view to break up our negotiation with the Iroquois, being fearful that they would remain exposed alone to their resentment. We learned this from one of these Iroquois prisoners who escaped from our Indians to Catarocouy where he was well treated by the Commander, and who promised to report to his Nation that we had no participation in that insult in order to confirm them in the designs they had manifested of returning to negotiate with us.

That accident, however, interrupted the negotiation and afforded the English an opportunity to break it off entirely, which they effected on the arrival of Sir Andros, Governor-General of New-York reunited to New England, who having convoked a general Assembly of the Five Iroquois Nations they repaired to him. He declared to them that the King of England, his Master, took them under his protection, and forbade them to make any Treaty with us except with his participation, on pain of being deprived of the aid of arms, powder, lead and other supplies all which they received from the English of New-York. Whereunto they solemnly pledged themselves, and he, at the same time, obliged a party of about 300 Iroquois to make a foray into our Colony, where they burned 30 houses of our Settlers scattered along the River St Lawrence, taking advantage, for that purpose, of my absence whilst I was, at the head of the principal forces of the Country, engaged in revictualling Fort Catarocouy.

Sir Andros afterwards sent to declare to M. de Denonville that the Iroquois were subjects of the King, his Master, and that he took them as such under his protection.

At the time of my departure for France we received intelligence that the English had collected some people at Orange and its vicinity with intention to send them with some Iroquois to Michilimakinac, a country of the Outaouas belonging to us. This can be only with a view to take it, as they endeavored to do two years ago, and to seize all the peltries that have been brought thither from the surrounding country for the account of our Traders, and which are estimated at the value of nearly 800,000 livres; and this on pretence of reprisals for some goods the French took from some Iroquois and from 70 Englishmen who were arrested two years since on their way to the said Michilimakinac to debauch our Indians there by presents and the cheap bargains they give of their Merchandises; so that there is every reason to fear that those English and Iroquois have executed that project since my departure.

Things being in this state when Sir Andros recognized the authority of the King of England, it would be idle to flatter ourselves with the hope to find them improved since the usurpation of the Prince of Orange, who, as has been already observed, will be assuredly acknowledged by Sir Andros, who is a protestant, born in the Island of Jersey, and by New-York the inhabitants whereof are mostly Dutch, who planted this Colony under the name of New Netherland, all of whom are protestants and have been conquered by the English.

We may, then, assuredly, reckon that there is no longer any hope, nor any overtures, of peace between us and the Iroquois, who being so much attached by their proper interest to the English, have no desire to return to us to renew negotiations, contrary to the prohibition of the latter, from whom it is impossible to detach them; and that the English, who are interested in keeping them at war with us and have declared them to be their subjects, so far from permitting them to enter into any accommodation, will furnish them all the aid necessary to carry the war into our Colony, and to continue the burning of the isolated houses of our settlers, as the troops kept in the country by the King are insufficient to protect them against those incendiaries, in consequence of the vast extent of country to be watched, and the great distance of the settlements one from the other.

The English, in keeping with their ancient policy, will not fail to urge the Iroquois to continue the war against our Indians in order to reduce the latter to the necessity of joining them and breaking off all trade with us. This they will effect by cutting off with their parties the communication between us and Michilimakinac, which is 300 leagues distant from the Colony and the general entrepôt of all the trade of Canada, without which the latter could not subsist.

I consider it necessary to answer the objection that may be offered, that, in previous times, Canada maintained herself alone without troops and without the extraordinary expenses incurred there by the King those last years, and without the Iroquois daring to make any attack. These were then engaged in war against the Andastes,[1] a numerous tribe of Indians in the vicinity of Virginia who had given them employment for several years, and whom they had at last destroyed. They have added considerably to their numbers by the quantity of prisoners they have made, whom they spare when young and adopt into their nation. The English were at the same time at war with other Indian tribes called Abenaquis and Socoquis; this prevented them forming any alliance with the Iroquois, which has since been effected through the care of Colonel Dongan, the former governor of New-York, who regarded it as an assured means of ruining Canada, and of diverting the entire trade to that English Colony.

[1] See note 2, supra, p. 227. — Ed.

War being thus inevitable, it becomes absolutely necessary to consider the means of sustaining it.

If we remain simply on the defensive, it will be impossible to avoid the inconveniences above noted—such as frequent burnings of several of our settlements; estrangement of our Indians when they will behold us incapable of sustaining them against their enemies, and of conveying necessaries to them; a circumstance that would infallibly draw after it the ruin of the country.

If we carry the War into the country of our enemies, we shall preserve all our Indians in our dependency; place our Colony in security, and cause Religion and Commerce to flourish there.

All those advantages are combined in the success of the expedition against New-York which I have proposed; it is more easy of success than the destruction of a single Iroquois canton. The English are our real enemies inasmuch as it is they who force the Iroquois to wage war on us; who furnish them the means of supporting it; who have violated the Treaty of Neutrality concluded between the two Nations, and who incessantly labor to usurp our lands and ruin our commerce.

If the present state of affairs do not permit as yet an open attack on them, orders, at least, can be issued for the necessary preparations according to the Memoir thereof which I shall present for the execution of this project, when war between France and England will be declared, or when the English of New-York, united with the Iroquois, will come to attack us; which, perhaps, they have already done.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Project of the Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal and Commanding by commission the Troops and Militia of Canada, On the present state of the Affairs of that Country. January, 1689.

To my Lord, the Marquis of Seignelay.

As the recent Revolution in England will change the face of American affairs, it becomes necessary to adopt entirely new measures to secure Canada against the great dangers with which it is threatened.

Chevalier Andros, now Governor-General of New England and New-York, having already declared in his letters to M. de Denonville that he took all the Iroquois under his protection as subjects of the Crown of England, and having prevented them returning to M. de Denonville to make peace with us, there is no longer any reason to expect its conclusion through the English nor that we can alienate the Iroquois from the close alliance existing between them in consequence of the great advantages they derive therefrom, the like of which we cannot offer for divers reasons.

Chevalier Andros, as well as the whole English Colony, is protestant, so that there is no reason to hope that he will remain faithful to the King of England,[1] and we must expect that

[1] James II.—Ed.

he will not only urge the Iroquois to continue the war against us but he will even furnish them with Englishmen to lead them and to seize Niagara, Michilimakinak and other posts proper to render him master of all the Indians our allies, according to the project they have long since formed, and which they began to execute when we declared war against the Iroquois and captured 70 Englishmen who were going to take possession of Michilimakinak, one of the most important posts of Canada; our entrepôt for the Fur Trade and the residence of the Superior of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who are Missionaries among our Indians, and which belongs, incontestably, to us.

It is to be expected then, that they are about to endeavor to invest the entire of Canada and raise all the Savages against us, in order to wholly deprive us of every sort of Trade and draw it all to themselves by means of the cheap bargains they can give of goods, at nearly at one-half the price our Frenchmen can afford theirs, for reasons to be elsewhere explained, and thus become masters of all the peltries; the trade wherein sustains Canada and constitutes one of the chief benefits that France derives from that Colony.

No sooner will the English have ruined our Indian Trade than, uniting with those Savages, they will be in a position to fall on us, burn and sack our settlements, scattered along the River St. Lawrence as far as Quebec, without our being able to prevent them, having no fortress capable of arresting them.

Things being thus disposed, the only means to avoid these misfortunes is to anticipate them by the expedition to be hereafter explained and which I offer to execute forthwith, if it please His Majesty to confide its direction to me on account of the particular knowledge I have acquired of the affairs of that country during five years that I had the honor to serve His Majesty and to command his troops and Military there, after twenty years' service in the army.

The plan is, to go straight to Orange, the frontier town of New-York, one hundred leagues from Montreal, which I would undertake to carry; and to proceed thence to seize Manathe, the capital of that Colony situated on the sea coast; on condition of being furnished with supplies necessary for the success of such an expedition.

For that purpose I demand only the troops at present maintained by His Majesty in Canada, if it be pleasing to him to complete them by a reinforcement which they require in consequence of sickness that has produced the deaths of several of them.

These troops number 35 companies which, at 50 men each, ought to give 1750. Yet at the review made, when I left, they mustered only about 1300, so that 450 soldiers are still required to render them complete; thus it would be necessary that His Majesty should please to order the levy and enlistment of at least 400 men, as quick as possible in order that they may be embarked in the first vessels.

The use I propose to make of these 1700 men is to take the best *(l'élite)* of them to the number of 1400 and to adjoin thereto the élite of the Militia to the number of 600, so as to raise the 2000 men necessary for this expedition; leaving the remaining 300 soldiers to guard the principal outposts at the head of our Colony, in order to prevent the Iroquois seizing and burning them whilst we shall be in the field.

I propose embarking these 2000 men, with the supplies necessary for their subsistence, in a sufficient number of canoes and flat Bateaux already in service in the two last campaigns against the Iroquois.

My design is, to lead them by the Richelieu River into Lake Champlain as far as a Carrying place which is within three leagues of the Albany River that runs to Orange.

I shall mask this expedition, which must be kept very secret, by saying that the King has commanded me to proceed at the head of His troops and Militia, to the Iroquois Country to dictate Peace to them on the conditions it has pleased His Majesty to grant them without the intervention of the English, inasmuch as the Iroquois are his true subjects; and not communicate to any one our intention of attacking the English until we have arrived at the place whence I shall send to tell the Iroquois, by some of their Nation, that I am not come to wage war against them but only to reduce the English who have caused our division, and to reëstablish the good friendship that formerly existed between us; Wherefore if they wish not to be treated with the greatest rigor, they had better avoid aiding those English, as they are unable to protect them against my forces, and if the Iroquois dare assist, I will turn against them.

As the Bateaux cannot proceed further than the Carrying place, my intention is to erect there a small logged breastwork *(un petit fort de pieux terrassés)* which I shall have built in three days, and to leave 200 men in it to guard the Bateaux; to march thence direct to Orange, embarking our supplies on the River in the canoes we shall bring and which can be conveyed across the Carrying place, the troops escorting them along the river.

I calculate to seize, in passing, some English Villages and Settlements where I shall find provisions and other conveniences for attacking the town of Orange.

That town is about as large as Montreal, surrounded by stockades, at one end of which is a fort of earth supported by logs and consisting of four small bastions. The fort contains a garrison of three companies of 150 men and some pieces of cannon. The town may have about 150 houses and 300 inhabitants capable of bearing arms; the majority of them are Dutch, some are French Refugees and some are English.

After having invested the town and summoned it to surrender with promise not to pillage it if it capitulate, I propose, in case of resistance, to cut or burn the palisades, in order to make an opening, and enter the place sword in hand and afterwards seize the fort, which being only about 14 feet high, can be easily escaladed by means of the conveniences we shall find when Masters of the town, or by blowing in the gate with a few petards or two small field pieces. These will be of use to me and I shall find means of conveying them thither if His Majesty will please to have them furnished me at La Rochelle, with some grenades and other munitions, a list whereof I shall hand in separately, and which will be deducted from the funds His Majesty destines for Canada, so as not to increase the expenses of the preceding years.

After I shall have become Master of the town and fort of Orange, which I expect to achieve before the English can afford it any succor, my intention is to leave a garrison of 200 men in the fort with sufficient supplies which I shall find in the city, and to disarm all the Inhabitants, granting pardon, subject to His Majesty's pleasure, to the French deserters and inhabitants I shall find there, so as to oblige them to follow me.

I shall seize all the barks, bateaux and canoes that are at Orange, for the embarkation of my forces on the river which is navigable down to Manathe, and with the troops, put on board the necessary provisions and ammunition and some pieces of cannon to be taken from Fort Orange to serve in the attack on Manathe.

That place consists of a town composed of about 200 houses and can put about 400 inhabitants under arms. They are divided into four Foot companies of 50 men each, and three companies of Cavalry of the same number, horses being very abundant in that country. This town is not inclosed, being situated on a Peninsula at the mouth of the River that falls into a Bay and forms a fine harbor. It is defended by a Fort faced with stone having four

Bastions with several pieces of cannon, commanding the Port on one side and the town on the other.

I contemplate first carrying the town by assault, it being all open, and making use of the houses nearest the Fort to approach the latter; forming a battery of the cannon I shall have brought from Orange and of that I may find in the stores of the town, where the vessels arm and disarm.

It would be necessary for the success of this Expedition that His Majesty give orders to two of the ships of War destined this year to escort the Merchantmen that sail to Canada and to Acadia or the fishermen who go for Cod to the Great Bank, to come towards the end of August, into the Gulf of Manathe, after having convoyed the merchant vessels, and cruize there during the month of September, as well to prevent reinforcements of Troops which may arrive from England or Boston, as to enter the port when I on my arrival shall give the signal agreed upon, so as to aid us in capturing the Fort which they may cannonade from their ships whilst I attack it on land. In case of necessity they can even land some marines, to replace the 400 men I shall have left on the way to garrison Orange and to guard the Bateaux; also some cannon if we require them. They might reimbark and return to France in the month of October after the capture of the Fort and carry the intelligence thereof.

After we became masters of the town and fort of Manathe I should cause the Inhabitants to be disarmed, and send my Canadians back by the Albany river to Orange on the way to their bateaux and home. I should winter at Manathe with all the troops I would have brought with me except the 200 soldiers left to guard Orange; and as I should have nothing to fear from the land side, being master of the rivers, I would employ the winter in strengthening my position against attacks of the English whilst waiting until His Majesty be pleased to send what may be necessary to secure this important conquest.

It will render His Majesty absolute master of all the Iroquois who derive from that Colony whatever arms and ammunition they have to make war on us, afford us the means to disarm them whenever considered necessary, and thereby to impose on them such laws as His Majesty may please; the town of Boston, the capital of New England being too far from them to derive any aid from it.

Having mastered the Iroquois we shall have equal control of all the other Savages who will come without hesitation and bring us all their peltries. This will cause the trade of our Colony to flourish; considerably augment His Majesty's revenues and eventually diminish the expenses he is obliged to incur for the preservation of Canada.

It will firmly establish the Christian Religion as well among the Iroquois as among the other Savages to whom we shall be able to speak as masters when they are surrounded both on the side of Canada and of New-York.

It will secure and facilitate the Cod fishery which is carried on along our coasts of la Cadie and on the Great Bank.

It will give His Majesty one of the finest harbors in America, accessible at almost all seasons of the year in less than one month of very easy navigation; whilst the voyage from France to Quebec cannot be prosecuted except in summer, on account of the ice that closes the River St Lawrence which is itself long and perilous.

It will give his Majesty one of the finest countries of America, in a milder and more fertile climate than that of Canada, from whence a quantity of provisions and produce, useful for his Majesty's subjects, can be derived.

It may be objected to this plan, that the Colony of Orange and Manathe will possibly remain faithful to the King of England, and in such case it would not be prudent to attack it and draw down an open war with that English Colony to the prejudice of the Treaty of Neutrality concluded between the two nations.

To which it may be answered: that the Colony of Manathe and Orange, being the same as that formerly called New Netherland which the English took from the Dutch, and the greater part of it still of this latter nation and all Protestants, there is no doubt but they would submit to the orders of the Prince of Orange, and even force their Governor, did he not consent, to acknowledge him, and therefore we must look on a war between that Colony and us as certain, and not allow it time to mature its intrigues with our Savages to ruin us by their means if we do not be beforehand with it.

And in case that, contrary to all appearances, they remain faithful to the King of England, during the general rebellion of the English, we, if His Majesty who is on terms with that King thought proper, might confide to him the secret of this expedition, draw from him an order to the commandant of Orange and Manathe to surrender these places into His Majesty's hands, who would keep them for him so as to prevent the Rebels becoming masters of them, and to have an opportunity to treat them as rebels did they not obey that order, being moreover in a position to force them thereto, on condition of negotiating eventually with the King for that Colony, which is the only means of securing Canada, firmly establishing the Religion, Trade and the King's authority throughout all North America.

If the favorable opportunity which presents of becoming master of that Colony be neglected, it may surely be calculated that, through its intrigues with the Iroquois and other Savages, it will destroy Canada in a little time; whose ruin will entail that of the establishment at Hudson's Bay and the beaver and other peltry trade; that of Acadia, the sedentary fishery, and Newfoundland; and if we be forced to abandon Canada, his subjects will, hereafter, in consequence of the frequent chasing of our fishermen by English citizens, find it very difficult and dangerous to attend to the codfishery on the Great Bank, which produces several millions to France, and is one of the most profitable investments that we have.

Differences of Prices in the Indian Trade at Montreal and Albany.

Differences in the Indian Trade between Montreal in Canada and Orange in New England. 1689.

The Indian pays for	At Orange.	At Montreal.
8 pounds of powder,	One beaver.	Four.
A Gun,	Two beavers.	Five.
40 pounds of Lead,	One beaver.	Three.
A Blanket of red Cloth,	One beaver.	Two.
A White Blanket,	One beaver.	Two.
Four Shirts,	One beaver.	Two.
Six pairs of Stockings,	One beaver.	Two.

The English have no Black or Brazilian Tobacco. They sell that of Virginia at discretion to the Indians.

The other small wares which the French truck with the Indians are supplied them by the English in the market.

The English give six quarts *(pots)* of *Eau de Vie* for one beaver. It is Rum or Spirits, or, in other words, liquor distilled from the Sugar Cane imported from the West Indies.

The French have no fixed rate in trading Brandy: some give more, some less; but they never give as much as a quart for a beaver. It depends on the places and circumstances, and on the honesty of the French trader.

Remark. The English do not discriminate in the quality of the Beaver; they take it all at the same rate, which is more than 50 per cent higher than the French, there being, besides, more than 100 per cent difference in the price of their trade and ours.

Prices of Canadian Produce that may be Exported to France.

Tariff of Prices at which the inhabitants of Canada might supply produce they may be able to send to France, in order that the Merchants of the Kingdom may be induced to import them from Canada in preference to all other countries. 1689.

Name of the Article.	Price in Canada.	Quantities the Canadians can supply.
Wheat, the quintal, poids de marc.,	2 ℔.	
Bolted Flour, the quintal and a half,	4	
Hemp, the quintal,	5	
Flax, the quintal,	6	
Tar, the barrel, of 200 lbs. wt.,	6	
Pitch, burnt, per 200 lbs. wt.,	5	
Pitch, dry, the quintal,	2	
Spruce Plank, 36 feet long, 2 in. thick and 18 in. wide,	4	
Spruce Plank, 36 feet long, 1½ inch thick and 15 in. wide,	3	
Spruce Plank, 36 feet long, 1 in. thick and 12 in. wide,	2	
Deals, 10 ft. long, 12 in. wide and 1 in. thick, per 100,	40	
Deals, sawed, 10 ft. long, 12 in. wide, 6 in. thick, per 100, consisting of 200 boards,	50	
Ship Timber, crooked or straight, the cubic foot,		5 sous.
Sawed Timber of all sorts, the cubic foot,		10 sous.
Masts of 25 @ 30 palms,[1] and of 60 to 80 feet long, good, sound and free from knots, each,	60	
Masts of 20 @ 25 palms, 50 to 70 feet long, sound and free from knots,	40	

[1] Palm is a measure of 9 inches. — Ed.

Name of the Article.	Price in Canada.	Quantities the Canadians can supply.
Masts of 15 @ 20 palms, 50 @ 60 ft. long, sound and free from knots,...	30 ll.	
Masts of 10 @ 15 palms, 50 @ 60 ft. long, sound and free from knots,...	20	
Small Masts, 5 @ 10 palms, 30 @ 40 ft. high, sound and free from knots,	4	
Spars under 6 inches, each,.....		10 sous.
Prime Mess Beef, free from feet and heads and well boned, the barrel weighing 200lbs.—Prime Mess Pork, without feet or heads, the barrel weighing 200lbs., ...	8	
Tallow, the quintal, ...	20	
Suet, the quintal,.....	6	
Hides, green or salted, weighing 70 @ 80lbs., ...	4	
Hides, dry, weighing 35 @ 50lbs.,.....	5	
Cow Hides, green or salted, ...	5	
Cow Hides, dry, ...	2	
Fish Oil, per barrel, ...	20	
Sheep and Lambs' Wool, well washed, per quintal,.....	25	
Potash, the quintal,.....	4	
Coal, *(Charbon deterre)* the quintal,.....		10 sous.
4-barrel Pipe Staves; the thousand consisting of 1000 inches long and 200 in. deep,.....	40	
3-barrel Pipe Staves; the thousand as above,.....	35	
2-barrel Pipe Staves; the thousand as above,.....	30	
Barrel Staves; the thousand as above,.....	25	
Barrel Staves; the thousand as above, ...	15	

Estimate of What Canada can furnish.

According to the Census of the Inhabitants of Canada fit for working at all those descriptions of articles, it is estimated that there are more than 4000, each of whom manufacturing only 100ll worth of those different sorts of goods, may actually attract to the country to the value of 400,000liv., and in a few years they will be in a condition to draw thither more than ten millions of trade, which will give occupation to more than 50 ships. They may infer from this the value of their country, were they to put themselves in a condition to derive advantage from it.

Observations.

If they require in France any samples of the products enumerated in the present Tariff, to manufacture them for public use, they ought to be imported by the Rochelle merchants, who appear better qualified than any others in the kingdom to undertake this trade, to which they are already accustomed. As regards the timber for masts and building, should the Canadians put themselves in a condition to supply the King's arsenals, his Majesty will send a carpenter and a mast builder thither, to regulate the proportions thereof.

Abstract of M. de Callières' Project.

[Omitted, as the Memoir is printed at length, supra, p. 404.]

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay.[1] February, 1689.

Should his Majesty not deem proper to have the proposed expedition against New-York executed before he have declared war against the English, it appears to me necessary that he should please to put us in a condition to carry it out at the earliest notice on his part immediately after the rupture becomes general or local.

The general war between France and England may occur in a short time should the Prince of Orange make good his usurpation.

The local rupture between our Colony and that of New-York is inevitable in consequence of the continual aid the English of that Province afford the Iroquois to make war against us; in consequence of their incessant expeditions against the posts, and usurpations of the lands belonging to us; and of the resolution they had adopted when I left, to proceed with a strong party of Iroquois towards Michilimakinac, to seize all the peltries our merchants had collected there for the last three years, amounting in value to nearly eight hundred thousand livres.

If they have put that project in execution and continued to send Iroquois to burn our settlements, it is necessary, My Lord, that you would be pleased to communicate to me your orders as to what we have to do, in case of a local rupture between our two Colonies.

If war be declared between France and England in the course of this year, we shall be able to execute the design against New-York next spring, should his Majesty please to send us an order to that effect by an express vessel which will have to be dispatched by the end of March, so as to arrive at Quebec by the 15th of May, to be followed by two frigates required to arrive before Manatte on the 15th June with some soldiers and some other articles which it would be necessary to put on board, as enumerated in the annexed Memoir of the preparations to be made in order to be in a condition to execute that enterprise.

The most of the articles I ask in this Memoir do not increase the ordinary expense, and will be taken out of the soldiers' pay, and from the funds of the Extraordinary of the War which his Majesty allows for that country.

The preparations we shall make this year, whilst waiting the King's orders, will have the very good effect of retaining all our Indians in our interest in the hope of being employed to destroy the Iroquois, with whom they will be constrained to unite, and to abandon us should

[1] Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, was the oldest son of the great Colbert who died in 1683. He was born in Paris in 1651, and succeeded his father as head of the department of the Marine. After an administration glorious alike to his country and to himself, he died on the 3d of November, 1690, at the early age of 39, the year after he had been named Minister of State. *Biographie Universelle.* — Ed.

they perceive that we do not place ourselves in a condition to sustain them against those Iroquois. Those preparations will, also, contribute to keep the Iroquois in check, and to make them bethink of defending themselves at home, instead of coming to attack us with a large force, and will place us in a position to defend ourselves better when they will attack us, whilst the proposed expedition against New-York would enable us to provide for the entire safety of all our Colony, relieve his Majesty of all the expense he incurs for the preservation of those countries, and firmly establish the Religion, his authority and a profitable trade for his subjects in those parts.

Should good understanding with England be reëstablished in the course of this year by the restoration of the legitimate King, an agreement could be made with him, by a new Treaty, respecting the limits of our two Colonies, on the basis of the Titles and possessory acts *(prises de possession)* I have brought, and a reciprocal prohibition against furnishing arms, ammunition and other aid to the Indians who will be at war with one or the other of the two Colonies.

Supplies required for the Invasion of New-York.

Memorandum of arms, ammunition and implements required for the expedition proposed by Chevalier de Callières. February, 1689.

To be sent to Quebec.

900 Quintals of flour, to be manufactured into biscuit before the month of September for provisioning 1600 men, including 300 militia, during 45 days' march.
180 Quintals of Pork.
30 Barrels of Brandy.
1300 Pairs of shoes for the Soldiers.
600 Powder horns for said Soldiers.
100 Kettles.
500 Swords which are deficient.
500 Muskets to arm the Regulars and the militia who want them.
2000 Pounds of fine powder.
4000 Pounds of bullets, 18 to the pound.
2 Small field pieces.
100 Balls of the calibre of said cannon.
1600 Ells of canvas for sails and tarpauling of 200 canoes.
800 Pounds of best Pitch for said canoes.
1600 Ells of canvas for biscuit bags.
500 Loaded grenadoes.

An Engineer to serve in the place of Sieur de Villeneuve. The greater part of those expenses can be met from the military chest and from the ordinaries of war.

To be sent by the two Ships:

200 Pounds of fine powder.
2000 Pounds of ball, 18 to the pound.

4 Mortars with a bombardier.
100 Bombshells.
500 Loaded grenadoes.
50 Iron shovels and 150 pick axes to break up the earth.
1 Medicine chest, furnished with ointments and particularly with Helvetius Styptic.[1]

Report on the preceding Papers.

Expedition of . February, 1689.

The list of articles required for this expedition has been examined with Count de Frontenac and Chevalier de Callières.

With the exception of the cannon, gun-carriages and a Boat, some arms and ammunition, scarcely any thing is required that is not included in the Estimate of 75,000[ll] extraordinary, My Lord has approved, which sum appears sufficient for the expenses of this expedition and for the of Canada.

Nothing remains but to issue immediate orders, with My Lord's approbation, for the furnishing at Rochefort whatever is to be conveyed in the Ships of War to the place of the expedition, as well as of what is to be carried to Canada, so that, all things being ready, no obstacle may be interposed to the setting out of the expedition in sailing from France, and after arriving in Canada.

To be conveyed in the two Men of War:—

One Boat for firing the cannon and mortars with necessary implements and machinery, and some plank for platforms.

4 Pieces of cannon of 18[lbs] calibre.
4 Gun-carriages, with furniture, for said pieces.
500 Ball of 18[lbs].
3 Mortars, carriages and furniture.
50 Pounds of Match in addition to what is ordered.
200 Shells.
3 Bombardiers who will form part of the crew.
Some picked Gunners who will form part of the crew.
300 Loaded grenadoes.
100 Iron bound shovels.
200 Pickaxes.
50 Picks.
2000 Lbs of cannon, and 2000[lbs] of musket powder.
The medicine chest, already ordered for Canada will be sent in the ships.

[1] A preparation composed of the filings of iron and tartar, mixed to a proper consistency with French brandy was long used in France, Germany and Holland, under the name of Helvetuis's Styptic. It was employed to stop hemorrhage. *Paris Pharmacologia*, (New-York, 1825,) I. 112.

300 Quintals of flour, on account of the subsistence of the Regulars in Canada.
60 Quintals of Pork, also on account of the subsistence of said Regulars.
10 Barrels of Brandy for the Regulars during the expedition.

To be sent direct to Canada in Merchant Vessels:—

450 Quintals of biscuit on account of what is ordered.
150 Quintals of flour do do
120 Quintals of Pork.
20 Barrels of Brandy.

Orders have been issued to send:—

Shoes, hats, shirts, cravats, stockings and breeches. Also,
600 Powder horns.
100 Kettles.
4000 lbs. of Musket balls, 18 to the pound.
Ditto lead, assorted.
10,000 Flints.
100 Lbs of steel.
15 Lbs prepared steel.
400 Lbs candles.
50 Lbs coarse sponge.
100 Lbs of brass wire.
50 Lbs of cork.
100 Bundles of whip-cord and 4000 of old cordage for oakum.
1500 Lbs of good tobacco.
10 Cases for drums.
10 Barrels of vinegar.

Ordered.

500 Swords, not included in the Estimate, to be furnished. } The Militia have only 265 in the whole country, and the Soldiers are in want of some.

300 Fusils for the Soldiers and Militia, who are in want of some.
2 Small field pieces of 2 @ 3^{lb} ball, to be selected at Rochefort, with
100 Balls to match.
1600 Ells of canvas for sails and tarpauling of 200 Canoes.
1200 Ells of canvas for so many biscuit bags. There are 2400 more enumerated in the approved Estimate; it is noted, that this is in case of war.
800 Lbs of good Pitch.
Nails included in the statement.
3 Petards.
100 Axes well steeled, proper to cut down palisades.

As regards the bread, as well in flour or biscuit, to be conveyed either directly in the vessels to Canada, amounting to the quantity of 900 quintals of biscuit, 56250^{ll}. are to be charged to the pay of 1000 Soldiers employed on the expedition and the 33750 remaining which will be used for provisioning of the 600 Militia to be employed, will be charged to the extraordinaries of War which his Majesty has been in the habit of sending to Canada.

Of the 18 quintals of Pork, 11250^{lbs} are to be charged to the pay of 1000 Soldiers, and the remaining 6750^{lbs} which will go to victualling the 600 Militia, will be charged to the Extraordinary.

Of the 30 barrels of Brandy, 20 may be charged to the pay of the Soldiers, and the other 10 barrels for distribution among the Militia, to the Extraordinary.

The powder horns are to be paid for by the Soldiers who are deficient in, and will have lost, them.

The militia can eventually be made to pay for the guns furnished to them.

It is necessary to give immediate orders for the boat, gun carriages and other articles, and to retain room on board the merchant vessels for the biscuit, flour, brandy, pork, and other articles required for Canada.

My Lord calculates that the two Men of War will be ready to sail, at latest, the 15th June.

An Engineer is required.

Observations on the Project of Attack on New-York.

Versailles, 24 April, 1689.

The orders of the King of England relative to the Treaty of Neutrality of the month of November, 1687, had favorably disposed M^{r}. Dongan, then governor of New-York, to terminate the war with the Iroquois.

Said M^{r} Dongan had previously declared that he claimed the Iroquois to be subjects of the King of England, and the transactions before that war did not leave any room to doubt his participation in what they had done, nor his having furnished them with arms and ammunition.

Meanwhile he had altered his tone; but M^{r}. Andros being come to relieve him with the Commission of Governor of New England and New-York, declared and wrote that the Iroquois were subjects of England, and that he did not understand that they should treat without his order.

There is no appearance of improvement in the dispositions of the English in the meantime.

The last season was passed inactively on the part of the French, in the expectation of a treaty of peace; and, as far as they were concerned, things have not apparently up to the close of the season been in any worse state. This inactivity and the indispensable abandonment of the forts cannot fail to have increased the courage and insolence of the Iroquois, and it must, it appears to me, be inferred that the English will, in consequence of the interest they have in depriving us of the Trade, continue to use them for that purpose. It costs nothing—for in the present state of the Colony of New-York, they cannot, of themselves, afford considerable aid, with the exception of the arms and ammunition they sell them. Under cover of the Iroquois war, they would endeavor to draw the beaver trade to themselves, and to send to form establishments, which they had commenced doing, on the route of the Tribes that brought the beaver to Canada.

Under these circumstances, should peace not be concluded, or in progress of conclusion, when the King's orders arrive, it would be, apparently, dangerous to permit the Iroquois to

be always the aggressors; and should Monsieur de Denonville demand a large military force to attack them, My Lord perhaps will find it expedient to send him orders to make use of the troops he has, together with the militia, to wage war as far as he is able against those Indians, so as to endeavor to oblige them to sue for peace.

Were we certain of a rupture with England, there would be no apparent inconvenience in attacking New-York, and in that case the proposal of Chevalier de Callières might be examined, in order to see if it were not possible to execute it as projected merely with the forces already in Canada. In this case, the expense would be increased only a trifle.

And it seems certain, that by the conquest of New-York, whether it would be destroyed or retained, an end would be put to the War of the Iroquois, who are as difficult to conquer as the capture of Manathe and Orange appears easy to Chevalier de Callières and to those who are acquainted with that Colony.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny.

Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Denonville and Sieur de Champigny.

Versailles, 1st May, 1689.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The proposal of Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny to arrange the Iroquois affairs by resuming the negotiation commenced between the French and English, is no longer practicable since the Revolution in England. They will have learned that the Prince of Orange has become Master of that Kingdom, and as there is an appearance that war will be soon declared by England against France, there is no reason for relying on any negotiation in Europe. On the contrary, Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny must keep themselves on their guard, so as to prevent surprisals by the English, who might have orders to fall suddenly upon or otherwise attack the Colony. Moreover, to treat with the King of England respecting the differences the French have with the Iroquois, would be acknowledging him to be the master of that nation, and it is not expedient that this affair pass through that channel, since it is, in fact, certain that the French took possession of the lands of the Iroquois before the English could lay any claim to them, and it is his Majesty's pleasure that Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny omit nothing to maintain his possession therein, and to prevent, at least, the Iroquois uniting with the English in an attack on the colony. His Majesty is meanwhile, highly pleased to inform them that this pretence of the English to the Iroquois country having been submitted by the Commissioners of the King of England last year, those of His Majesty answered by the Memoir copy whereof is hereunto annexed; and the discussion of this question was adjourned until the negotiation which was to recommence the first of January, 1689, when the English would, no doubt, have recognized his Majesty's right to that nation, having no valid reason to oppose that of the French.

Whatever knowledge his Majesty may possess of the evil intentions of the English, he does not wish Sieur de Denonville to commence any hostilities against them, nor make any assistance they may render the Iroquois a ground of rupture; and his intention is, that

things be left, as far as regards them, in *statu quo*, unless they declare war against him and be the first to commence an attack.

His Majesty agrees with them that the most certain plan to crush the Iroquois at one blow, would be to have three or four thousand good troops; but this is not the time to think of it, his Majesty's forces are too much occupied elsewhere, and nothing is more important or more necessary in the present state of affairs than to conclude a peace with the Iroquois forthwith, his Majesty not being disposed to incur any expense for the continuance of this war. And, in order to facilitate the means of accomplishing that peace, his Majesty has sent to Marseilles the necessary orders to convey to Rochefort the Iroquois who had been sent to the galleys, and has issued directions that they be dressed somewhat decently preparatory to being sent back home.

But in case all the measures to be adopted by Sieur de Denonville for securing a peace will happen to fail, it is his Majesty's wish that, rather than afford the Iroquois an opportunity to make any attacks on the Colony, and to render the French contemptible in their estimation, he will employ whatever forces he has, and whatever assistance he can derive from the settlers not only for a vigorous defence but even to attack, and make as fierce a war as possible upon them, until it be in his Majesty's power to adopt other resolutions.

It is, likewise, highly important that Sieur de Denonville do all that is proper to protect the trade of the French in the distant posts, particularly at Missilimakinac, in order to prevent the execution of the plan entertained for a long time by the English to establish themselves there; and as he cannot preserve that post except by means of the Indian allies, it is important that he encourage, by all means in his power, the hopes they may entertain of not being abandoned, and that he foster, in every way, their animosity against the Iroquois.

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M. de Seignelay to M. de Denonville.

Versailles, 1st May, 1689.

Extract.

Sir,

As the King explains to you his intentions on the affairs generally of Canada in the Memoir you will receive, I shall not repeat them to you here, and content myself with informing you, that the most important service you can render his Majesty in the present conjuncture, would be to succeed in negotiating a peace with the Iroquois, directly, without the interposition of the English. Chevalier de Callieres whom you sent here to furnish explanations necessary in the negotiation to be entered upon with the English, and which have been broken off by the invasion of the Prince of Orange, has proposed to attack Manat and Orange, presupposing that the inhabitants of these places, who are protestants, will not hesitate to declare against the King of England, nor preserve appearances any longer with us. Although his Majesty thought well of the proposal, he has not deemed its execution, at present, expedient, and is pleased to return it to you, and to order me to write to you that he intends you should

examine it, and arrange means to put it into execution in case he, eventually, find it expedient for his service to come to some conclusion on the correct plans and memoirs which he desires you to send him on that subject.

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Minute of the taking Possession of the Country on the Upper Mississippi.

Canada, Bay des Puants.

Record of the taking possession, in his Majesty's name, of the Bay des Puants,[1] of the lake and rivers of the Outagamis,[2] and Maskoutins,[3] of the river Siskonche,[4] and that of the Missiscipi, the country of the Nadouesioux, the rivers S^te^ Croix and S^t^ Peter, and other places more remote. S^th^ May, 1689.

1689. N°. 6.

Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the King at the post of the Nadouesioux, commissioned by the Marquis de Denonville Governor and Lieutenant General of all New France, to manage the interests of Commerce among all the Indian tribes and peoples of the Bay des Puants, Nadouesioux, Mascoutins and other Western Nations of the Upper Mississipi, and to take possession in the King's name, of all the places where he has heretofore been, and whither he will go.

We this day, the eighth of May one thousand six hundred and eighty[5] do, in presence of the Reverend Father Marest of the Society of Jesus, Missionary among the Nadouesioux; of Mons^r^ de Borie-Guillot, commanding the French in the neighborhood of Ouiskonche on the Mississipi; Augustin Legardeur Esquire, Sieur de Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire and Blein;

Declare to all whom it may Concern, that having come from the Bay des Puants and to the lake of the Ouiskonches and to the river Mississipi, we did transport ourselves to the Country of the Nadouësioux on the border of the River Saint Croix and at the mouth of the River Saint Peter, on the bank of which were the Mantantans, and farther up into the interior to the North east of the Mississipi as far as the Menchokatonx with whom dwell the majority of the Songeskitons and other Nadouëssioux, who are to the North east of the Mississippi, to take possession for, and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited by the said Tribes and of which they are proprietors. The present Act done in our presence, Signed with our hand, and subscribed by the Reverend Father Marest Mess^rs^ de Borie guillot and Caumont, and the Sieurs Le Sueur, Hébert, Lemire and Blein.

Done at the Post S^t^. Anthony, the day and year aforesaid. These presents are in duplicate; Signed to the Original—Joseph Jean Marest of the Society of Jesus; N. Pérot, Legardeur de Caumont Le Sueur; Jean Hébert, Joseph Lemire and F. Blein.

[1] Green Bay. [2] Fox river. [3] Lake Winnebago. [4] Wisconsin. [5] *Sic* — Ed.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières.

22 May, 1689.

The expedition against New-York, which I have proposed, can be executed in the beginning of next Autumn, if My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay please to issue immediately the necessary orders to put us in a condition to succeed therein, and to leave Rochelle in the month of June.

It is much more advantageous and certain to make this conquest this year than to wait until next Spring, for reasons which I shall, hereafter, set forth.

In regard to the feasibility and time of the expedition, a month still remains to make all the necessary preparations at Rochelle, and that time is more than sufficient if well employed.

I have demanded 900 quintals of flour for 45 days' subsistence of 1600 men, as well soldiers as militia, destined for this expedition; but as the season is advancing, and in order not to lose time in Canada in the manufacture of biscuit there, I demand 400 quintals of biscuit and 500 quintals of flour.

Let the 400 quintals of biscuit be embarked for Canada with 200 quintals of flour.

Ten tons of freight are required for 100 quintals of biscuit, and five tons for 100 quintals of flour, which amount in all to fifty tons of freight for these provisions. They can be dispatched in the merchant vessels ready to sail for Quebec, or in a vessel chartered specially for this freight with the Pork and Ammunition, I have required by a Memorandum.

In regard to the other 300 quintals of flour which will occupy fifteen tons of freight, they can be put on board the two frigates to be ordered to come before Manathe. The frigate *L'Embuscade*, destined for Acadia, will soon be ready to sail. She can be employed in this expedition which will last only a month, and another frigate of 30 guns can be conjoined to her. This will be the only increased expense his Majesty will incur by this expedition.

The ships leaving Rochelle towards the end of June, will arrive at Quebec, at the latest, in the end of August. No more than three weeks or a month will be necessary to assemble our soldiers and militia, arrange our bateaux and Canoes and other necessary equipages. We shall thus leave, at the latest, between the 20th September and 1st October. Only a month will be required for the Expedition, and we may calculate on the King being master of the whole of New-York, at farthest, by the end of October; which is the best season for action in that country, because it is a very fine month there; it is the season the Iroquois go hunting towards the great Lakes, more than one hundred and fifty leagues distant from their Country; there are no longer any troublesome flies; our farmers have then nothing to do, and they will still have time to return home.

It is further to be remarked that it takes only one month to sail from Rochelle to the mouth of the River St Lawrence, and that the navigation of that river up to Quebec usually occupies another month for want of a favorable wind; that when in the river I can anticipate the arrival of the ships at Quebec some 15 or twenty days by embarking, as I offer to do, in a sloop at the anchorage of Moulin Baude, to carry to Quebec his Majesty's orders, and to make every preparation there for starting, whilst waiting Count de Frontenac's arrival with the ships. By this means we shall be ready to start fifteen days sooner.

In regard to the certainty and utility of the expedition in the month of October, they are founded on two main reasons. One is, that the English, being surprised and unprepared, will not have time to adopt any measures, nor to fortify themselves, nor to expect any aid. The other is, that his Majesty having this year incurred all the expense necessary for the support of

1400 men in Canada, it will be very usefully employed in this conquest which puts an end, for the future, to two-thirds of that expense, by disbanding 900 of his Soldiers partly this winter and the remainder next spring, making them settle in that conquered country, the preservation of which will not require a garrison of more than four @ five hundred men. These will secure, at the same time, the entire of Canada where it will be no longer necessary to keep troops against the Iroquois who, by this conquest, will be without any ammunition, and whom we shall then reduce on such conditions as will be acceptable to his Majesty.

That if we wait until spring, the English of New-York, aware of the rupture with France, will be able to fortify themselves, during winter, and receive before the end of June of next year some military reinforcements.

The expense the King will have incurred this season for the maintenance of 1400 men becomes useless, inasmuch as it will not prevent parties of Iroquois coming to burn many of our isolated settlements, which will not be able to afford each other assistance soon enough, even were the number of soldiers there more than quadrupled; and his Majesty will be under the necessity of incurring the same expense again next year, which might be avoided in proceeding with the expedition this season.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières governor of Montreal, to the Marquis de Seignelay respecting the Expedition proposed by him against New-York. May, 1689.

As the time is at hand to leave for the purpose of making all the preparations for the projected expedition against New-York, and as it will be difficult to raise in the short time that remains, the four hundred recruits necessary to complete the companies in Canada, and to render them fit for action, I have thought of an expedient to save the King the expense of that undertaking.

This expedient is as follows:—As two armed frigates will of necessity be required to attack on the sea side the stone fort of four bastions in the port of Manathe, whilst we shall attack it by land; and as I have learned that his Majesty grants one frigate to guard the coasts of Acadia with some soldiers for the security of that Country, the same frigate and soldiers, and another added to it can be employed with orders to repair before Manathe by the fifteenth of September and await there the signal, to be made them according to previous arrangement, to enter the harbor and land their crews who must be composed of two hundred men, each, in order that such force of 400 men may replace an equal number of the troops in Canada who must be left on the road to garrison Orange and to guard the bateaux necessary for the return of the Militia; as described in a preceding Memoir containing the plan of the Expedition. The two Captains of these frigates ought to have orders to obey the officer in command of the land forces until the fort of Manathe be reduced; after which they could reimbark their men, and the frigate designed to guard the Coast of Acadia, might proceed thither with her soldiers, part of whom she would land and then continue to cruise along the coast; and the other

vessel could proceed to the Islands, and convey thither the soldiers she might have on board. Thus no new expense would be created except the equipment of this second frigate which might serve two purposes, and would not be employed more than fifteen days or three weeks in the Manathe expedition.

It would be well that these two frigates should first go direct to Acadia, to refesh their soldiers there for some time and to put them in a fighting condition. Meanwhile they could be usefully employed in erecting a fort which is required at Port Royal, for the security of that settlement; and then take the élite both of those who will be brought along, and of those already there, leaving until the return of the Manathe expedition, only 50 soldiers to guard the fort they would have built at Port Royal.

'Twould also be necessary that his Majesty would be pleased to honor me as soon as possible with his commands for my return to Canada, so that I may arrive there in season to provide biscuit and canoes, and repair the bateaux, levy and muster the militia of the country, put the troops in order, and make all the other preparations necessary for setting out on this expedition.

In my preceding Memoir I have stated what is the sole means of saving Canada from the threatening danger of immediate ruin to which she is exposed, in consequence of the supplies of arms, ammunition and provisions furnished to the Iroquois by the English, and of their intrigues among all the Indians to excite them against us; that there is no hope of peace with the Iroquois so long as they will be thus protected by the English of New-York; and that, were we to become masters of that English Colony, the Iroquois would be wholly subjugated, by being deprived of the means of obtaining arms and powder, which they cannot get elsewhere; and thus we should be masters of all the rest of the Indians and of the entire peltry trade;—

That his Majesty will, by these means, be rid of the extraordinary expenses he incurs in order to preserve Canada, inasmuch as the revenues to be derived from New-York, conjoined to those of Canada, will suffice to support the troops necessary for the security of these two Colonies during the war; and that this conquest will become very useful to his Majesty and to the trade of his subjects if it be retained during the peace;—

That if the necessity of restoring it by a Treaty be foreseen, we can, whilst in possession of it, have the disarmed Iroquois easily driven away and destroyed by the other Indians whom we shall arm against them and thus retain in our dependancy, and place Canada beyond the insults (of the Five Nations), to which it is greatly exposed by reason of the settlers' houses being all dispersed along the River St. Lawrence, and of the utter impossibility of preventing with the troops we have, those savages coming in the night time to set fire to the dwellings, burn the corn and kill the farmers and their cattle, obstruct the plowing and sowing, and thus starve the Colony;—

That if a defensive course is to be adhered to, the King will find himself, every year, subjected to the same expense, without any advantage to his service except the preservation of a country ruined by continual incursions of enemies who will, finally, be able to force us, for want of assistance, to abandon it; destroy the Religion in that quarter and profit by the heavy expenses incurred there for the settlement of a great number of his Majesty's subjects, who will be reduced to destruction or obliged to change masters, and his Majesty's other subjects will be deprived of the advantages they derive from the Cod fishery, the peltry and other trade they follow in those countries. This can be avoided by the proposed conquest of

New-York, whereby the English will be anticipated in the design they have formed, long since, of ruining Canada.

It may be objected to this project, that there will be no occasion to attack that Colony if it acknowledge the King of England; and if it recognize the Prince of Orange, that war has not yet been declared against France, either by him or the English Nation towards which some management can be employed.

We answer: there is not the least doubt but New-York, which is exclusively protestant and inhabited by Dutchmen conquered by the English, will acknowledge the Prince of Orange as soon as news is received of his usurpation; and that, even were the King of England recognized there, we can make use of the plausible pretext of having seized it with a view to preserve it for him against the attacks of the rebels, and to give it back to him after his Restoration or treat with him for it; and meanwhile, we can prevent the inhabitants of that Colony furnishing our enemies, the Iroquois, with arms and ammunition, and exciting them as they do against us, notwithstanding the orders to the contrary they have received from his Britannic Majesty, and notwithstanding the Treaty of Neutrality between the two nations, which they have violated in divers particulars.

That, if New-York acknowledge the Prince of Orange, it cannot be doubted but in his present dispositions towards France, he will soon come to a rupture with us on account of interests much graver than those of that Colony; and that, though an open rupture with the English nation do not occur, the inhabitants of New-York will continue to violate the Treaty of Neutrality, and make new efforts to ruin Canada, and monopolize the entire trade, according to their ancient plan, this is more than sufficient to determine us to anticipate them, subject to the restitution of the Country to the English by a new Treaty and a settlement of the boundaries between the two Colonies; which is absolutely necessary for the establishment of peace there, in consequence of the ill-founded pretences of the English and of their continual attacks on the countries incontestibly belonging to his Majesty. The proof of this is found in their expedition to Michilimakinac, and to the Country of the Iroquois which they claim without any right, and in the hostile proceedings of Sir Andros, the English governor, against Pentagouet in Acadia which belongs to his Majesty, whence it is easy to infer that they will not spare us during this Campaign if we do not take means to be beforehand with them.

If his Majesty approve the proposal of capturing New-York, and do me the honor to confide to me the conduct of the expedition, I shall prepare a new estimate of the articles I consider necessary for its success, and of the means to charge its equivalent to the funds his Majesty ordinarily applies to Canada, so as to economise them as much as possible.

Instructions for the Invasion of New-York.

Memoir to serve as Instruction for Count de Frontenac respecting the Expedition against New-York. 7 June, 1689.

[From the bound Register in the Archives of the Marine.]

The King having caused to be examined the proposal submitted to him by Chevalier de Callières Bonnevue of Montreal, to attack New-York with the troops his Majesty maintains in

Canada and some of the militia of that country, He has the more readily consented thereto since he knows that the English inhabiting that country have contemplated, of late years, exciting the Iroquois nations, his Majesty's subjects, with a view to oblige them to make war on the French; that they have, with that design, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and sought by all means, even contrary to the orders of the King of England and the faith of Treaties, to usurp the trade in the Countries which have from all time been in the possession of the French.

For the execution of the above proposal, his Majesty has given directions to Sieur Begon to prepare the necessary munitions for this expedition, and has equipped two of his Ships of War at the port of Rochefort under the command of Sieur de la Caffiniere whom he has ordered to follow precisely the instructions Sieur de Frontenac will give him respecting this expedition.

He will proceed with all diligence to embark at Rochelle on board one of the ships, and sail without loss of time for the mouth of the Gulf of S^{t} Lawrence and the Bay of Campseaux, where, in order to proceed to Quebec, he will embark on board the best of the merchantmen that will have followed him.

Previous to quitting his Majesty's ships, he will give orders to Sieur de la Caffiniere to await news of him, and will prescribe to him what he will have to do until that time; also the place where he is to receive them; and direct him to capture all the ships belonging to the English and other enemies he will fall in with, during his sojourn on that coast.

Time and circumstances permitting, he will, on entering the River S^{t} Lawrence, detach Chevalier de Callieres before him to Quebec, with a view to gain time and make the necessary preparations for the expedition against New-York, in concert with, and under the orders of, the Marquis de Denonville who is instructed by his Majesty to give credit to him, and to what orders he shall receive in this regard from Sieur de Frontenac; especially to keep secret the said expedition, and to mask the preparations for it under such pretext as he shall judge best adapted to conceal it, and to induce the Militia and the Regulars to coöperate therein more willingly.

Said Sieur de Frontenac must, on his part, observe this secrecy as much as possible, and particularly use all diligence imaginable in his operations, as his Majesty is persuaded that the expedition would not be practicable at any other season than next Autumn, for which time he has fixed it.

Therefore, as soon as Sieur de Frontenac will have arrived at Quebec, he must take advantage of the state in which he will find things there, so as to complete the proper arrangements to start with the bateaux, canoes and all the force necessary for that expedition, and in company with Chevalier de Callières who will command the troops under his orders.

He will immediately despatch, by land and sea as he shall consider best, to the said Sieur de la Caffiniere, at the place he will have indicated to him, the order and an instruction as to what he will have to do to repair to Manathe, making use of the cipher with which he shall have been furnished.

He will order him to sail direct, and without undertaking anything on his route, coasting along to Manathe from Acadia, where he will leave, in passing, what he will have for the said coast of Acadia; and will instruct him to anchor as securely as possible, and to observe well the spot where he will be able to effect a landing, on Sieur de Frontenac's arrival there.

He will order said Sieur de la Caffinière to seize the vessels he will find in the bay of Manathe, without exposing himself to any risk that might put it out of his power to coöperate with this expedition.

As it does not appear possible to fix a certain rendezvous, so that said ships may arrive at Manathe simultaneously with Sieur de Frontenac and the Troops and without alarming the people of those parts, both Vessels of War must proceed right up into the Bay; the rather, as the attack on the out posts of New-York will give warning to those of Manathe, and, thus, the ships arriving in that quarter before the land forces will cause a diversion there.

Sieur de Frontenac being informed of the proposed plan and means, viz. a detachment of 900 @ 1000 Regulars of Canada and of 600 militia, will, before he leaves, arrange with Sieur Denonville the measures to be adopted for the security of the Colony, and for the employment there of the troops and militia which are to remain as a protection against the incursions of the Iroquois, so as to furnish orders thereon to Chevalier de Vaudreuil, whom his Majesty wishes to command in Canada pending Sieur de Frontenac's expedition, and after Sieur Denonville's departure.

For which purpose he will leave the necessary instructions to Sieur de Vaudreuil and indicate to him those of the Council whom he is to employ; the whole, likewise, in concert with said Sieur de Denonville, with whom he will examine whether the expedition against New-York cannot be effected with a less number of men than the sixteen hundred as proposed, in order, thus, to leave more to guard the country.

Sieur de Frontenac being informed of the route he will take, in regard to which he will make more particular inquiries on the spot, for the convenience, security and expedition of the troops, His Majesty will not enter into further detail on that point, nor on the attack on Orange and Manathe, nor on any thing that relates thereto. He will solely recommend him to act as much as possible, in such a manner that those of Orange may not be advised of his march, so that he may surprise this first post and cut in below it to secure the number of vessels he may require to descend to Manathe, and to arrange things so as not to be uneasy when he shall depart for, and be established at, that place. For this purpose he ought to station a confidential officer at Orange with such detachment as he will find necessary to leave there, with order to be on his guard, and to fortify himself and obtain all information possible for the success of the expedition against Manathe. He will also cause all the inhabitants to be disarmed and their effects to be seized, giving them to hope every good treatment with which they can flatter themselves until he entertains no further apprehensions; then His Majesty desires that what is hereinafter prescribed to him, may be executed.

His Majesty wishes particular care to be taken to prevent any plunder of provisions, merchandise, ammunition, property, cattle, implements and principal household furniture; and as his object must be to place Forts Orange and Manathe in a state of defence, and to support the Frenchmen who will have remained there, he must not only victual these forts for the longest time possible but collect in them all he can of provisions, which, in default of a sufficient quantity of Magazines in said forts, he will lock up in the towns, taking care not to touch those which he will have deposited in said forts except when obligated so to do.

His Majesty does not wish any suspected colonist to be left in that Colony. His intention also is that an exact Inventory be made in the settlements and plantations by Commissary Gaillard (whom His Majesty wishes him to take with him,) of all cattle, grain, merchandise, furniture, effects and utensils he may find in each of the said settlements; that he select from

among the inhabitants of Canada and the officers and soldiers of the troops those who will be found qualified to maintain and improve the same, and that he furnish them with farms in His Majesty's name, leaving them of the provisions that will be found there, so much as shall be necessary to support them until they have produced a supply; and he will examine, one with another *(le fort et le faible)* those to whom he will think proper to grant said farms, so as to distribute the greater number in proportion to their skill and strength, observing to associate several in the same settlement when he will deem such necessary. He will inform His Majesty of all he shall have done in this regard by sending him the enumeration of what he shall have left in each such settlement, and furnish his opinion of the Quit rents *(redevance)* which they will be in a condition to pay him. After having settled on what he shall judge absolutely necessary to leave to those to whom he will have given these farms, he will place in store all the surplus, such as grain, whale oil and all sorts of merchandise and other principal effects of which also inventories shall be made to be sent, in like manner, to his Majesty.

He will examine into the means of selling said property so that from what he will realize there, his Majesty may order, on his report, the gratuities he shall judge fitting to bestow on the Militia, on the army and navy officers, soldiers and sailors who shall have distinguished themselves and given individual marks of that satisfaction his Majesty expects from their zeal and industry on this occasion.

As there will be, among said effects and merchandise, some which cannot be sold except in France, he will be able to put on board the two men of War whatever is most valuable, and they can carry without inconvenience to their sailing; some can also be embarked in Merchant ships which will be found at said Manathe, causing them to be manned for that purpose.

If he find among the inhabitants of New-York,—whether English or Dutch—any Catholics on whose fidelity he considers he can rely, he may leave them in their habitations after making them take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, provided there be not too many of them and that they do not excite any suspicion, having regard, herein, only to what will be best to promote the preservation and advantage of the Colony and his security at the same time as well as that of the French.

He will be at liberty to retain, as prisoners if he think proper, such mechanics and other working people as are necessary to cultivate the land and work at fortifications, distributing them among the French inhabitants who may require them, until matters being in a state of entire security, they may be restored to liberty.

The officers and principal inhabitants, from whom ransoms are to be exacted, must be detained in prison.

Respecting all other foreigners, men, women, and children, his Majesty deems it proper that they should be put out of the Colony and sent to New England, Pennsylvania and to such other quarters as shall be considered expedient, either by land or sea, together or in divisions—all according as will best secure their dispersion and prevent them affording the enemy, by their reunion, an opportunity to get up expeditions against that Colony.

He will send to France the French refugees whom he will find there, particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion. When he will have captured the forts and conquered that Colony, he must consider particularly of his return to Canada, in order to convey thither the Militia and Soldiers he shall deem necessary for the King's service, according to the disposition in which he shall find things both as regards the Iroquois, as well on the side of Canada as

on that of New-York, and in proportion to what troops he will calculate necessary to be left to guard the forts and country.

And as nothing appears more important, after his expedition, than to take advantage of the season to return to Canada, he must, in case he cannot effect all what is above contained, confide its execution to Chevalier de Callières, giving him orders conformable and according to what he shall consider most fitting the King's service; His Majesty having determined to confer on the said Chevalier de Callieres the Government of New-York, and of the town and fort of Manathe in particular, under the authority of His Majesty's Lieutenant-General in New France.

He will select, before leaving, the officers and soldiers he will deem proper to leave at New-York, and put over the posts those officers best qualified to maintain and fortify them.

In case he find, after having provided sufficient troops for New-York and concluded on the number of soldiers necessary for His Majesty's service in Canada, that he has a superabundance, he can send some to France in the King's ships, and retain thirty-five to forty men to be sent eventually to Acadia.

His Majesty is very glad to observe to him on this head, that he must regulate himself, as regards the number of men he will leave in New-York, according to the means of subsistence there and the necessity of securing the country; and he will also consider that his return to Canada will be more convenient for those he will have to bring back there, when they will not be more numerous.

In case, that contrary to all appearance, the season be too far advanced to admit his return to Canada during the remainder of the Fall, he will send word thither of his expedition and of his sojourn until the spring, and employ himself during the winter in securing his conquest and waging war on the enemy.

However that be, he ought, if he be obliged to remain, either personally or through Chevalier de Callieres, if that be convenient, profit by circumstances to conclude a solid and advantageous peace with the Iroquois, whom he will, doubtless find disposed to sue for it, being deprived of aid from, and communication with the English.

In order to deprive the English of the facility of undertaking land expeditions against New-York from New England, His Majesty desires that the English settlements adjoining Manathe and further off if necessary, be destroyed; and that the more distant be put under contribution.

He will send an exact report of all the observations he will be able to make regarding the trade of the new inhabitants of New-York, the security of the navigation thence to France, and the communication with Canada, so that His Majesty may give him on those points the orders necessary to derive from that conquest all the advantages to be expected from it. But should this expedition not be executed, contrary to all appearances, and for reasons which His Majesty cannot foresee, he will convey his orders to the said Sieur de la Caffinière to make war against the English, and to range also along the coasts of New England and New-York to capture there as many prizes as possible, and to remain there until he have no more provisions than are necessary for his return to France.

Instructions for Count de Frontenac.

INSTRUCTION for Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in the countries under His Majesty's dominion in North America. 7th June, 1689.

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After having explained to him his Majesty's intentions respecting every thing relating to Religion, he is to be informed of whatever regards the armed defence of the country, which must be his principal duty.

As Count de Frontenac has a thorough knowledge of that country, his Majesty will not dwell on its situation nor on the interests of the Colony as regards neighbouring nations, whether in Europe or in America, but will content himself with explaining to him its present state in respect to the Iroquois war. Wherefore, he must be informed that Sieur de Denonville having orders to make war on the Iroquois nations, invaded the country of the Senecas in the year 1687 with a considerable body of Regulars, a portion of Militia and a number of Indians, allies of the French; laid waste all their cabins, burnt their corn and forced them to take refuge among the other tribes.

That exploit, though considerable, not having the effect of bringing those Indians to reason, and the said Sieur de Denonville perceiving how injurious the war was to the Colony, found means to have them persuaded to sue for peace. To this end, deputies from three of those Nations waited on him at Montreal, and promised him to come immediately with those of the two other tribes, to demand all together a cessation of hostilities. And these Five Nations did, in fact, shortly after, send some Deputies, and peace would have been concluded, were it not that a party of Hurons having waylaid them on the road, prevented the negotiation being completed.

Sir Andros having arrived at the same time at New-York, to succeed Colonel Unguent,[1] he gave notice to the Iroquois that he took them all under his protection, forbade them to make peace without his participation, and wrote to that effect to Sieur de Denonville.

Things were in this wise when the last letters were despatched, and as the Revolution which has since broke out in England, will have made matters still worse, his Majesty has resolved, in order to terminate this war which is so damaging to the Colony, to have an attack made on New-York, as he has more fully explained to Sieur de Frontenac; and is persuaded that the Iroquois warriors, when they will no longer receive aid from the English, will be obliged to conform to his Majesty's pleasure.

His Majesty will not enlarge further on the necessity of procuring peace for that Colony, Sieur de Frontenac being informed of the state of the country; how all the settlements are dispersed so as to be unable to help each other, and how the occupation which the war gives the settlers prevents them attending to agriculture and trade. He is therefore to apply himself particularly to the establishment of a durable peace with all the neighboring Tribes, and adopt the best possible means to maintain it.

Sieur de Denonville caused a fort to be erected at Niagara in the beginning of this war, pretending, thereby, to prevent the Iroquois passing to the North, and to encourage the Illinois and other Far nations to come and make war, having a secure retreat in that fort. But a

[1] Dongan. — Ed.

number of soldiers having died there; the revictualing thereof being, moreover, extremely expensive, and the hostile tribes not having, as yet, taken advantage of that retreat, Sieur de Denonville thought proper to demolish it, and to preserve only Cataracouy, his Majesty has let him know that he approved of what he did in regard to said fort at Niagara, and even promised him to abandon that at Cataracouy if he considered it necessary; he gives Sieur de Frontenac the same power, and is very glad to observe merely to him that he must not adopt any resolution in this regard unless after an examination made with all requisite attention as to the utility or inutility of that fort.

He is informed that the English having, by means of one Radisson a French refugee, invaded a fort and some habitations which the Northern Company of Canada had established in the [Hudson's] Bay on the ruins called Bourbon and S^{t} Therese, those interested in that Company, dispatched one hundred men in 1686, who made themselves masters of the three Forts the English had erected at the head *(dans le fonds)* of that Bay.

The intelligence of this reciprocal invasion caused a meeting at London of Commissioners on the part of his Majesty and of the King of England, at which, not being able to concur as to the facts, they agreed to postpone the negotiation to the first of January of the present year. It could not be continued in consequence of the revolution in England. As the English, in the present troublesome conjuncture in that Kingdom, will not, seemingly, have adopted great precaution in those parts, his Majesty desires him to afford that Company the protection it will need as well for the expulsion of the English from the posts they occupy there, as for the continuation of trade.

At this same conference a discussion was held respecting an interruption effected by the English at Pentagouet, a possession of the French, and the justification of the violence which had been committed was deferred until the resumption of the negotiation. His Majesty desires that Sieur de Frontenac, with Sieur de Mesneval, the present Governor of Acadia, do adopt the measures necessary to prevent like incursions of the enemy, and to restrain them within their limits, in case it be not practicable to make an attack on them.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir addressed by Chevalier de Callieres to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay. On the present condition of Canada. November 8th, 1689.

Peace cannot reasonably be expected to be made with the Iroquois by negotiation, so long as the English Colonies continue our enemies and furnish them at a low rate with all their necessaries, and with arms and ammunition to wage war on us.

There is no other means of reducing those Savages except force, and carrying out the plan submitted for the capture of New-York. As long as hopes are entertained of succeeding otherwise, wrong measures will be adopted.

If a defensive policy is to be pursued in Canada, it is impossible to prevent its being ruined by the incursions alone of the Iroquois; they will continue to burn all the houses scattered along the River Saint Lawrence, and to plunder the settlers, without any possibility of

protecting the latter even with four times as many troops as are in the country, in consequence of the remoteness of the scattered settlements; and they will starve the settlers by preventing them sowing and reaping, and by setting fire to their grain and houses, as they did last August when they killed one hundred and fifty of the French after having subjected them to horrible tortures, and burnt all the settlements from the Point of the Island of Montreal to within a league of Ville marie.

Were New-York taken, the Iroquois are reduced to sue for peace and to submit to such conditions as will be imposed on them, because we shall be in the centre of their country, in a position to exterminate them should they resist; and they will be deprived of munitions and other supplies necessary for their defence and subsistence, all of which they derive from that English Colony.

This expedition can be accomplished at two seasons of the year; before and after the harvest. It would have been much easier the last fall of the year 1689, had we arrived in time, than it will be in 1690, because the enemy would have been surprised and not have had leisure to fortify themselves. However, it is feasible still, if his Majesty please to grant us the help necessary for that expedition on which entirely depends the safety of Canada.

The surest means of success would be to attack Manhat by sea with six ships, having on board a landing party of 1200 men. These would be sufficient to carry the stone fort whilst the troops from Canada would attack by land the town and fort of Orange, whence a portion of the Regulars could afterwards go down to Manhat in order to remain in garrison there instead of the marine forces who could reimbark and continue their voyage to the Islands, so as to provide for the security thereof.

The other, and least expensive plan is, to send 300 recruits to Canada to be employed in garrisoning the principal posts against the incursions and burnings of the Iroquois; and to attach them to 300 other soldiers of the 1300 who remain in Canada, in order to protect the country pending the expedition, and, then, to proceed with a thousand Regulars and 4 @ 500 picked Militia, in bateaux and canoes, along the River Richelieu as far as Lake S^{t} Sacrament, and thence to Orange, carrying the Canoes along and leaving 200 men to guard the bateaux, capture Orange, and afterwards, in sloops to be found at that place and in Canoes brought there, go down the Albany river to Manhat, leaving a garrison in Fort Orange.

For the support of the attack on Manhat, there would be required two well armed frigates which could land 300 men to replace those left on the way, and convey thither munitions, provisions, and the necessary implements which were embarked last year agreeably to the annexed Memorandum, and which ought still to be in their original packages.

These two frigates ought be sent towards the end of March to Port Royal in Acadia, there to await orders from Quebec, and to provide, meanwhile, for the safety of Port Royal, which is very liable to be seized by the English of Boston, and the preservation whereof is of primary importance.

A third frigate would be required, which should sail at the same time for Quebec with his Majesty's orders, and to convey thither and escort the 300 recruits, the money necessary for the payment of the troops, and a fund for the Extraordinary of war, with flour, pork and other needful articles for the support of the military, and for the expedition, the Memoir whereof the Intendant of Canada promised to send to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay.

The capture of New-York will not only protect Canada but increase considerably its revenues and trade, and greatly diminish the expenses his Majesty is obliged to incur for the preservation of that Colony, which is in imminent danger, if this remedy be not applied.

It may be objected that it is only necessary to go and attack the Iroquois and destroy them, instead of attacking the English. It is answered, that to attack the Iroquois would require two bodies each of 2000 men, who should carry with them all their provisions across forests, marshes and other inaccessible places where nothing is to be had, and that if attacked on one side only, they would escape on the other, as they did when we burned the four Seneca Villages, and would find provisions among the four other Iroquois Nations, and the English of New-York, and afterwards return to burn our country as before; and that it is much easier and more useful to attack New-York, which is a populous and cultivated country, supplied with provisions, whence many useful things can be derived; and which will render the King Master of the Iroquois, and through them of all the other Indians of North America, and furnish him the means of establishing the Faith there.

Freight shipped on board Le Fourgon and L'Embuscade.

Statement of what has been put on board the Ships *Le Fourgon* and *L'Embuscade.*

First.

1 boat to serve for the landing of the cannon and all their furniture.
4 pieces of iron cannon of the calibre of 12lb.
4 field carriages for the said cannon.
500 balls.
3 mortars.
200 bombs.
300 loaded grenadoes.
100 iron-shod wooden shovels.
200 spades.
50 pickaxes.
200lbs cannon powder.
200lbs gun powder.
60 quintals of pork.
20 barrels of Brandy.
1 petard, with its platform, *craups* and *tire-fonds.*
4 iron pincers.
2 maces.
The crab, rigged.
1 limber of a field piece.
300 eight-inch nails.
30lbs of saltpetre.
3 bundles of 3-inch rope.
30 anchor rings (*Organneaux*).
70 plank.

200 stoppers for the bombs.
60lb of Wax old ointment with some verdigris.
8 handspikes.
3 wash-hand basins.
3 iron rods.
3 mallets.
30,000lbs of Flour.
1 Roll of tobacco.

Observations on the State of Affairs in Canada.

Extract from the Observations on the State of the Affairs of Canada at the departure of the ships, the 18th November, 1689.

It appears that the ill founded hope of Peace with the Iroquois, caused the inactivity in which the last Campaign had been passed. M. de Champigny advises that nothing had been done but encamping 22 companies near Villemarie, on the Island of Montreal.

The Iroquois, to the number of about 1500, made a descent on that Island on the 5th August, and perpetrated whatever destruction and cruelties they pleased. Sieur de La Rabeyre was thereupon detached from Villemarie with about 80 men to throw himself into Fort Roland within view of which they were defeated.

Several officers here, some of whom were in that fort which was commanded by Chevalier de Vaudreuil, report that having deliberated with him as to making a sortie to receive that reinforcement and to place the Iroquois between two fires, Sieur de Vaudreuil was prevented by the precise orders which he had.

The Iroquois returned the 13th November with 150 men only to some frontier settlements where they committed similar grave disorders; killed and led the settlers away into captivity.

News of this last action was received at Quebec at the moment of the departure of the ships, in a letter from Chevalier de Callières to Monsieur de Frontenac and in two others to the Bishop, which they have transmitted.

Sieur de Frontenac had come down from Montreal. He had not had time during the brief period subsequent to his arrival to acquaint himself with the state of affairs. He sends no plan; he expected that they would have executed this year the expedition against New-York, of which Chevalier de Callières sends another plan. M. de Denonville also furnishes one, and all agree in representing it as the principal means left for the preservation of Canada.

It appears that such a conquest would produce the effect anticipated. The English have hardly any Colony so well settled, or whose trade would be of such advantage or utility to France, in regard to her interests and those of Canada.

But the season is too far advanced to be able to effect it this year. It has to be accomplished before the beginning of September, rather earlier than later, especially on account of the necessary concert of vessels which must be employed. 'Tis even thought that, were it to be executed next year, notice to that effect must be given now, or at latest next March to M. de Frontenac in order that he make preparations for it.

A portion of the necessary expense has been incurred last year, partly for those articles brought back in the two ships commanded by Sieur de La Caffinière.

M. de Frontenac who is intimately acquainted with the country and with the enemies he will have to deal with, will, apparently, have made use of all existing means practicable to repress their incursions, maintain the Colony, and particularly to reëstablish confidence in all terrified minds.

In addition to what has been written, respecting the small amount of discipline among the Colonists, it is to be observed that the officers who have returned to France from that country assure, that their good will is alienated; and it is to be inferred from what some have been heard to state, that Sieur de Frontenac will be as much obstructed as he has been during his first administration, for he will be obliged to act on different principles and according to other councils than those which have been perhaps too dominant during this war.

Meanwhile it appears from all that has been collected from letters and reports that, the King being unwilling to increase the expenditure at present, a vigorous defence can be maintained in that colony by harrassing the enemy with the troops already there, the militia, some friendly Indians and by means of the still remaining posts.

The extraordinary expenses for carrying the war into the enemy's country, and maintaining the already abandoned posts of Niagara and Cataracouy, having ceased, it is to be hoped that M. de Frontenac, by a more enconomical and better management of the ordinary funds than has hitherto existed, will, in the extremity he has found matters, have employed the several means still at his disposal, with more success.

The concentration of the settlements on the Upper part of the river, and the fortification of posts have been begun since the year 1687.

The sudden attack by the Iroquois last year consequent on want of vigilance, and the absence of subordination among the settlers have frustrated those precautions and brought on the misfortunes which have happened.

It appears that orders are to be issued to continue those particular concentrations above Three Rivers where the settlements, more exposed than in other places, are more widely scattered, and farther from one another; poor land with a small number of men, so that there is no inconvenience in reducing them and gathering the settlers in places where they will be able to defend themselves and provide also for their subsistence in consequence of the facilities the Seigniors will be obliged to afford their tenants, especially for feeding cattle.

The posts are apparently to be occupied by the greatest part of the troops at the time of sowing and during the harvest, to guard the settlers who are then obliged to be abroad. Incursions, it is to be hoped, will be prevented by vigilance. As the Iroquois have not hitherto dared to attack the posts, at least with any advantage, parties can be sent out, even at those times, according to circumstances.

At other seasons, larger bodies can be detailed and the Militia adjoined to the Soldiers, in order to keep the enemy at a distance from the Colony by detachments which will always gain some advantage over them.

This, in addition to the aid to be derived from three or four bateaux which can be constructed in the country for service at the passes on the lakes, is all, it is thought, that can be done for the protection of the Colony.

From the reports of officers and colonists here, it is the conviction that considerable advantage can be derived in the existing state of things by operating, as just stated, for the

defence of the Colony; by making the Indian allies act beyond the Colony and in distant quarters against the Iroquois; conjoining to them even a few officers and soldiers, and some Canadians who are best adapted to this sort of warfare, and also calling out the French at the posts of Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois, of Michilimakinak and in Hudson's Bay, with the neighboring tribes.

It appears necessary to move the Iroquois of the Sault and of La Prairie de La Madelaine from Villemarie, if Monsieur de Frontenac have not already detached them, in order to place them outside and in a position to operate against the enemy, without fearing the disorders that may occur by retaining them within.

Iroquois Allies.

Assurance is given that very good service can be got from these against the enemy, provided they receive some aid for the support of their families, and some ammunition. It is but a trifling expense, and will be productive of great inconvenience to the enemy; whilst, if neither assisted nor employed, it is to be feared they will alter their inclinations and join the Iroquois from whom they separated, so as to be able to subsist and to live more quietly among the French.

Abenaquis.

The Abenakis, or Canibas, who occupy, towards the coast, the country above Acadia inland from Douaques or Mount desert to the River Saint George which separates Acadia from New England, ordinarily reside on the River Quinibequy and disperse themselves for the purpose of hunting as far as Quebec, whither they have been attracted by the Missionaries. Of all the Indians these are the bravest and most formidable to the English. The experience of what they effected last year by the capture of Fort Pencuit and 16 palisadoed settlements, ought to be an assurance of what may be expected from them, were they to receive some assistance for the expeditions on which they can be led against the Iroquois in the direction of Quebec, and against the English, towards Acadia.

They can be put in motion at a trifling expense, and the enemy thus harrassed will be discouraged, and we shall maintain ourselves whilst waiting a more favorable opportunity to subjugate them, or to force them to a peace.

The preservation of Acadia is due to these Canibas. They alone have prevented the English invading and settling it; and its security depends for a solid foundation on the continuance of the war they will wage against the English, and on their assistance if it be attacked. It would be supposed much more important to leave them in their ancient dwelling places, which are more convenient for waging war against the English, than to draw them to Quebec for the purpose of domesticating them there. Moreover, the trade they bring thither, is less than that they carried on with the settlers of Acadia; and as regards the very scanty fruits Religion collects from these Tribes, the Jesuits and Missionaries can employ themselves equally in the direction of Acadia. My Lord is requested to order an appropriation from the Canada funds to make them some trifling presents. *A Memoir of the Canibas has been furnished by a gentleman of Acadia, who is the only one that I know who is conversant with the Coasts and places of New-York.

ILLINOIS AND SOUTHERN INDIANS. FORT SAINT LOUIS.

For the preservation and maintenance of Fort Saint Louis, it is, at the same time, necessary to keep the Illinois and other southern tribes in good understanding with the French, and in their natural hatred against the Iroquois, by means of small presents, even by giving them some ammunition. With this view, it is supposed that it will be necessary to give orders to M. de Frontenac to aid Sieurs de La Forest and Tonty who promise to maintain themselves in that post without being any charge to the King, and also to send back Sieur de la Forest who has suggestions to make to M. de Frontenac, whereby the enemy can be greatly damaged, should time and circumstances permit.

OUTAWACS TOWARDS THE NORTH: MISSILIMAKINAK.

It is also supposed to be highly necessary to order M. de Frontenac to maintain the post of Missilimakinak, with a view of keeping the Outawacs in good understanding, and to engage them to wage war against the Iroquois by making them, also, some trifling presents.

The war which has always existed with the Iroquois has never obstructed the communication with the Nations of the North by way of the river of the Outawacs and other routes which are the outlets of all the chief commerce of the French who would lose it were Missilimakinak abandoned, in which case that trade would naturally be conveyed by those Nations to the English who would not fail even to settle there, as they attempted to do three years ago when taken on their way thither.

Summary of Intelligence from Canada. 1689, 1690.

Extracts from the Letters and Memoirs of Messrs de Frontenac, de Denonville de Champigny, Chevalier de Callierès &c.

State of affairs before and since Monsieur de Frontenac's arrival, up to the departure of the Vessels.

M. de Champigny advises by his letter dated 6th July, 1689, that the affairs of the war were in the same state as last year; what kept M. de Denonville in suspense, was his not being able to do any thing until he should learn his Majesty's intentions and the plans of the Iroquois who were always expected to come in to conclude a firm peace.

Sieur de Champigny advises by his letter of the 16th November that a party of 1500 Iroquois which had come on the Island of Montreal on the 5th August, not having dared to attack the forts, had laid waste the country,

Messrs de Frontenac and de Champigny advise that Sieurs du Luth and Mantet, since that burning, have, with 28 Canadians attacked 22 Iroquois and two canoes, and killed 18 of them, took three who were given to the Indians to be burned, one only having escaped.

Said Sieur de Frontenac is of opinion that war parties were not sent out often enough, and that had such advantages been experienced they could have greatly lowered the pride of the Iroquois which had been vastly inflated by the defeat of Lieutenant Rabeyre, who was dispatched at the time of the Iroquois foray of the 5th of August, to throw himself into a fort, and who, having fallen in with the main body of the enemy, was taken prisoner after having performed wonders.

The Bishop sends with his letter those he received from Montreal the 17th November relative to the disorders of this second invasion of the Iroquois, and says he cannot describe the terror they have spread among the people and the soldiers. The appearance of a small number of those Indians is sufficient to make them abandon every thing; that it is to be feared the country must be abandoned if it be not powerfully reinforced and if this war be not terminated by the capture of Manathe and Orange, from which the King will derive great advantages, in addition to the subjection of the Iroquois, who obtain arms and powder only from these two places.

set fire to every thing and carried off men, women and children, on many of whom they had perpetrated unheard of cruelties, and that they have since been in several places in small parties and killed some persons.

M. de Frontenac adds in his letter of the 15th November, that, having arrived on the 12th 8ber at Quebec, he had gone to Montreal in quest of Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny, and had found consternation spread among the people, and the troops dejected; that the people were still terrified by the burning at their very doors of more than three leagues of country on the Island of Montreal and in the canton of La Chine, by the forcible carrying off of more than 120 persons, after a massacre of 200 burned, roasted alive, devoured, children being torn from their mothers' wombs.

The troops, fatigued by the alarm they have had since, having been employed for six weeks in transporting the corn of the Indians of the Sault mission and in building them a fort, were exhausted; the bateaux and canoes were in disorder, so that not 20 of them were fit for use.

Said Sieur de Frontenac writes in his letter of the 17th 9ber that the ships being ready to sail, he learns by a letter from Chevalier de Callières of the 14th, that one hundred and fifty Iroquois had made a descent, the day before, on La chesnaye and the Island of Jesus, opposite the lower end of the Island of Montreal *(bout de l'Isle de Montréal du côté d'en bas)* had burned the settlements up to the very fort, captured and killed all the inhabitants, two only of whom had escaped; that said Sieur de Callières had immediately sent a reinforcement of two Companies to River des Prairies, and detached a party of 170 Indians to the Lake of the Two Mountains to endeavor to cut off the enemy's retreat.

M. de Frontenac states, that it having been very difficult to get up any military movement, Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny had,

M. de Denonville says that M. de Frontenac was not of opinion to demolish Fort Cataracouy, but that he would have done it as early as 1688 had it not been for the hope of a peace with the Iroquois. That it is a great evil to have occupied posts beyond the reach of the Colony, and that it had been better to let the Indians come to the settlements in quest of the goods.

M. de Champigny in his letter of the 16th of November states, that M. de Denonville, seeing himself unable to maintain Cataracouy, had given orders to abandon it, and to blow it up, that post being useless in a bay, occupying no pass, independent of the number of men which it would require to convey supplies, and the garrison having almost wholly perished in 1687 and 1688.

And by his letter of 6th July, 1689, he had stated that the garrison was in good health, and that one man only had died there.

Sieur de Champigny likewise says, that M. de Frontenac appeared angry at the abandonment of this fort, and had resolved to send assistance thither; that he does not know his reasons. He believes it was razed because the enemy demanded its demolition, and that it was a place to confer with them in time of peace. But that M. de Denonville had previously issued his orders.

doubtless for that reason, informed him that the execution of the proposed project against New-York was impossible in the actual conjuncture of affairs, no bateaux or canoes being ready and the season so far advanced

Messrs de Denonville and de Champigny proposed to M. de Frontenac only the carrying out the plan that had been projected before his arrival — to send 150 men in canoes to the relief of the garrison of Fort Cataracouy commanded by Sieur de Valrenne, to whom M. de Denonville had previously sent Sieur de Saint Pierre with orders to abandon the said post of Cataracouy.

M. de Frontenac was astonished at this resolution, and that a person who had been four years in that country was not persuaded of the importance of this post, whereof ten years' experience had demonstrated to him the consequence and the advantages to be derived from it for the preservation of the trade with the allies who, without this fort, would have gone over to the English long ago; and moreover, that such an abandonment should have taken place before the receipt from Court of any of the orders on the subject which said Sieur de Denonville had solicited, after the insolent propositions of the Iroquois by belts, by one of which, transmitted by Sieur de Frontenac, they demanded in bitter irony of Sieur de Denonville the demolition of that Fort; a demand that ought to have sufficed to prevent it, in order not to aggravate their insolence and give them so palpable an admission of our weakness.

M. de Frontenac could not fail to oppose this abandonment by various reasons too long to be detailed, which the mere inspection of the map will easily suggest; and to try, by carrying out a part of M. de Denonville's project, if it were not possible to prevent the loss of that post, which he apprehends will ruin our reputation in the opinion of the allies, when they will perceive that there will no longer be a place where they can hope to find

M. de Denonville says he had given orders to sap the walls of the fort before leaving it, and that they were satisfied with undermining, which will not produce any effect.

He proposes as a remedy that M. de Frontenac be ordered to send thither a detachment of three hundred men, to assuredly destroy it.

a retreat; and also, in that of the Iroquois who are still less disposed to peace.

He had hoped to throw in season a sufficient convoy into that fort, by attaching 25 Canoes of provisions and ammunition to those which were to convey the 150 men designed by Monsieur de Denonville for the relief of the garrison, and to take advantage of that opportunity to send back three of the Indians returned from France, in order to announce to the Iroquois Nations that the King had done them the favor to send them all back with their Chiefs who were waiting until they should come in quest of them.

Continual rains, the difficulty of collecting the requisite canoes and the small amount of discipline kept up among the settlers, whose services are necessary to conduct the Canoes, prevented him, notwithstanding all his efforts, effecting the embarcation at La Chine before the 6th of November, after having been there three whole days.

He had not been two days in Montreal and the convoy had not proceeded two leagues, when Sieur de Vallerenne appeared in those bateaux with the garrison.

A return so prompt surprised every body; he reported that he had burnt and thrown into the river every thing he could, and as for the two brass guns, that he had brought them as far as Lake Saint Francis when he threw them into a place where they would be easily recovered; that he had undermined the walls of the fort in several places, and doubted not but said mines had had their effect.

Monsieur de Frontenac will endeavor to ascertain the truth, and whether the Iroquois or English think of occupying that post which could render them absolute masters of the Outawacs and of all the other Northern Nations, our allies, and consequently of the entire trade.

The entire garrison has returned to the number of 45 men; six of them were drowned by the accidental upsetting of a bateau. They

M. de Champigny states the same thing; and M. de Frontenac explains that this information came from a friendly Indian who escaped from the hands of the Iroquois, but that he does not attach any credit to it; however, he was about to supply all the posts.

met no one on the route, a circumstance that would have greatly facilitated the progress of the convoy.

The property left in the fort—arms, ammunition—is estimated at twenty thousand écus.

M. de Denonville states that the English of Boston and Manatte have made considerable presents to the Indians in order to induce them to wage an irreconcilable war against us, and to destroy the Colony on one side, and the English by the river, and are to send six vessels for that purpose.

The Abenaquis, or Canibas.

M. de Champigny reports also the capture of Penkuit by the Indians who have no powder but what he furnished them with last summer.

That they belong mostly to the Sillery mission which will increase and become stronger if provisions can be supplied in order to enable them to cultivate some fields in their new establishment two leagues from Quebec.

Should their war with the English continue, it will draw the Iroquois down on them. Therefore, it will be advantageous that they come to take refuge in Quebec and that means of support be furnished them.

M. de Denonville states that in consequence of the good understanding he has had, through two Jesuits, with these Indians, who occupy the woods in the neighborhood of Boston, and who are disposed to become Christians, he has been afforded the means to seize, exclusive of Penkuit, 16 Forts from the English during the summer, in which were 20 cannon and 200 Men.

He says it will be necessary to attract them to the mission established near Quebec, under the name of Saint Francis de Salles, where he saw them to the number of 600 souls; that they will be maintained by supplying them with clothes, powder and lead, and if they are to be induced to settle there, the village must be fortified.

Converted Iroquois at the Mission of La Prairie de la Madelaine.

M. de Champigny reports the same thing in his letter of the 16th 9ber.

M. de Denonville says that he caused to be removed into Montreal the Mission of the Sault, otherwise, of La Prairie de la Magdelaine, which, he had been notified, the English were desirous of seizing.

That they must be withdrawn from Montreal, and their fort rebuilt by the soldiers, with redoubts and palisades.

And that he is of opinion to remove to a distance from the French settlements another Mission which is within three quarters of a

league of Montreal and composed of Hurons and of Iroquois, if it be desirable to increase it.

Observations and Plans for the War.

Aliò.

Monsieur de Frontenac has sent three of the Iroquois who arrived from France, to inform the Chiefs that the others are at Quebec, and he will urge the negotiations of peace by all means in his power.

He is not yet well acquainted with details, for which he refers to M. de Champigny so that an idea may be formed of the want of troops and money for the execution of the proposed project against New-York, and for defence against the Iroquois.

Canada would be considerable were the Iroquois reduced, and New-York conquered; requests information as to his course of action in this last affair, in order that he, on his part, may make preparations so as not to fall into the inconveniences of last year.

Chevalier de Callières writes that it is idle to expect a peace with the Iroquois by means of negotiation as long as the English will be our enemies.

That the defensive policy cannot prevent the utter ruin of Canada by the Iroquois invading the settlements scattered along the river, which they will burn and ravage though twice the number of troops were in the country.

But if New-York were taken, they will be reduced to sue for peace on such conditions as will be granted. This expedition can be made before or after harvest, and he submits two plans for the execution of this expedition &c. (His plan is reported.)

M. de Champigny writes that the New-York expedition appeared to him difficult on account of the distance, the danger of the roads and great labor attendant on the conveyance of provisions, and because the forces of the country being thus occupied, the Colony will be exposed to imminent danger from the invasions of the Iroquois, who would seize the opportunity to attack it.

M. de Champigny does not believe that M. de Frontenac's negotiation for peace with the Iroquois will be successful, as they have been rendered insolent by the advantages they have had and by the solicitations of the English, without which they would not have undertaken any thing against us; and having no hope of peace, he must prepare for war and have a number of bateaux and Canoes made against the Spring; the old ones being unserviceable.

M. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir respecting Canada prepared for the Marquis de Seignelay in January, 1690. By M. de Denonville.

Extract.

Independent of the interests of the Catholic religion which the said English and Dutch will never suffer to make any progress among the Natives, regarding all our Missionaries as their most bitter enemies, whom they will not tolerate amongst the Indians within their reach, the Commercial jealousy entertained by the English against the French is the principal cause that will ever render the two Colonies incompatible, and must convince us that the French ought not to trust the English or Dutch of that country.

The chief motive of the late Queen Mother in beginning to support Canada has been to have the Gospel announced in that New World where an infinite number of various tribes exist without any knowledge of the true God. The English and Dutch have always thwarted that design, and have likewise regarded it as opposed to their Commercial interests. Their entire ingenuity has constantly been employed to accomplish the expulsion of all the Missionaries who resided among the Tribes in their neighborhood. They succeeded so well that we have no more of them among the Iroquois since several years.

Though the interests of the Gospel should not engage us to keep missionaries in all the Iroquois and other Indian villages, the interest of civil government for the advantage of trade must induce us so to manage as always to have some there; for these Indian tribes can never govern themselves except by those Missionaries, who alone, are able to maintain them in our interests and to prevent their revolting against us every day.

I am convinced by observation, that the Jesuits are the most capable of controlling the spirit of all the Indian tribes, for leaving out of consideration their tact, they alone are masters of the different languages by reason of a very long experience successively acquired among them by the Missionaries they have maintained, and continue to maintain in great number.

On quitting Canada I left a very good disposition to convert to Christianity the greatest portion of the Abenaqui Indians who inhabit the forests in the neighborhood of Boston. For that purpose they must be attracted to the mission recently established near Quebec under the name of S^{t} Francis de Sales. I saw as many as six hundred souls arrive there in a short time from the vicinity of Boston. I left it in a condition to be greatly increased if protected. I expended a certain amount there which was not useless. The good understanding I have maintained with these Indians through the care of the Jesuits, especially the two Fathers Bigot, brothers,[1] contributed to the success of all their attacks, this summer on the English, from whom they seized sixteen forts exclusive of Pemcuit, containing twenty pieces of cannon, killing more than two hundred of their men.[2] By means of some presents of clothing, powder and lead, they will be easily maintained in our interest. They will be very useful to the French Colony, especially if they are prevailed on to come and settle at the new mission of S^{t} Francis de Sales. It will be necessary carefully to maintain and fortify that

[1] Rev. Jacques, and the Rev. Vincent, Bigot.

[2] The first of these attacks was made on the 27th June, 1689, on that part of the town of Dover, N. H., which lies about the first falls of the river Cocheco. *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, I., 198. Pemaquid was destroyed on the 7th of August, of the same year. *Williamson's Maine*, I., 612. — Ed.

Village for, doubtless, the English will be able to send some Iroquois to attack it. This mission protects Quebec which will not be attacked until the former be taken.

Of all the Indian nations, the Abenaqui is the most inclined to Christianity. After them, come the Hurons who are few in number, and then the Iroquois. But the evil disposition of the English is a formal obstacle.

It is a fact that the Iroquois have more esteem and inclination for us than for the English, but they are carried away by the influence of the low prices of goods they require, combined with the higher rate the English pay for Beaver.

Our Iroquois mission at la Prairie de la Madeleine which I was obliged to remove within the precincts of the town of Montreal, must be regarded as a leaven which will, some day, usefully contribute to the conversion generally of the Iroquois, because there are some from all the nations there, who, it is to be hoped, will attract their relatives thither, if care be taken of that mission and it be removed from Montreal, where drunkenness will bring about its destruction. It ought to be well located in a position easy of defence against the enemy, with strong stone redoubts flanked by good palisades. The soldiers ought to be employed in constructing it. The best location for it appears to me to be between Chateau Guay and their old village.

These Indians must be removed to a distance from drunkenness. I put them in the town of Montreal because I had notice that the enemy had resolved to seize them, the fort at their mission being in a very poor condition, and for many reasons beyond repair.

There is another Indian mission under the charge of the Seminary of S^{t} Sulpice, situate three-quarters of a league from the town of Montreal. It is composed of Iroquois and Hurons In order to its increase, it ought to be removed far from town and from the French settlements.

Complaints have, long since, been justly made of the evils caused by ardent spirits, and of the obstacles they oppose to the progress of Religion. Avarice alone has made those allege the contrary who expected to enrich themselves by this unfortunate traffic, which assuredly proves the destruction not only of the Indians, but also of the French, and of trade entirely. This is established by the experience of many years, during which we have seen none become wealthy by that traffic, and have witnessed the destruction of all that great body of friendly Indians whom we had around the Colony; and by the few aged men to be seen among the French who are old and decrepid at the age of forty. Excesses from Brandy drinking are frequent in that country, in the same manner as those from wine drinking in Germany. Even the women drink.

I have witnessed the evils caused by that liquor among the Indians. It is the horror of horrors. There is no crime nor infamy they do not perpetrate in their excesses. A mother throws her child into the fire; noses are bitten off; this is a frequent occurrence. It is another Hell among them during these orgies, which must be seen to be credited. They get drunk very often on purpose to have the privilege of satisfying their old grudges. Punishment cannot be inflicted on them, as on Frenchmen who may commit a fault. Remedies are impossible as long as every one is permitted to sell and traffic in ardent spirits. However little at a time each may give, the Indians will always get drunk. There is no artifice that they will not have recourse to, to obtain the means of intoxication. Besides, every house is a groggery. Those who allege that the Indians will remove to the English, if Brandy be not furnished them, do not state the truth; for it is a fact that they do not care about drinking as long as they do not see Brandy; and the most reasonable would wish there never had been

any such thing; for they set their entrails on fire and beggar themselves by giving their peltries and clothes for drink.

The union of the Clergy with the Governor-General and Intendant is the sole effectual means of governing that country well, the people of which are not easily managed.

It would be greatly to be desired that the Clergy throughout Christendom were as holy as those of New France. Their poverty induces me to say that without the continuance of his Majesty's benevolence they cannot support themselves; especially the two Hospitals of Quebec and Montreal. The latter is without a house.

Exclusive of the inability of the Governor-General to protect the country when obliged to act on the defensive, the great difficulty in controlling the people arises from the Colony being allowed to spread itself too much; and from every settler maintaining himself, isolated and without neighbors, in a savage independence. I see no remedy for this but to concentrate the Colony, and to collect the settlers, forming good inclosed villages. Whatever obstacles may be encountered herein, must be overcome if we would not hazard the destruction of the entire population.

The extent of the Colony from Saint Paul's bay on the north side of the River Saint Lawrence to the head *(bout)* of the Island of Montreal is about one hundred leagues, and from River du Loup to Châteauguay, an equal distance.

The weakness of that country arises from isolated settlements adjoining interminable forests. If under such circumstances it be desired to continue the occupation of remote forts, such as that of Cataracouy or Fort Frontenac, it will add to the weakness of the country and increase expenses which cannot be of any use to us, whatever may be alleged to the contrary; for those posts cannot do injury to hostile Indians but to ourselves, in consequence of the difficulty of reaching, and the cost of maintaining, them.

Nothing is more certain than that it was a great mistake to have permitted, in times past, the occupation of posts so remote that those who occupy them are beyond the reach of the Colony and of assistance. The garrisons have thus been necessitated to enter into the interests of those Tribes nearest to them, and in that way to participate in their quarrels in order to please and conciliate them. We have, thus, drawn down on ourselves the enmity of their enemies and the contempt of our friends, who not receiving the assistance they were made to expect or might desire, have on divers occasions embarrassed us more than even our enemies. This has been experienced more than once.

It had been much better not to have meddled with their quarrels, and to have left all the Indians to come to the Colony in quest of the merchandise they required, than to have prevented their doing so by carrying goods to them in such large quantities as to have been frequently obliged to sell them at so low a rate as to discredit us among the Indians and to ruin trade; for many of our Coureurs de bois have often lost, instead of gained, by their speculations. Moreover, the great number of Coureurs de bois has inflicted serious injury on the Colony, by physically and morally corrupting the settlers, who are prevented marrying by the cultivation of a vagabond, independent and idle spirit. For the aristocratic manners they assume, on their return, both in their dress and their drunken revelries, wherein they exhaust all their gains in a very short time, lead them to despise the peasantry and to consider it beneath them to espouse their daughters, though they are themselves, peasants like them. In addition to this, they will condescend no more to cultivate the soil, nor listen, any longer, to anything except returning to the woods for the purpose of continuing the same avocations. This gives rise to the

innumerable excesses that many among them are guilty of with the Squaws, which cause a great deal of mischief in consequence of the displeasure of the Indians at the seduction of their wives and daughters, and of the injury thereby inflicted on Religion, when the Indians behold the French practicing nothing of what the Missionaries represent as the law of the Gospel.

The remedy for this is, not to permit, as far as practicable, the return of any person to the Indian country except those who cannot follow any other business, nor to allow ill conducted persons to go thither; to oblige all to bring to the Governor and Intendant a certificate of good behavior and good morals from the Missionaries; to find employment for the youth of the country; which is a very easy matter, for the cod and whale fisheries afford a sure commerce, if closely attended to and made a business of. There is reason to believe that the wisest and oldest merchants of the country are tired of sending into the bush, but there will be always too many new and ambitious petty traders, who will attempt to send ventures thither, both with and without license. It is very proper that an ordinance be enacted holding the merchants responsible for the fault of unlicensed Coureurs de bois, for did the merchants not furnish goods, there would not be any Coureurs de bois.

It has been found necessary for the support of some frontier forts to incur some expenses, which have been advanced by the merchants to whom M. de Champigny promised repayment from the first licenses to be issued. It will be proper that My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay write on the subject and order that it be done accordingly.

I have already observed that it is of importance that the Indians be governed by the Missionaries, and that the Governor and Intendant act always in concert with the latter; otherwise, there will ever be a risk of inconveniences arising from the interests of private individuals who are influenced only by avarice. This truth has been only too often realised.

Great precaution must be used against the restlessness of all the Coureurs de bois, whose spirit leads them always to a distance and to constant roaming. Proposals for new discoveries are pouring in every day.

It will be difficult to find persons sufficiently enterprising and reliable to endure the hardships of going over land in quest of those whom M. de La Salle has left in Mexico. The intelligence of his death has cast great discredit on that voyage. Two years ago I could have had people for the expedition, had Monsieur Cavelier informed me of his brother's death.

The Missionaries whom we have among the Outawas, who are very numerous, are greatly thwarted by the libertines and the debauched, and have need of My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay's protection.

The Missionaries about Tadoussac enjoy quietness in consequence of the good order introduced there by Sieur de Grandville, commercial agent for the Farmers (of the Revenue). Some Indians have recently been discovered towards Labrador to whom Missionaries have gone from Tadoussac, as they had expressed a desire to hear the Gospel.

Our affairs at Hudson's bay will prosper if the Northern Company continue to coöperate with, and second the designs of, D'Iberville, one of the sons of the late Le Moyne, whom I left resolved to go and seize Port Nelson the only remaining post in the possession of the English. For that purpose it is absolutely necessary, I believe, that My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay inform Monsieur de Lagny that the King intends that the Northern Company undertake the capture of that post, and furnish said Iberville with every thing he requires to render his design successful. He will want two ships. He has already at Quebec one that he took this winter from the English. In truth, My Lord, it would be very advantageous to the King's

service had said Iberville some honorable rank in the Navy, in order to excite emulation among the Canadians who will follow the sea. A commission of Lieutenant would work marvels. He is a very fine fellow and very capable of rendering himself expert and of doing good service.

The Iroquois war continuing, as there is every appearance it will, both against us and the Indians in the direction of the Outawas who traffic with us, the greatest part of the trade will be diverted towards Port Nelson, or the River Bourbon. What I have learned of the facilities possessed by the Indians beyond Lake Superior to reach the Sea in that direction, very strongly convinces me of the necessity we are under to bethink ourselves of depriving the English of that commerce. But it must be effected without fail, for they will get up this year some expedition against us.

This Northern Company requires that My Lord should order M^{r}. de Champigny to attend their meetings sometimes when he considers it necessary. I fear some divisions are creeping in there which will bring about its failure. There is no fear that the presence of an Intendant like M. de Champigny, can be productive of any harm.

I know not if My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay is informed that the English of Boston and Manatte have resolved to destroy the French Colony of Canada. They repeatedly so promised their Indians, to whom they also made considerable presents to induce them to wage an unrelenting war against us. They promised them to send five or six ships of war into the River to attack the Colony, and to blockade it in that direction whilst the Iroquois would attack it above, as they have already done, which would ruin it in one year. Certain it is that such is their plan, and information has been received of that having been determined on in full Council. Ships must come from England to them for that purpose.

As regards Acadia, that country is in great danger inasmuch as it has no fort of any value, and the settlers there are scattered and dispersed, as in Canada. It would be desirable that the King had a good fort at La Heve for the security of ships. That post would be much more advantageous than Port Royal, which it is not easy to get out of to defend the Coast from pirates, and to be more convenient to the Islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland as well as the Great Bank.

Fish is so abundant on all the coasts of the King's territory, that it is desirable that the King's subjects only should go there to catch them, and that his Majesty were sufficiently powerful in that Country to prevent Foreigners fishing on the Great Bank. They ought to be deprived, at least, of fishing on the King's coasts. The Spaniards go every year to those of Labrador adjoining the Straits of Belle île. The English trade there more than we.

Hitherto, all the people of Acadia as well as those of Canada have paid more attention to the Beaver trade and to the sale of Brandy than to the establishment of Fisheries, which, nevertheless, afford the most certain and most durable profit, and are best suited to the inhabitants of the country, and to the augmentation of the Colony. For what each settler might realize annually would supply him most abundantly with clothes; and as the fishing season begins only after the sowing and terminates before the harvest, every individual of any industry would find means to drive a profitable business, without abandoning agriculture, as the Coureurs de bois do. The Canadians are adroit and would become in a short time as expert as the Basques in Whaling, were they to apply themselves to it. If the establishment of this fishery be persevered in, there is reason to hope that they will turn their attention to it, being encouraged by the stimulus of gain. But he who is desirous of commencing it, is not wealthy,

and will find it difficult to defray its expense. The last ships have brought to Quebec from Bayonne some harpooners for Sieur Riverin. I doubt if he have means to pay their demands. He gave me strong assurances that he would not de discouraged. The Intendant will help him as far as lies in his power, in order to sustain him.

The condition in which I left the affairs of the country would demand prompt assistance; for there is no doubt but the English continue their intrigues to induce the Iroquois not to abate their incursions to lay waste the colony which they have commenced doing, without any effectual resistance being offered. The Iroquois, having discovered its weakness, will not conclude a durable peace, as they are constantly urged forward by the English.

It is impossible for the country to undertake any thing of moment against them. For all the cantons must be attacked at the same time, and treated like that of the Senecas, who were destroyed had they not found shelter in the other four Iroquois villages. No less than three @ four thousand men would be necessary for that purpose, for it is impossible to go in one summer to all the Five Nations, one after the other. They must all be reached at the same time, which is not difficult if preparations be made a year before hand. But as the King has need of his troops elsewhere in this season of war, I see but one means certain, which is that his Majesty seize Manatte by sea; it has a walled fort, and the town is inclosed by palisades. That can be easily done with six frigates on board of which twelve hundred men will have been embarked, who, landing on the Island, will take the town sword in hand, and subsequently render themselves masters of the castle by means of some bombs. Meanwhile, Orange could be easily secured from Canada with a strong detachment of eight hundred men at most who will burn that town and all the surrounding settlements as far as Manatte. The main body will be obliged to remain at Orange until the return of the detachments sent out to set fire to the places towards Manatte. It will be also necessary to postpone setting fire to Orange and the neighboring towns until those at a distance be burnt. It will be well to bring to Quebec all the prisoners which will be made, and not to leave any of them in the Country.

My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay must not expect that Canada can accomplish any more, nor detach any greater force without entirely exposing the Colony. It will be moreover requisite that all the Militia of the government of Quebec that can possibly be mustered, be marched to Three Rivers and Montreal to remain at these places as long as the expedition against Orange will last.

This must consist only of canoes, picked soldiers and Coureurs de bois. Bateaux cannot be used on account of the portages between Lake Champlain and the river of Orange. These detachments must be prepared to be attacked by the Iroquois on their way back from the expedition. The departure from the Country and the march must be prompt, and in good order.

Chevalier de Callières is the best qualified to lead successfully such an expedition which must if possible, be simultaneous with that of Manhatte; for the distance between the places, and the uncertainty of the winds prevent communication, derange every thing and require the attack on Manhatte to be made only by sea without expecting any assistance by land. Otherwise, inconveniences attended with too much danger would be incurred.

What is to be done is, to send notice very early to Canada of what the King will consider proper to be accomplished. I doubt not every disposition would be made to place things in marching order at the earliest notice.

My reasons for wishing Orange to be burnt and destroyed are, that we are not yet in a condition to retain so ugly a post as that, and at such a distance from our settlements. In

this way will be broken up the trade between the English and the Iroquois, who will be thus forced to have recourse to us for supplies. Sufficiently large quantities of these must be on hand at Manatte in order that the Indians may not want for any thing; otherwise, instead of being conciliated they would be irritated, and constrained to have recourse to those other places where the English are settled, along the coast of Pennsylvania towards Virginia.

Another reason necessitating the expedition against Manatte is, that it would be an assured means of preventing the Hurons and Outaouacs coming to an accommodation with the Iroquois for the purpose of taking advantage through them of the cheaper bargains of goods afforded by the English, and of the higher price at which they purchase beaver. It is certain that all the Indians are seeking only an opportunity to trade with the English.

Manatte being taken and the inhabitants disarmed, a strong garrison must be left in the fort, capable of making a good defence in case it be attacked by the people towards Boston, who can put a number of vessels afloat. Therefore the disarming the people of Long Island [and] of Manatte must not be neglected in case it be considered inexpedient to bring them away in the ships.

Again, it would be easy for those frigates, if they had time, to ravage the whole of the Boston country which has not a single fort along the coast; for as I believe his Majesty will not be able to avoid sending a strong reinforcement to the Islands, for the purpose either of driving the English thence, or of protecting those Islands from the incursions and expeditions the said English or Dutch will be [meditating], I doubt not but this reinforcement sailing early from France will easily be able to make the attack on Manatte and proceed afterwards to the Islands.

The Boston coast is settled, but it has no post of any account. Even Boston is not palisaded, unless it have been done within six months. The population of that colony is considerable but very difficult to be mustered. Mr Perrot is acquainted with that coast, as well as Sieur de Villebon who is at present at Rochelle with a man named Lamotte all of whom have been frequently at Boston and Manatte. A man named Péré is also at Rochelle who is thoroughly conversant with the vicinity of Manatte on the land side. This Péré may be of great use in this expedition. He is very willing.

Such is the surest means to secure Canada, oblige the Iroquois to make peace, and to master the English Colony which might eventually be ceded to the King by a Treaty of Peace with England; an arrangement that will never be made if his Majesty do not at once become master of it.

It is to be remarked that all the naval expeditions to be made in that quarter must be between the month of May and end of August; for in other seasons of the year, the stormy western gales which frequently prevail in that country, drive vessels off the coast.

The Indians, our allies, are very glad to see us at war with the Iroquois, inasmuch as they are quiet at home. All their tact was exerted in 1688 to prevent a peace between the Iroquois and us.

I had sent orders to the Captain commanding Fort Cataracouy to abandon that post after having sapped the walls by piling timber well smeared with tar against them. Had these been set on fire on leaving the fort, the walls would have entirely crumbled; instead of that, he contented himself with undermining them, which doubtless will have no effect, the walls being only two feet thick. To remedy this, it will be well to order M. de Frontenac to send a party two @ three hundred strong, with implements; they will raze all the walls in a day or two.

I must observe here, that M. de Frontenac is not of my opinion as to the propriety of destroying that fort. He does not appreciate any of these reasons. I should have had it razed in 1688, did I not expect to have made peace.

Captain Duplessis' Plan for the defence of Canada.

Experience has demonstrated, by the trifling impression made by three thousand men on the Iroquois in 1687, that it is very difficult to derive much advantage from going to their country in quest of them, laying aside the very heavy expense and the hardships attendant thereupon which bring very little benefit to the French Colony.

That had the Senecas, then, instead of attacking, as they did, the King's troops, made a descent on Canada, as they ought to have done, they would have swept every thing before them as far as the other side of Quebec, notwithstanding the arrival there of sixteen companies which were distributed over sixty leagues of territory, four hundred men being sufficient for such an expedition, one-half on the North and the rest on the South side of the river. The reason is, each company was spread over from two to three leagues of country and being without a single fort they would have been defeated one after the other before they could have been got together.

The destruction in 1687 of the Indian corn belonging to the Senecas, subjected them to but a small amount of inconvenience. Not one of them perished of hunger, as two arrows are sufficient to enable a Savage to procure meat enough for a year's support, and as fishing never fails.

The demolition of Catharacouy will henceforth afford them liberty to come and harrass us during the entire spring, as soon as navigation will be open, throughout the summer and the beginning of the fall. They will come by two routes, that by which they reached the Island of Montreal being open to them. But their principal effort will be made by Lake St. Peter, which places them in the centre of the country, leaving them at liberty to go up to Montreal, or down to Quebec. They can effect both these objects at one and the same time, by dividing their party which, no doubt, is much stronger than that of 1689, it being the interest of the English and Dutch to unite with them, in order to monopolize the fur trade which is very considerable, inasmuch as more than two millions worth of Beaver has been embarked this year, on account of the country or of individuals, and almost as much remains in the country or in the woods.

The sole means to arrest the forays of the Iroquois barbarians is to have immediately constructed at Rochefort twelve flat bottomed sloops in form of small brigantines, which will be sent out in packages and put together on the spot. On these can be mounted two or four small guns carrying a one pound ball to some distance and some good brass swivels *(pierriers de fonte.)* They must have eight oars on each side. The crew independent of officers is to consist of two sailors to steer and work the craft and thirty soldiers, each having a cartridge box always full, a fusil in reserve to remain in the cabin, in the benches of which the powder and munitions are to be carefully stored. Each sloop must have, likewise, fifteen to twenty swords with hafts, or spontoons to defend them against boarders.

They will be employed during the entire season of navigation, to wit:—Six in guarding the lake above Isle Perrot;[1] one-half at the foot of the North, and the other at that of the South, Rapid. A fort must be constructed in the most convenient cove of that Island to serve as a retreat in case of a storm, and to repair thither, one after the other, every eight days for provisions; and the meat will be served out to them cooked, a little more than the ration of the soldier who remains on shore, and who has some comforts. Each sloop is to have a good bark canoe which will be laid across the chain well secured, to be used in case it is desirable to ascend a rapid to look for the enemy, or to land should it become necessary to pursue them.

When they discover the enemy they will fly before them, without firing a shot, not so precipitately, however, as not to afford them a hope of overtaking them. This, however, is merely to draw them into the Lake, and when they will perceive the Canoes of the Indians in the middle of it, they will charge them. It is not difficult to understand that with their small guns and swivel, they will sink as many as they will strike, and that it is difficult for a man to swim three or four leagues. Those detailed to guard Lake S^{t} Peter will act in the same manner. They will station themselves at the mouths of the rivers which flow into it from Lakes S^{t} Sacrament and Champlain, and receive provisions and other necessaries from the forts S^{t} Francis and Sorel, two leagues from the said mouths.

15 February, 1690.

OBSERVATION ON THE ABOVE.

"This plan, which would entail too heavy an expense, appears to require too many men who would not even have much of an effect. There are an infinite number of other routes by which the Iroquois could come. They descend the rivers and enter the lakes with great precaution. They send out canoes as scouts, and land, as has always been their custom, when discovered.

"Persons conversant with the Country are however of opinion that a few strong sloops as many as four at most, could be built in Canada, with the design solely of preventing surprisals such as occurred last year. It is reported that such was M. de Frontenac's plan."

Message of Count de Frontenac to the Ottawas.

Message to be delivered to the Outawas to dissuade them from the Alliance they propose to make with the Iroquois and the English. 1690.

Men! I give you notice that Onontio, who has never deceived you, and who, when he quitted you, left the whole world in peace, has again returned.

He learned that the Country he had left in peace and which he loved so much, was groaning; and that the storms, by which it was shaken, were utterly destroying his children whom he had adopted. Hear him! I am about to speak in his name.

[1] Lake St. Francis.—ED.

He says: "Children! I am astonished to learn on arriving that you have forgotten the protection I have always afforded you. My heart is distracted by several thoughts, not knowing what to imagine.

Remember, that I am your father, who have adopted you and who have loved you so tenderly.

I have given you your country; I have driven the horrors of war from it, and introduced peace there.

You had no home before that. You were wandering about and exposed to the Iroquois tempests. I have laid them, and have brought you in to my Cabin sheltering you in it from every thing that could injure you.

You were then but little fatherless Children who, however, possessed more courage than you do now that you are men, supported by a powerful father.

You did surrender your bodies through a desire to enter into my cabin, the building of which had only been begun.

What, Children! now that you see it big you would destroy it, by wishing to cover it, yourselves, with blood, by uniting with what was formerly your enemy.

Hark ye, I speak to you as a father. My body is big. It is strong, and cannot die.

I suppose what you witnessed above Montreal has frightened you.

But think ye I am no more, or that I am in the humor of remaining in a state of inactivity, such as has prevailed during my absence? and if eight or ten hairs have been torn from my children's heads when I was absent, that I cannot put ten handsful of hair in the place of one that has been torn out? or that for one piece of bark that has been stripped from my Cabin, I cannot put double the number in its stead, so as to make it stronger?

Children, know that I always am; that even were my whole cabin to be pulled down and all its occupants destroyed, they would spring up again as the grass which is cut down in summer promptly sprouts anew; that nothing but the Great Spirit can destroy me, and that it is I who destroy all.

Behold how considerate I am for you. Learning that the Iroquois were desolating you, I am come to apply a remedy thereunto and to restore to you what you might have lost, by doing for you what I did formerly, if you will listen attentively to me. I never did, and never will, deceive you.

You know that, before you enjoyed my protection, this ravenous dog was biting every one, was devouring every thing he could meet. I tamed him and tied him up, and kept him under so closely that he dared not bark except in secret. He was always looking behind him [to see] if I was not angry. He was afraid of me.

When he no longer saw me, and my successors gave him more liberty, he behaved worse than at the beginning, devouring not only their Children, but when they would stop him, he bit themselves, supposing he could not be caught again.

He shall feel my power if he persist. Although the English flattered him in order to win him to them, I will kill and destroy whomsoever encourages him.

The blood you have seen shed last summer at Montreal in my absence, and the houses which were burnt, are of no account; the latter were only two or three rat holes that I lost, and were pulled down on the border of my lake which can not be poisoned thereby. It is too big. Whatever winds, whatever storms and whatever waterspouts happen there, its water will never be disturbed; if the strongest dams be erected to stop its course, they will

be swept away by the swiftness of its current, and whatever droughts may prevail, it will be always full.

When you will not find water any longer in your Lakes, the French will be no more and then my protection will fail you. If any of the French perish, the grass on the prairies will not grow in such abundance, until they revive.

Behold what you abandon in order to place yourself at the mercy of him who has always deceived you.

Old Men, remember what happened to the Huron when he was in his ancient country. Young men! remember the Miamis betrayed by him whom your chiefs are in search of. Remember, again, the treachery he recently committed on the Huron who is here with you, and who carried off a part of your nation at Sakinang. Know you not the deceptions he had recourse to in order to ensnare you *(vous empâter)* and to get you to bite at the bait so as to surprise you. You have lost your reason to abandon him who has bestowed on you light and life for the man who wishes to see you in darkness and to give you death.

The English have deceived and devoured their Children: I have been faithful to you. I am a good father who loves you, and who comes, if obeyed, to forget every thing that might have irritated him; but to punish those who will thwart his will. The clouds you have seen in the French sky have by my arrival been driven into the country of the English.

Your brethren, the Abenaquis, who are more faithful to me than you, have utterly destroyed their town, and, accompanied by a party of the French, at present prevent them going beyond the threshold.

The Mohegans *(Loups)* who were through the persuasion of the English in favor of the Iroquois, have joined the Abenaquis, abandoning the English who in former times treacherously killed them.

Three other French parties have gone with our people of La Prairie to avenge what the Iroquois did to you, and to destroy whatever English they meet.

I do not announce my pleasure; you will know it presently. Await my Word. Perrot, your messenger, will convey it to you. I speak now to you only by letter. You have sent him to transact your business, whilst I retain him in order to attend to it you act quite contrary to the messages you have entrusted to him.

Children, I wonder at you; I cannot approve the blindness that causes you to fall into such grave faults.

Do you know the Englishman who has deceived and devoured his children? Can you have confidence in him?

The Iroquois never conquered except by treachery. You would be no more, were I to abandon you. He has feared me and you behold the light.

You saw him fly when the French went to his country. The French have not fled when he came to theirs.

I did love the Iroquois because he formerly obeyed me; when I was aware that he had been treacherously captured and carried to France, I set him at liberty and brought him hither where I keep him; And when I shall restore him to his country, it will not be through fear, but through pity, for I hate treachery.

He never killed a frenchman when the latter distrusted him; And if he has killed my children in my absence, it was only by deceiving my successors under the guise of a hollow peace which he was proposing to them.

Twenty Iroquois warriors have been defeated last fall in the Lake of the two Mountains by an equal number of Frenchmen. The Algonquin has drunk their broth. One Frenchman only was slightly wounded.

The Abenaquis had shortly before killed ten out of a party of thirteen.

The 15 Frenchmen who were slain at the battle of La Chine did bravely avenge their own deaths. They killed more than forty of their enemies, being unwilling to fly, which depended only on themselves.

Behold what great support this is that you seek for the purpose of withdrawing from a powerful father who loves you and who, when he will lose a man, can get a thousand others.

I would make peace if I pleased. I am rich and powerful. I have a great many braves.

Children, I warn you that your enemy, who wishes to deceive you, is soliciting me to abandon you and all your allies. I am your father. Listen to me. I shall deplore your misfortune if you do not hearken to me.

If you hear me, with you shall die my braves who will again spring up as the leaves bud forth anew on the trees in the spring.

This Belt is merely to notify all the Tribes that they are to wait for my message which Perrot will carry them in a short time. I am indulgent. I will pardon the past if attention be paid to me. I am angry only with those who would deceive me.

I am strong enough to kill the English, destroy the Iroquois and to whip you if you fail in your duty to me.

I gave you your country that you had abandoned. I shall maintain you therein. You are at peace there; remain so. I forbid you to allow my enemy to enter there. Take care of yourselves. I will punish you if you do not obey me.

If you wish to side with him, go to his Country.

What will all your allies say if you open one of the doors of my cabin to the Iroquois to kill them? Will you not be declaring us their enemy?

During my absence you have committed divers murders on them. Though this grieve me, I am a good father who is desirous of arranging every thing if you listen to me, if you have had any negotiation with the Iroquois and the English, As the Iroquois hath done unto you, do you also unto him who hath killed and taken you away captive during the peace; and unto the English what he wishes to do to you; adhering to the side of your true father who will never abandon you. Must his Brandy, which hath killed you in your Cabin, attract you so powerfully in order to place you in the Iroquois kettle? Is not mine better, which hath never caused your death and hath always given you strength?

I hold you responsible for my real children, your brethren, and for the Black gowns who are with you. If they perish, you will be answerable to me for them.

Confide in me, believe that Father who hath never deceived you. Live in the centre of his cabin. Make only one with him. He invites your confidence, and you will circumvent your enemy.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Versailles, 14th July, 1690.

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The affairs of moment which his Majesty has to attend to at present, do not admit of his sending to Canada any additional reinforcements of troops, nor of thinking of the expedition proposed last year against New-York. Wherefore, having examined what has passed for the course to be adopted, either to keep on the defensive or to attack the enemy, his Majesty is of opinion that a strong and vigorous defence actually comports better with his service and the safety of the Colony. He fails not to hope that, if Sieur de Frontenac can attack the enemy with advantage, he will not lose the opportunity of reducing them by main force to a peace. But between the necessity of acting on the defensive and negotiating for a peace, his Majesty desires that he employ therein the credit he has acquired with the Iroquois, by preserving the honor of his arms in all possible circumstances.

The expeditions undertaken by the Iroquois oblige his Majesty to recommend Sieur de Frontenac to adopt stricter measures than heretofore to prevent them, and to take care that all those who occupy posts be always on their guard, and even send scouts out for the purpose of discovering the enemy's march, and, by means of armed bateaux which he can station, at those places where they are to pass, under the command of vigilant officers possessing the requisite experience to enable them to penetrate the caution with which those Savages are in the habit of marching, keep them at a distance from the Colony and prevent their attacking it.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

14 July, 1690.

The King has seen by the letters and by the report to his Majesty by the Marquis de Denonville, and by that of the Lieutenant sent by Sieur de Frontenac, the state of the affairs of Canada. His Majesty has been informed of the forays the Iroquois have made in the island of Montreal, and of the said Sieur de Frontenac's endeavors to negotiate a peace with them by means of those Indians sent from France. The affairs of moment which his Majesty has to attend to at present do not admit of his sending to Canada any additional reinforcements, nor of thinking of the expedition proposed last year against New-York. He approves the determination Sieur de Frontenac has adopted of continuing the war by a vigorous defence.

The expeditions of the Iroquois oblige his Majesty to recommend Sieur de Frontenac to adopt stricter measures than heretofore to prevent them, and to take care that all those who occupy posts be always on their guard and that they even send scouts out to ascertain the march of the enemy, and, by means of armed bateaux which he can station, at the places where they may pass, under the command of vigilant officers who may be able to penetrate the secrecy with which those Indians are in the habit of marching, keep them at a distance and prevent them attacking the heart of the Colony.

Nothing appears more necessary for this purpose than to execute the orders his Majesty has already issued for the concentration of the settlements into villages, particularly above Three Rivers so that the Colonists may be better able to defend themselves, whom he must even force to inclose those villages with palisades and so protect themselves from insult.

He is also to assist the settlers, in the season of planting and during the harvest, with some officers and soldiers in those places where the enemy might come to take advantage of the necessity they are under of being abroad at those times.

Although his principal duty is to preserve the Colony, and to employ the troops particularly for that object, his Majesty is also persuaded that he can have an attack made on the English and the Iroquois by the Indian allies, which he learns has been commenced.

He will also aid Sieurs de la Eorêt and Tonti to whom the establishment of the late Sieur de la Salle at Illinois, has been granted, in order to enable them to coöperate against the Iroquois.

He will be, likewise, able to employ the Iroquois allies, and with that view, it appears to his Majesty proper to send back to the place called the Sault those who were detached from thence to Montreal, and to afford them every assistance necessary both for their subsistence and for the security of their families, and to induce them to wage a vigorous war on the enemy.

As the settlement of the Cannibas is particularly towards Acadia and in the vicinity of the New England settlements, where they seized Fort Penkuit and several fortified posts, it appears to his Majesty that they ought to be encouraged to continue the War there, and for that purpose Sieur de Frontenac will keep up a correspondence with Sieur de Menneval, who commands in Acadia, in whom they place great confidence; and to afford him means to coöperate therein his Majesty orders the same presents as last year to be made them.

His Majesty hopes he will have been as successful as he expected in the negotiation he has commenced with the Outawas, on hearing of the peace they concluded with the Iroquois, and that he will have induced them to renew the war; this he ought to do by all possible means, even by making them some presents.

His Majesty is very glad to inform him on this occasion that, not being any longer subject to the extraordinary expenses which were required to be incurred to attack the Iroquois, he will find, in the appropriations to be made this year, wherewith to assist all the Indians so as to derive from them the services in which he will think proper to employ them.

He must profit by the dispositions those interested in the Northern Company entertain to get Sieur d'Iberville to attack Fort Nelson, and aid them with his authority in matters they will stand in need of, so as to place them in a condition to expel the English from that post, which is the only one they possess in Hudson's bay.

Whatever views his Majesty submits to Sieur de Frontenac for the maintenance of the Colony and the reduction of the Iroquois to sue for peace, He, nevertheless, in consequence of the confidence his Majesty reposes in his zeal and application, authorizes him to add thereto, and to act, on this occasion, as he shall consider most beneficial for his service, doubting not but with his knowledge of affairs, of the manners, strength and country of the Indians, he will be in a position to adopt the best course.

His Majesty having learned that the inhabitants of Quebec have made preparations to inclose that town with palisades, they must be obliged to lose no time in proceeding therewith, and if they should not be absolutely able to complete the work without some help, Sieurs de

Frontenac and de Champigny will examine the means of making provision for that purpose, and furnish them with whatever will be indispensable.

M. de Denonville having observed that he who commanded in the attack on Cataracouy did not cause its fortifications to be sapped according to orders; and, therefore, should the English, or the Iroquois occupy that post at present, they would be presently in a posture of defence, it becomes highly necessary that Sieur de Frontenac send thither to complete its destruction, if that be not already effected, and, likewise, cause a search to be made for the two brass cannon that were removed from that fort and left in Lake Saint Francis.

The expense incurred for the forts of Missilimakinak and Lake Erié being reimbursable from the first trading licenses to be issued according to his Majesty's orders of the 8th of March 1688, it is his will that no more be issued until that expense be entirely defrayed.

M. de Denonville has represented to his Majesty the necessity of giving employment to the young men belonging to noble families in Canada, and has proposed to have them pass over to France to serve in the body guards *(gardes du corps)* or in the line according as vacancies occur. Before coming to a determination thereupon, his Majesty is pleased to receive the opinions of Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny as to what would be best for his service.

Although his Majesty hath explained to Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny his intentions respecting the war, he deems it necessary to inform them as regards peace, that he consents to Sieur de Frontenac continuing to use the means he has begun to employ, to force the Iroquois thereto; but he is to take care not to do any thing they may take any advantage of, or that may lead them to suppose that he desires it through fear of a continuance of hostilities. Meanwhile his Majesty is persuaded that in the present state of the Colony, it is extremely important for its preservation that he should soon succeed in concluding a treaty with those Indians and in terminating this war, in which experience shows much is to be lost and nothing gained.

His Majesty's affection for the advancement of Religion and the Service of God obliges him again strongly to recommend Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny to carefully continue to coöperate with the zeal of the Bishop of Quebec and to assist the clergy whenever their authority is needed, being assured that those Clergymen will on their part do all in their power to contribute at this juncture to keep the settlers thoroughly united, and heartily disposed to employ their substance and persons for his service and their own preservation.

Sieurs de Denonville and de Champigny having thought proper to promise six trading licenses to the Nuns and Hospital of Montreal, his Majesty wills that they enjoy them, and that Sieur de Frontenac issue said licenses in order that they may contribute to the support of the sick and the repair of their buildings.

It has afforded His Majesty much pleasure to hear of the facilities his subjects have experienced last year in their trade with the Outawas, having brought 800,000^{li} worth of peltries. The importance of this trade must engage Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny to omit nothing to keep up a good correspondence with these Indians, and to secure the return of the property of the French.

M. de Denonville having reported the progress of Sieur Riverin's undertaking in the Whale and Cod fisheries, Mess^{rs} de Frontenac and de Champigny are to encourage him to continue, and to habituate the settlers to those fisheries, and to assure him that his Majesty will take into consideration his industry, his expenses and his losses. He desires, meanwhile,

that they will allow him, whenever occasion will require, to enjoy some licenses hitherto accorded him; and that they communicate to his Majesty their opinion on the demand said Sieur Riverin is making of the privilege to trade with the Indians of Lake Themiscaming.

Sir William Phips' Attack on Quebec.

An Account of what occurred in Canada on the descent of the English at Quebec, in the month of October, 1690.

Brought by an officer[1] who embarked in *La Fleur de Mai*, M. Janelot, on the 22d of November, the ice being somewhat melted by rain and a thaw which occurred on that day. He says that on the 26th, as he left the river, the North wind commenced again so that the voyage home occupied 58 days.

October 10. A canoe sent by the Major of Quebec to Count de Frontenac arrived at Montreal, about 60 leagues distant from said town, with news that an Abenaki Indian deputed by his tribe, had come from Acadia, with news that an English woman, a prisoner among them, had declared that 34 ships had sailed from Boston on their way to capture this Colony, being confident of taking it as easily as Acadia. On receipt of this intelligence M. de Frontenac embarked for Quebec, hoping to receive, on the way, more positive information, which he did in fact obtain ten leagues below Montreal confirming the first. The aforesaid Major informed him by a second Canoe that the English fleet was within 16 leagues of Quebec, that it had captured a French bark and one of the boats he had sent on the scout. M. de Frontenac then detached a captain of his suite to convey his orders without delay to M. de Callières, governor of Montreal who followed two days afterwards with all the Regulars and Militia of his government, traveling night and day until he arrived at Quebec.

M. de Frontenac, however, made such haste that he arrived at Quebec on the 14th notwithstanding contrary winds and bad weather. The people received him with a great deal of joy. Immediately on landing he visited all the posts, caused new gun batteries to be erected, although some had already been constructed, had the weakest and most exposed spots further fortified, and in fine put every thing in good order.

Monday, 16th. The fleet anchored at day break within sight of Quebec, it consisted of 4 large, and 4 middle sized vessels; the remainder ketches and brigantines. At ten o'clock a boat with a white flag at its fore, put off from the Admiral's ship and came towards the shore, sounding a trumpet; four bark Canoes bearing a similar flag went to meet it; they met about half way between the town and the fleet. The Genéral's messenger spoke first, after which his eyes were bandaged; having put him on board one of the Canoes he was brought alone into the town; thence he was led to the quarters of M. de Frontenac, to whom, when his eyes were uncovered, he politely handed a letter the tenor which is as follows:

[1] Baron de Lahontan. *Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 1728, I., 338, 9.—Ed.

"I, WILLIAM PHIPS, Knight, Commander-in-Chief of all their Majesty's forces in New England by Sea and Land, to Count de Frontenac, governor and lieutenant General for the King of France in Canada, or in his absence to his deputy or chief Commander at Quebec.

"Were the war between the two Crowns of England [and France] insufficient to necessitate this expedition for our own security and satisfaction, the cruelties and barbarities inflicted on us by your Frenchmen and Indians would on the present occasion prompt us, by a sense of justice to a severe revenge. But being particularly desirous to avoid all acts of inhumanity contrary to Christianity, as well as the effusion of blood as much as may be, I, the aforesaid William Phips, Knight, do hereby, in the name of their Excellent Majesties William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and by order of their aforesaid Majesties' government of Machazuzet Colony in New England, demand that you surrender your forts and castles undemolished with your stores; also promptly deliver your prisoners, your persons and estates to my disposal. Upon doing whereof you may expect mercy from me as a Christian according to what shall be found for their Majesties' service and their subjects' security. Should you refuse the terms I propose, I am wholly resolved, by the help of God in whom I trust, to revenge, by force of arms all wrongs and injuries offered us and bring you under subjection to the Crown of England, which if you wish, you will regret, when too late, not to have accepted the favor I offer you.

"Your answer positive will be returned in an hour by your trumpet with the return of mine. This is what I require of you upon the peril that will ensue.

"Signed, WILLIAM PHIPS."

On concluding the interpretation of this letter, which was in English, the messenger drew a watch from his pocket and presented it to M. de Frontenac who took it, pretending not to see distinctly what o'clock it was. The messenger advanced to tell him it was ten o'clock, and that he demanded of him to send him back at eleven precisely with his answer.

"I will not keep you waiting so long," answered M. de Frontenac. "Tell your general I do not acknowledge your King William, and that the Prince of Orange is an Usurper who has violated the most sacred rights of Blood in wishing to dethrone his Father-in-Law; that I do not acknowledge any other sovereign in England than King James; that your general ought not to be surprised at the hostilities he says have been committed on the Boston Colony, as he might well expect that the King, my master, having received the King of England under his protection, being prepared to replace him on his throne by force of arms, as I am credibly informed, would order me to carry the war into those countries among the people who would rebel against their lawful prince." Then showing him a number of Officers of whom the room was full, he said, "Though your general had offered me better terms and I was disposed to accept them, how could he suppose that so many brave men as there are here would consent, and advise me, to place confidence in the word of a man who has violated the Capitulation he entered into with the governor of Port Royal; a rebel who has failed in the fidelity he owed his lawful King, forgetful of all the favors conferred on him, in order to follow the fortunes of a prince who whilst endeavoring to persuade the nation that he is the Liberator of England and the Defender of the Faith, violates the laws and privileges of the Kingdom, overthrowing the Anglican Church. Divine justice to which your general appeals in his letter, will one day severely punish this."

This speech having greatly astonished and alarmed the messenger, he enquired of Count de Frontenac if he would not give him an answer in writing. "No," replied he, "I have no answer to give your general but from the mouths of my cannon and musketry, that he may learn that a man of my rank is not to be summoned after this fashion. Let him do his best as I will do mine."

This answer being given the messenger's eyes were bandaged, and he was conducted to the boat. The remainder of the day passed without any movement; also the next day the 17th on the evening of which M. de Callière arrived at 6 o'clock at the head of 800 men, who were anxiously expected.

Wednesday 18th. From 11 o'clock until noon nothing was done on board the ships but crying God save King William, beating drums, sounding trumpets and playing hautboys. Half an hour afterwards all their boats, full of people, made towards the shore between the village called Beauport and the town, which are a league distant from each other; and had already made good a landing and were drawn up in order of battle, forming a corps of 2000 men, as we happened to have but a small party of about 200 men there, being uncertain where they would land, and especially as it was necessary to wade across a little river,[1] at low water.

In the evening the four largest vessels anchored before Quebec. The rear admiral who carried the blue flag, posted himself below the town, and the admiral, vice admiral and *chef d'escadre*, above. We saluted them first, whereupon they opened a pretty lively cannonade. They were answered in similar style. That night they fired only at the upper town; one of the citizens' sons was killed. The firing ceased on both sides at 8 o'clock in the evening.

Thursday, 19th. At day break we again commenced first; the enemy it appears had felt our fire somewhat. The rear admiral, who had fired most vigorously, found himself somewhat inconvenienced by our guns so that he was obliged to sheer off, as well as the admiral who closely followed him with considerable precipitation. He received more than 20 shots in his hull, many of which were below the water line. All his rigging had been cut and his mainmast almost broken, to which they were obliged to affix braces, *(jumelles.)* The two others weighed anchor at the flow of the tide, and moored a league above Quebec, to give occupation to our people and diminish our forces.

20th. The *generale* was beaten in the morning in their camp and two hours after we saw them through the telescope forming in order of battle. They remained there until 10 o'clock, crying incessantly: Long live King William! after which they made a movement as if indicating to us their intention of marching towards the town; they had platoons on their flank, and Indians from their country at the head of their van guard; but as we had formed a party of 200 volunteers a second time, we ran towards them under cover of some brushwood, in order to intercept them, and made them retreat by the continual volleys we discharged. All they could do was to get to a place of cover so as to gain the camp without receiving any further fire.

Saturday, 21st. During the night, the admiral sent them five six pounders by a small brigantine. At day break one of their batalions was detached in pursuit of some cattle they perceived near the camp, and which they drove in. They made wholesale slaughter of them, and devoured them with avidity. This supply so emboldened them, and inspired them with such vengeance, that immediately after their meal, they ran with their guns helter

[1] River Saint Charles. — Ed.

skelter towards the town, without observing any order of march, with a view to enter it sword in hand, and in the hope of making a breach. But, unfortunately for them, they found us on that day in the same place where we had already attacked them. We treated them to a similar salute to that we gave them before; they discharged some cannon at us which did no other mischief than to cut some hedges and bushes; they then fled to another road where we intercepted them, and being very close gave them another volley with 3 balls in each musket.

It would be impossible to enumerate the number of shots they fired at us, which killed or wounded only three or four of our men, each of whom lay on their faces in the brushwood. The firing was warmly renewed on both sides. It continued until they found out that they could not effect an entrance into the town without leaving on the ground more men than they had brought with them. This reflection obliged them to retreat to their camp, cursing the banditti who, they said, fought in a cowardly manner, concealed in the bushes like Indians, as they call the savages.

At the same time the two vessels which had sailed above Quebec, floated down with the tide in order to place themselves in line with the rest of the fleet. At night fall I know not what inspiration drove them to retreat hastily on board their ships, and to abandon their five field pieces to us. No doubt, they must have supposed we had need of artillery.

22^{d}. At day break we proceeded on a scout towards their camp where we saw the aforesaid guns, two of which were given to the inhabitants of the adjoining settlements as a reward which was to immortalize their memory for having fought bravely on that occasion. I shall state, in passing, to the honor of those of the neighborhood, that they did all that could be expected of gallant soldiers; for at whatever point the English landed, they were invariably repulsed. They acknowledged to our prisoners that they never witnessed the like, and that so far from expecting such treatment, they anticipated being received with open arms.

Towards nine o'clock of the same day, whilst we were removing their guns from the water side, we perceived all their boats full of people, doubtless wishing to come in search of them. But our presence induced them to abandon that purpose. They reëmbarked in their ships and had scarcely got on board when they precipitately weighed anchor, left the roadstead and went to lie two leagues below, opposite *L'arbre sec.*

Monday night, 23^{d}. Admiral Phips not knowing how to manage to get his men whom we held prisoners since some months, and to restore ours to us, concluding that if he sent a boat to town the people of the settlements would intercept it, resolved to send on shore Mad^{e} Lalande and daughter whom they had taken in the bark as already mentioned, to speak to M. de Frontenac for him. They reached the town during night in a canoe which was furnished them at the place where the English had put them ashore.

The governor accepted M^{r} Phips' proposal. With this view he on the next day, the 24th, sent back 16 prisoners in care of his captain of the guards; who brought us 16 others three hours afterwards. They set sail and with a full cargo of wounded continued their voyage towards Boston, where I hope the admiral will be badly received, so angry will be the populace which is master in that country, at the ill success of his expedition, the fitting out whereof has cost them so much money and men, more than 450 of whom have, it is calculated, been either killed or wounded.

This is a true Account of what occurred in General Phips' expedition against Canada.

Count de Frontenac to the Minister.

November 12, 1690.

Extracts.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I was on the eve of embarking on my return to Quebec, after having dispatched all business at Montreal, and also arranged the winter quarters for the troops which were to remain in that government, when I received, on the 10th of October @ 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a letter from the Major of this town advising me that an influential Abenaqui of Acadia, had arrived express, by order of his tribe, to notify me that a very numerous fleet had sailed from Boston more than a month before, having a large body of troops on board, with the intention of attacking and taking Quebec.

You may suppose, My Lord, that this news, to which I did not attach entire credence, did not make me defer my departure, but the vessel on which I embarked having been in danger of sinking from a leak that had not been noticed, the Intendant and I were on the point of being lost with all on board, so that we were under the necessity of taking canoes and could retire to rest only four or five leagues from Montreal, whence we started the next morning at the break of day, and were only six leagues from the place where we had passed the night when I received another express advising me that the enemy's fleet was in sight of Tadoussac; that is, 30 leagues from Quebec.

I then hesitated no longer to send an order in all haste to Mr. de Callier to come down as rapidly as possible with all the troops he had, leaving a company only in the town of Montreal, and to bring along in passing the greatest number of militia that he could collect. I proceeded, then, day and night, and notwithstanding a furious gale we encountered and the bad weather we experienced, I succeeded in arriving on the 14th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning at Quebec, when I learned the enemy had passed the Traverse, that is, that they were within seven leagues of Quebec.

It afforded me a little consolation to witness the determination visible on the countenances of the inhabitants of the town and neighboring villages, whom Major Prevost had called in. I was also highly satisfied with the batteries and all the other retrenchments he had thrown up, and which it was not possible to believe could be completed within the space of four or five days which was all he had. It afforded evidence of his care, application and vigilance. I made such additions as I thought most necessary, and ratified the order he had very judiciously issued to the Captains of the Militia of Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans, and Côte de Lauson, not to quit their settlements nor throw themselves into Quebec till they saw the enemy come on shore and resolved to attack the town, lest the latter might land at some of those places, which they might prevent by lining the shores on both sides and opposing the boats that might attempt a landing, as they, in fact, have done.

The enemy anchored on Sunday at *L'arbre* [*sec*], four leagues below this place; at daybreak on Monday doubled Point Levy, and arrived in our harbor within sight to the number of 34 sail, four of which were large ships, some others of inferior size, and the remainder small vessels; we were informed that there were no less than 3000 men on board.

I shall not particularize here, My Lord, the events of the siege; their different movements both on water and on land where they disembarked nearly 2,000 men and some guns; the

cannonadings, the various skirmishes which occurred pending three or four days, and in which they assuredly lost in killed and wounded more than five hundred men. The Account thereof which I have had drawn up will put you in possession of all the details.[1]

I will merely state that my principal aim was to induce them to cross a little river which they must necessarily pass to reach the town—unless they wished to attack it on the side of the principal roadstead, which apparently they were not inclined to do—because that little river was dry only at low water I was putting it in their rear *(mettois à dos)*, and without much risk could reach them in full order of battle, and drive them into it without their ever being able to recover their boats which they would necessarily have left half a league from the point at which they would cross, and would have to wade knee deep in the bed of the river in order to reëmbark. On the other hand, by attacking them with my whole force where they were encamped, I was giving them the same advantage I was desirous of preserving, by placing this tide water *(rivière a la marée)* in my rear and rendering my retreat very difficult. Besides, the road to them was impracticable for large bodies owing to woods, rocks and embarrassments through which they would have to march, and fit for small platoons only, that might skirmish in Indian fashion, which all our soldiers are not capable of doing, but which was admirably executed by our officers and Canadians and other volunteers and settlers with such French officers and soldiers as were already accustomed to that mode of fighting; and, with such success, that, at last, the enemy, experiencing daily new skirmishes and apprehending an attack on their camp, having noticed in the evening some troops defiling in their rear which I was sending to support those various small detachments, were seized with so great a panic on the night of Saturday and Sunday the 22nd of October, that they reëmbarked in the greatest possible confusion and in so much disorder as to abandon their cannon.

Such a heavy rain fell throughout the night which was so dark, that our people who were furthest advanced could not see what was going on among them; but sending out a little before day to reconnoitre, they found five field pieces at low water which the boats of the enemy could not take on board until the tide would rise.

As soon as it was light the enemy sent off three of their boats to recover their cannons but our men had already got possession of them and by their constant fire kept off these three boats which were supported by more than thirty others. After having held a council during an hour all together, beyond range of musket shot, they dared not attempt a landing, and regained their ships without giving themselves any further trouble about their field pieces which our people carried off.

They no longer thought of any thing except preparing to leave, and finally disappeared entirely on Tuesday and went to anchor four leagues from Quebec.

I omitted to inform you, My Lord, that one of the circumstances which disappointed them the most was, that the arrangement they had made with the Iroquois did not succeed as they expected. For I learn from all the advices I have received, that when the fleet was to appear before Quebec, those of Manathe and Orange were to make a descent to the number of 3000, English, Mohegans *(Loups)* and Iroquois, for the purpose of investing us; repair before said town by the upper part of the river whilst the others coöperated from below. The affair would be very embarrassing, had not God interposed. The same advices state that the English and Mohegans *(Loups)* having been attacked by the Small pox, sent to the rendezvous some persons who were still red with the marks of it; which greatly incensed the Iroquois who told

[1] See preceding Document, p. 455.—Ed.

them they were bringing the plague among them. That disorder did in fact break out in their midst, and destroyed more than three hundred of them, and finally, discontent having increased, the Iroquois had retired to their villages, after they had pillaged some English people. In confirmation whereof, a party of 60 men, which a few days before I came down to Quebec I had detached from Montreal under the command of Sieur de Mantz to find out the true state of Fort Frontenac, which together with all the ammunition, provisions, implements and arms had been abandoned in 1689, reported to me that there was no appearance of an Indian having been at that place for the last four months, the grass being waist high in the interior of the fort; and no Indian huts having been in the neighborhood of their route from Montreal to said place, a distance of 80 leagues, although it was the usual hunting and fishing ground. I have received letters within a few days, that other parties of Indians who had gone towards Onontagué and to places which are never without hunters, have not found any thing either; so that I am at a loss to know what has become of the Iroquois and I expect news every day. As regards the condition of the Fort, Sieur de Mants assures me that there were but a few breaches in the walls which could easily be repaired; but the buildings were all destroyed. This is an affair that, in my opinion, must be looked to in time, as I am more convinced than ever that it is a post as useful, if war continue, as it is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace, should we be sufficiently fortunate to conclude it.

But to return to the English. When they anchored at *L'arbre sec*, Miss de la Lande, who was one of those that had been taken in the bark which the enemy had met, proposed to General Phips to demand an exchange. He agreed and sent her to ascertain if I would listen to the proposition.

As it came from them, I considered I ought not reject it, being, besides, very glad to recover principally Sieur de Tranville[1] who had been dispatched before my arrival by order of Sieur de Prevost, the Major of Quebec, to reconnoitre the enemy, and an ecclesiastic called M. Trouvé whom they took at Port Royal, and whom they had brought along with them, with what view he could not divine. I commissioned Sieur de la Vallière, captain of my guards, to effect this exchange, of which duty he acquitted himself so well that we have had more French restored than the English. The latter consisted only of women, girls and children, except Captain Davis who had been taken by Sieur de Portneuf; the latter had to be exchanged for Sieur de Tranville; and in order to have our Priest, who would never have been restored had not Sieur de la Vallière induced this General's principal Chaplain to come to negotiate with him, and declared to him that he would carry him to Quebec, if they refused to exchange Sieur Trouvé for a little girl whom the Intendant's lady had bought of the Indians and whom she offered to give up.

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Now, My Lord, that the King has triumphed over his enemies, by land and water, and that he is master of the seas, would he consider some squadrons of his fleet badly employed in punishing the insolence of these veritable and old parliamentarians of Boston; in storming them, as well as those of Manath, in their dens, and conquering these two towns whereby would be secured the entire coast, the fisheries of the Great Bank, the preservation of which is of no small importance nor of slight utility.

[1] Grandville. — Ed.

That would, likewise, be the true and perhaps sole means of terminating the wars of Canada, as the Iroquois, after that, could with ease be wholly subjugated; and by going to the source of the evil, the root would be entirely destroyed.

These expeditions appear to me neither feasible nor practicable except only from sea, for, as I had the honor to submit to you when I was leaving Paris, I believe it impossible to adopt sure measures from this point, in conjunction with those that would come by sea. The distance of the places, the uncertainty of the seasons, the difficulty of transporting so far the requisite provisions and necessary munitions for the support of the army, without any entrepôt and in the face of the opposition the Iroquois could offer, being, in my opinion, insurmountable obstacles and sufficient to disconcert any project that might be attempted.

Orange would be the only place within our reach whenever we have here a sufficient body of troops to attempt it, and time to make all our preparations. Even that would require precaution, the thing not being so easy as those who proposed it imagined; which you will be able to see by the plan I send you, whereunto I have caused those of Manath and Corlard to be annexed.

I have been advised that they are incessantly at work at Orange, and that they have reinforced the garrison. But were Manath once in our possession, Orange and the entire territory of New-York would necessarily follow, as would be the case with Canada were the English to become masters of Quebec, which is the sole outlet of this country the same as Manath is of the other.

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I am, My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged Servant,

. FRONTENAC.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1689, 1690.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in the month of November, 1689, to the month of November, 1690.[1]

Madam

The letters of last year and the more minute information of those who had the honor to pay you their respects on their arrival in France from this country, have made you fully acquainted with the condition in which Count (de Frontenac) found it, the agreeable manner in which he was received, the acclamations of the masses and the universal joy every one evinced at his happy return. All these things are already known and I shall not describe them. I have matters to relate to you infinitely more to his glory, and the actions which have been performed this year justify the idea that that people were truly inspired of God when they called him their liberator. He found himself forced to wage war on his children against his inclination; he employed all sorts of means to induce them to resume the same disposition with which

[1] Addressed, it is supposed, to Mde. de Maintenon, and embodied in Letter II., of the 3d Volume of M. de la Potherie's *Hist. de l'Amerique Septentrionale.* — ED.

he had inspired them when he formerly governed them; they were totally changed by the evil counsels of the English, and these very English were the first punished for the troubles they had created in a country which the common Father had maintained in repose for the space of ten years.

You will see, Madam, in the progress of this Narrative, how those whom the Count employed had acquitted themselves of their duty. The same zeal excited the French, the Canadians and our Indians, and it seemed that, when fighting under such happy auspices, they could not but conquer.

We did not expect to receive any further news from our Upper Indian Allies. They had left here after the sacking of La Chine, their minds full of terror and distrust. They no longer recognized in us those same Frenchmen who were in former times their protectors and who, they thought, were able to defend them against the whole world. They saw nothing on our part but universal supineness; our houses burnt; our people carried off; the finest portion of our country utterly ruined, and all done without scarcely any one being moved, or at least if any attempts were made, the trifling effort recoiled to our shame, and resulted only in the destruction of those who voluntarily sacrificed themselves. They knew it would be very easy for us to oppose this irruption, had we not allowed ourselves to be lulled to sleep by a false hope of peace. They had told their mind, and were very glad that we had deceived ourselves, so as to have a more plausible pretext to execute the resolutions they had long before adopted — to arrange matters with our enemies without our participation, under the supposition that it was beyond our power to defend them.

These bad dispositions were known to Sieur de la Durantaye, commander of Missilimakinac, and to Fathers Nouvel and Carheil, missionaries to the Hurons and Outawas. The interest they feel in the preservation of the Colony obliged them to dispatch Sieur Zachary Jolliet, a trader in that country, to inform the Governor General who was to relieve the Marquis de Denonville, and whose name they did not know, of the state they were in, and of all the designs of the Indians.

He arrived at Quebec at the close of the month of December, and the Count was not less surprised at seeing a man undertake a voyage of this magnitude, which he was obliged to make with only one companion, partly in canoe, partly on the ice, than at the news he brought.

You have learned, Madam, from the Reverend Father Carheil's letter, copy whereof has been sent you by the vessel that sailed last spring, what resolutions the Outawas and Hurons entertained on their arrival. That letter laid bare all their sentiments and showed us that it is difficult to deceive them; the acuteness of their perceptions, and the just measures they adopt in the most difficult affairs, are very perfectly set forth therein. You will find in it a short epitome of their mode of speaking, and of holding their Councils. They are more eloquent than is supposed, and thoug htheir harangues are a little long and they often repeat the same thing, they always go to their object and seldom say any thing superfluous.

The Count determined, at the moment, to send this same Jolliet with five or six men back to Missilimakinak with his orders to Sieur de la Durantaye and his message to the Indians[1] to dissuade them from their designs, and to give them notice of the different parties he was sending against the English for the purpose of renewing active hostilities, and making them repent of all the evil they had wrought on us and our allies; but the messenger, learning

[1] See supra, page 448. — Ed.

that a number of Iroquois were hunting on the way, was prevented continuing his Journey which was not performed until the spring, after the Ice had broken up, when it was effected in the most successful manner possible, as you will learn by and by.

The orders the Count had received from France to commence hostilities against New England and New-York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. No more time was allowed to elapse before executing them than was necessary to transmit despatches to France, and the Count resolved, shortly after, to send out three different expeditions so as to declare war against those rebels at all points at the same time, and to punish them at various places for the protection they had afforded to our enemies the Iroquois. The First party was to be organized at Montreal and to proceed towards Orange; the Second at Three Rivers and to strike a blow in New-York between Boston and Orange, and the third was to depart from Quebec and to reach the seaboard between Boston and Pentagouet, verging towards Acadia.

They all have succeeded perfectly well, and I shall communicate to you their details after I have spoken of an affair which happened at the same time we received the news of the first party from Montreal. The letters of the month of November of last year have advised you, Madam, that the Count, immediately after his arrival at Montreal, had determined to dispatch a convoy to Fort Frontenac in order to endeavor to revictual it and place it in security during the Winter; you have been informed how that post had been abandoned by order of M. de Denonville and that its garrison had arrived the day after the departure of the convoy, which was in consequence obliged to turn back.

That convoy was accompanied by four of the Indians whom the Count brought back from France with Orehaoué, one of the most considerable Chiefs of their nation. This man, whom you will often hear mentioned in the course of this letter, is one of the principal causes of the war. He was much esteemed among his people, and was induced to visit Fort Frontenac under pretence of peace and a feast of friendship, which is their manner of transacting business, and then taken prisoner with forty others of his tribe by order of M. de Denonville who sent them to France, as you are aware; and they had still been in the Galleys if the King did not think proper to send them back here with the Count, the treachery of which they were the victims being in no wise to his taste.

The disposition manifested by Orehaoué, on our arrival here,[1] was such as to encourage us to hope for peace with his nation, inasmuch as war was waged solely on his account; and the kind treatment he and his people experienced at the hands of the Count, since they were with him, ought to have effaced from their recollection all the pain of their slavery. That disposition appeared in the submission of a son to a father. He did nothing without consulting him, and it was of his own motion and with the Count's consent, that those four men, in company with another Indian who had come Ambassador, after the sacking of La Chine, and had offered some very insolent propositions to M. de Denonville, had set out for Onontaë, the principal town of the Iroquois, where all their business is transacted, for the purpose of conveying thither the news of Orehaoué and his people's return, and inviting all their tribe to come to welcome their Father whom they had so long missed, and to thank him for his goodness to them on his return, restoring to them a Chief whom they supposed to have been irrecoverably lost. This, Madam, was the message entrusted to these envoys.

[1] Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec on the 12th October, 1689. — Ed.

They arrived at Montreal on the ninth of March of this year with Gagniogoton, the same ambassador that had gone with them. They remained silent for some days; finally, at the urgent solicitations of M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, who pressed them to speak, they presented him six belts of wampum. This is the guarantee of their words, and it seems, that they could not open their mouths, however eloquent they are, did this belt not make its appearance before they spoke, and did not each of those they offer suggest to them what to say on the different affairs they have to treat of.

The first belt explained the reason of their delay which was caused by the arrival of some Outawas at the Senecas. It said, that some Iroquois prisoners had been restored there in the name of the Nine different Tribes, the Hurons* having no share in this negotiation. The Iroquois were invited to repair in the month of June, to the place indicated, for the purpose of completing the good work of peace, the message of which they had just brought, and of receiving twenty-six additional Iroquois prisoners whom they had to surrender to them. Gagniogoton added, that this was the way things ought to be done when there was a disposition to promote peace, and that people themselves ought to confer about business without referring it to others not of their nation.

* of Missilimakinak.

The second Belt expressed the great joy felt by the Dutch and the Five Iroquois Nations learning the return of Orehaoué, whom they call the General in chief of the entire Iroquois nation.

The third Belt contained the words of Onnontaée in the name of the five Nations. He again demanded the prompt return of Orehaoué whom they still call the Chief of their country, and that he be accompanied by the messenger, by some Indians who had remained among us, and by all those who had returned from France; that they come on the ice in order to consult altogether respecting the measures they should adopt. It added, that all the French prisoners who were in various villages had been brought to Onnontaé, and that no disposition would be made of them until they should hear what Orehaoué would say on his return home.

The fourth Belt spoke thus and was addressed to the Count:— Onnontio, my father (it is thus they name the Governor general) you say you desire to again set up the tree of peace which you planted in your fort (that is, fort Frontenac). This is well. But it is the fifth Belt that is about to speak, and I report it word for word:—

Know you not that the Fire of Peace no longer burns in that Fort; that it is extinguished by the Blood which has been spilt there; the place where the Council was held is all red; it has been desecrated by the treachery perpetrated there; the soil of Ganneyout—a village ten leagues above the Fort—has been polluted by the treacherous seizure of prisoners there; the Seneca country has been defiled by the ravages the French committed there. Repair all this, you will then be at liberty to build up the Fire of peace and friendship in some other place than that in which you have located it, for it has been cast out thence. Fix it, if you like, at Ousaguentera—a place beyond the Fort—or if that be too far, you can select La Gallette where Teganissorens—a great chief who was much attached to the Count before he left the country—will come to meet you. You will be at liberty to bring with you as many people as you please, and I likewise. In fine, Father Onontio, you have whipped your children most severely; your rods were too cutting and too long; after having used me thus, you can readily judge that I have some sense now; I again repeat to you that I, Onnontaé, am master

of all the French prisoners. Make smooth the paths from your abode to La Gallette, and towards Chambly.

The sixth Belt—that a party of twenty men has been out since October who are not to make an attack on us until the melting of the Snow. It promises that if they make any prisoners they will take care of them, and should we take any, on our side, requests us to do the like.

The following are literally the words they add by this Belt:—"I had eight prisoners as my share of the affair at La Chenaye. *I have eaten four of them*, and the other four are alive here: You have been more cruel than I in killing twelve Senecas by shooting them; you have eaten the three others who survived without sparing one; you might have spared one or two. It is in return therefor that I have eaten four of yours, and I have spared four others, in order to show you that you are more cruel than I. What disposition the Oneidas, who accompanied me on the war path, have made of the French prisoners who fell to their lot, I do not know.

At the conclusion of this harangue, M. de Callières inquired if Father Millet, the Jesuit, who was taken at Fort Frontenac, was still living? He answered that, when he left home, twenty-eight days ago, the Father was alive.

He was also asked how it happened that the Mohawks came to make war against us? He answered that ninety Mohegans *(Loups)* had formed a party in which they had engaged some Mohawks and four Oneidas; but that measures had been adopted to follow the Mohawks in order to tell them not to go to war.

This, Madam, is all that M. de Callières learned of the resolutions of the Iroquois on their return. He sent them, shortly after, to Quebec where they arrived without the Belts they had brought from their country, and which they had presented at Montreal. Various reasons prevented the Count listening to them, particularly because he saw that Gagniogoton was the bearer of the message; a man with whom no business could be safely transacted; who was entirely suspected by him, and who had left here to return home *(au pays)* against his will and only at the solicitation of Father Lamberville, the Jesuit.[1]

This occurred at the same time, as I have already informed you, that news arrived at Quebec of the success of the first party that had gone out against the English, and which had been organized at Montreal. It might have consisted of two hundred and ten men; to wit, of 80 Indians of the Sault and the Mountain, sixteen Algonquins, and the remainder Frenchmen. It was commanded by Lieutenants Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène and Daillebout de Mantet, both Canadians, under whom were Sieurs le Moyne d'Iberville and Repentigny de Montesson. The best qualified of the French were Sieurs de Bonrepos and de La Brosse, reduced lieutenants *(reformés)* Sieurs Le Moyne de Biainville, Le Bert du Chesne, and la Marque de Montigny, who all served as volunteers. They took their departure from Montreal in the fore part of February.

After a march of five or six days, they called a council to determine the course they should take, and the point they considered themselves in a condition to attack.

The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and Mantet replied that they started in the hope of attacking Orange, if possible, as it is the capital of New-York and a place of considerable importance, though they had no orders to that effect, but generally to act according as they should judge on the spot of their chances

[1] Compare III., 734. — Ed.

of success, without running too much risk. This appeared to the Indians somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties, and the weakness of the party for so desperate an undertaking. Even one among them whose mind was filled with the recollections of the disasters which he had witnessed last year, inquired of our Frenchmen, "since when had they become so bold?" In reply to their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and that the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an attempt.

As the Indians who had perfect knowledge of the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to consent, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two paths separate—the one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlard.[1] In the course of this march, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlard, according to the advice of the Indians; and that road was taken without calling a new council. Nine days more elapsed before they arrived, having experienced inconceivable difficulties, and having been obliged to wade up to their knees in water, and to break the ice with their feet in order to find a solid footing.

They arrived within two leagues of Corlard about four o'clock in the evening, and were harangued by the Great Mohawk, the chief of the Iroquois of the Sault. He urged on all to perform their duty, and to forget their past fatigue, in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of those traitors. This Indian was without contradiction the most considerable of his tribe, an honest man, as full of spirit, prudence and generosity as possible, and capable at the same time of the grandest undertakings. Four squaws were shortly after discovered in a wigwam who gave every information necessary for the attack on the town. The fire found in their hut served to warm those who were benumbed, and they continued their march, having previously detached Giguières, a Canadian, with nine Indians, on the scout. They discovered no one, and returned to join the main body within one league of Corlard.

At eleven of the clock at night, they came within sight of the town, resolved to defer the assault until two o'clock of the morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay.

The town of Corlard forms a sort of oblong with only two gates—one opposite where our party had halted; the other opening towards Orange, which is only six leagues distant. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and de Mantet were to enter at the first which the squaws pointed out, and which, in fact, was found wide open. Messieurs d'Iberville and de Montesson took the left with another detachment, in order to make themselves masters of that leading to Orange. But they could not discover it, and returned to join the remainder of the party. A profound silence was every where observed, until the two Commanders, who separated after having entered the town for the purpose of encircling it, met at the other extremity.

The signal of attack was given Indian fashion, and the entire force rushed on simultaneously.

M. de Mantet placed himself at the head of one detachment, and reached a small fort where the garrison was under arms. The gate was burst in after a good deal of difficulty, the whole set on fire, and all who defended the place slaughtered.

[1] Schenectady. — Ed.

The sack of the town began a moment before the attack on the fort. Few houses made any resistance. M. de Montigny discovered several which he attempted to carry sword in hand, having tried the musket in vain. He received two thrusts of a halbert *(pertuissane)* one in the body and the other in the arm. But M. de Sainte Hélène having come to his aid, effected an entrance, and put every one who defended the place to the sword. The Massacre lasted two hours. The remainder of the night was spent in placing sentinels, and in taking some rest.

The house belonging to the Minister[1] was ordered to be saved, so as to take him alive to obtain information from him; but as it was not known, it was not spared any more than the others. He was killed in it and his papers burnt before he could be recognized.

At day break some men were sent to the dwelling of Mr. Condre[2] who was Major of the place, and who lived at the other side of the river. He was not willing to surrender, and put himself on the defensive with his servants and some Indians; but as it was resolved not to do him any harm, in consequence of the good treatment that the French had formerly experienced at his hands, M. d'Iberville and the Great Mohawk proceeded thither alone, promised him quarter for himself, his people and his property, whereupon he laid down his arms on their assurance, entertained them in his fort, and returned with them to see the Commandants in the town.

In order to occupy the Indians, who would otherwise have taken to drink and thus rendered themselves unable for defence, the houses had already been set on fire. None were spared in the town but one belonging to Condre, and that of a widow who had six children, whither M. de Montigny had been carried when wounded. All the rest were burnt. The lives of between fifty and sixty persons, old men, women and children were spared, they having escaped the first fury of the attack; also some thirty Iroquois, in order to show them that it was the English and not they against whom the grudge was entertained. The loss on this occasion in houses, cattle and grain, amounts to more than four hundred thousand livres. There were upwards of eighty well built and well furnished houses in the town.

The return march commenced with thirty prisoners. The wounded, who were to be carried, and the plunder with which all the Indians and some Frenchmen were loaded, caused considerable inconvenience. Fifty good horses were brought away. Sixteen of them only reached Montreal. The remainder were killed on the road for food.

Sixty leagues from Corlard the Indians began to hunt, and the French not being able to wait for them, being short of provisions, continued their route, having detached Messrs. d'Iberville and Du Chesne with two Indians before them to Montreal. On the same day, some Frenchmen, who doubtless were very much fatigued, strayed away for fear that they would be obliged to keep up with the main body, believing themselves in safety having eighty Indians in their rear. They were missed at the camp, and waited for the next day until eleven o'clock, but in vain, and no account has since been received of them.

Two hours after, forty men left the main body without acquainting the Commander, continued their route by themselves, and arrived within two leagues of Montreal one day ahead, so that not more than fifty or sixty men remained together. The evening on which

[1] Rev. Peter Tassemaker was a native of Holland. He officiated in Kingston in 1676, and gained the esteem and respect of the people of that place to such a degree that they petitioned for his continuance there as their minister. In 1679 he was ordained by Dominie Newenhuysen as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle in Delaware. *New-York Documentary History* 8vo.. III., 865., *New-York General Entries*, 61. He is said to have been the first Clergyman at Schenectady. — Ed.

[2] Joannes Sanders Glen.

they should arrive at Montreal, being extremely fatigued from fasting and bad roads, the rear fell away from M. de Saint Hélène, who was in front with an Indian guide, and who could not find a place suitable for camping nearer than three or four leagues of the spot where he expected to halt. He was not rejoined by M. de Mantet and the others, until late in the night. Seven have not been found. Next day on parade, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier arrived who announced that they had been attacked by fourteen or fifteen Savages, and that six had been killed. The party proceeded somewhat afflicted at this accident, and arrived at Montreal at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Such, Madam, is the account of what passed at the taking of Corlard. The French lost but twenty-one men, namely four Indians and seventeen Frenchmen. Only one Indian and one Frenchman were killed at the capture of the town. The others were lost on the road.

The return of the Three Rivers and Quebec parties were expected with impatience, but there was no news of them for a long while after.

As soon as the river was open the Count resolved to restore four of Orehaoué's Indians who had brought the belts that Gagnioton had presented at Montreal. They took their departure and were accompanied by Chevalier d'Eau, a half-pay Captain whom the Count had selected for that negotiation.

Orehaoué gave his people eight Belts, which I shall report to you, Madam, as he himself explained them.

The first Belt is to wipe away the tears of the five cabins—these are the five Iroquois Nations—and to cleanse their throats of whatever evil might have remained of the bad things that had occurred, and also to wash away the blood with which they are covered.

The second Belt is to be divided into two:—the first half is to testify Orehaoué's joy on learning that the Outawas had promised to restore the prisoners they had, to the Senecas. The other half, to say to them he was very glad they had notified him to tell Onnontio that they had recommended their people, who had gone out to fight in the fall, to spare the lives of the French whom they may take prisoners, and that Onnontio had promised, on his part, that, should the French take any of theirs, they would act towards them in the same manner, until they should have an answer from those he sends to the Five Nations.

The 3^{d} Belt thanks the Five Nations for having requested Onnontio to send him with his Nephews back on the Ice, and begs them to put all the French prisoners in the hands of the Onondagas, who, if affairs be arranged, may be able to restore them.

The 4th Belt is to tell them that he sees plainly he is forgotten as well as his father Onontio; inasmuch as they have not sent any Chiefs in quest of him, and to speak to their father; and that they would have afforded him pleasure had they sent him even a solitary one.

The 5th Belt is to tell all the Nations that he is desirous of seeing some Chiefs at Montreal; that he is like a drunken man who has lost his senses, seeing they send nobody for him, and he wishes those who had been in the habit of transacting business with him to come, in order that they may be aware of the good disposition Onnontio entertains towards the whole Nation, and of the good treatment he and his Nephews have received since they have been placed under his care in France.

The 6th Belt is to tie the arms of the Five Nations in order to draw them to Montreal, after which they will take him back with them.

The 7th Belt is to say, that it is at his request Onnontio has sent one of his principal officers whom they also well know to accompany his people; that this Belt is likewise to exhort them

not to listen to the Dutch who have turned their heads, and not to meddle with the affairs of those men, nor to be uneasy because Onnontio has begun to chastise them as they are Rebels to their lawful King who is protected by the Great Onnontio (that is, the King). That this war does not concern them, which they may perfectly understand because the French, in sacking Corlard, did no harm to those of their Nation, all of whom they sent back without wishing even to bring any of them away prisoners.

The 8th and last Belt is to say, that the Orehaoué is brother of all the French, but particularly of Collin, who had great care of them during their voyage from France and since their return to this Country, and that they both form but one body; and that being unwilling though anxious to go and see them until they came in quest of him, he divides himself in two and sends one-half of himself, to invite them to come and get him in all safety, inasmuch as they will be as free as he; that he does not wish to quit his father to whom he desires to be always united. Let them take courage, then, and come to Montreal where they will find him with Onnontio, who always entertains for him and the entire Nation, the same friendship that he has given them so many proofs of, during ten years.[1]

Gagniegoton was not among the number of those Indians who returned to their country. Chevalier d'Eau was accompanied by four Frenchmen and by Colin, of whom Orehaoué speaks in those Belts, who always acted as Interpreter to the Count in the voyage from France and since his arrival here. He was not entrusted with any message for the Iroquois. He was only to be present at the resolutions to be adopted on Orehaoué's message, to support the negotiation of those people, without being a party to it himself, and be a witness of all in order to make a faithful report of it.[2]

No reliable news have been received from him since he left. We have only learned from the English who came this fall to attack Quebec, that the Iroquois, as a proof that they desired no arrangement with us, had conducted him to New-York, and that he was a prisoner there without any harm being done him.

M. de Louvigny, a half pay captain, whom the Count sent to Missilimakinak to relieve Sieur de la Durantaye, also a reduced captain who commanded there, left Montreal at this time with Sieur Nicolas Perrot who was entrusted with presents and messages which the Count sent to all the Upper Nations. He was to dissuade them from the alliance they were negotiating with the Iroquois and English and which was nigh concluded. I send you copy of these messages.

He was accompanied by one hundred and forty-three French Voyageurs and six Indians. The French were going in search of peltries belonging to them, and which they could not bring down here in former years in consequence of the war, Captain d'Hosta and Lieutenant de la Gameraye, both reduced officers, were likewise ordered to accompany them with thirty men, only as far as the Calumets,[3] sixty leagues from Montreal, to bring back news of their passing that place, beyond which there was no longer any danger.

On the twenty-second of May, they left the head of the Island of Montreal; having halted on the second of June, three leagues above the place called Les Chats, under shelter of a point that shot out quite far into the River, they discovered two Iroquois canoes which appeared at the end of the Point.

Messrs de Louvigny and d'Hosta resolved to send thither three canoes of ten men each, and sixty men by land to surround them on all sides. Sieurs d'Hosta and De la Gemeraye

[1] Compare III., 735, 736. [2] Chevalier D'Eau's Instructions are in III., 733. [3] On the Ottawa River.—Ed.

embarked on board the canoes and Sieur de Louvigny was to lead the land party. The three canoes soon reached the enemy, and received a heavy point blank fire, the enemy aiming at them from the shore where they lay in ambush. Four Frenchmen were killed by this first volley. Two only remained unhurt in the canoe of Sieur de la Gemeraye who wished to be the first to land. They were therefore obliged to return to the place where they had left the other canoes. They found Sieur de Louvigny there, whom Perrot would not permit to quit him, for fear of risking the King's presents too much, and of being no longer in a condition (in case they were defeated) of continuing their voyage, and terminating the negotiation they were engaged in with the upper Nations.

The urgent prayers of Sieur d'Hosta and the despair of Sieur de Louvigny at the loss of his men, prevailed over Perrot's objections. They put themselves at the head of fifty @ sixty men and ran over land to attack the ambuscade of the enemy. Their first shock was so overwhelming that they forced the Indians to embark precipitately. They killed in all more than thirty Iroquois and many were wounded in the four canoes that escaped of the thirteen which they numbered. Four prisoners were taken; two men and two women. One of the men has been carried to Missilimakinak and eaten by the Hurons and Outawas; the other who was brought to Quebec, has been presented by the Count to Orehaoué.

Sieur d'Hosta returned to Montreal after the fight, and Sieur de Louvigny continued his journey without any mishap. You will learn, by and by, the result of this negotiation.

News was shortly after received through some volunteers who returned and the prisoners they took, of the expedition from Three Rivers commanded by Sieur d'Hertel.

He was accompanied by three of his sons, twenty-four Frenchmen, twenty Soccoquis Indians and five Algonquins, making in all fifty two men. They left Three Rivers on the twenty-eighth of January. After a long and most fatiguing journey he arrived on the twenty-seventh March near an English Village called Salmon falls,[1] which he resolved to attack after reconnoitering the place. He separated his party into three divisions in order to assault the three principal points. The first, composed of eleven men, was to attack a small stockaded fort of four bastions; the second, of fifteen, to capture a large fortified house, and himself with the balance was to attack another Fort which was supplied with a cannon. These three posts were carried without any great resistance. Those who made any resistance were killed, and the others were taken prisoners to the number of fifty-four. One Frenchman had his thigh broken in this attack and died the day following. Twenty-seven houses were burnt, and two thousand head of cattle perished in the stables. After this blow, scarcely any thing remained on the premises which were only six leagues distant from Pescadouet,[2] an English town, from which a considerable force could march against him. And, in fact, two Indians reported to M. d'Hertel, in the course of the night, that a body of two hundred men was coming to attack him. He made a stand on the bank of a small river[3] which the enemy, in order to reach him, was obliged to cross on a very narrow bridge. He laid four of them on the ground and wounded ten others, and forced them to leave him master of the field of battle. The son of M. Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis, and a Soccoquis were killed there; the Commander's oldest son was wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, which has lamed him. M. d'Hertel continued his retreat as rapidly as possible and three days after, having sent out some men to see if he were not pursued, they met some English scouts and

[1] Now, Berwick, New Hampshire. See note 2, III., 708.

[2] Portsmouth, N. H.

[3] Wooster river. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 207. — Ed.

killed three of them. He succeeded without any other adventure in retreating as far as the Village of the Indians where he left his son to have his wound attended to. He learned there that Sieur de Portneuf had not yet struck a blow, and had not been gone more than two days. This obliged him to send Sieur Gastineau his nephew, with some Frenchmen and prisoners to the Count here with the news of this expedition. Sieur Maugras went off likewise with five Algonquins and took the Saint Francis route. No intelligence has been received of him since. Sieur Hertel afterwards joined Sieur de Portneuf near Koskebée with thirty-six men, including French and Indians.

This officer had left Quebec on the 28th January with fifty Frenchmen and had as Lieutenant Sieur de Courtemanche, Repentigny his cousin. Sieur de Portneuf is the third son of Monsieur de Becancourt. He was to go and join Sieur de Menneval's Company of which he was lieutenant, and had served here in the same capacity. Sixty Abenaki Indians from the falls of the Chaudière accompanied him. They spent all the months of February, March, April and the half of May, in going with great difficulty, hunting on their way, to another Abenaki village, where they did not find any person. They pushed farther down the River Quinibequi and met, in another village, the Indians returning from the war against the English, six of whom had been killed. All our Indian allies in the neighborhood were called together and the party repaired on the 25th May to within four leagues of the place they were to attack. This post is called Koskebée, and is situate on the sea coast. It had a considerable fort[1] well supplied with ammunition and eight pieces of cannon, four other small forts stood adjacent to it but did not offer so good a resistance. Four Indians and two Frenchmen placed themselves immediately on the day following their arrival, in ambush near the fort; and a man having ventured out at day break and death cries being afterwards raised, the English became aware that some Indians were in their neighborhood. At noon, thirty men[2] issued from the principal fort, and came to the spot where our people lay who, after having discharged their guns at ten paces distance, rushed on them sword and hatchet in hand, and pursued them so hotly, that only four of them, all of whom were wounded, entered the fort again. As our men followed hot foot, they were exposed to the fire of one of the forts in the proximity of which they happened to find themselves. One Frenchman received a wound in the thigh, and an Indian was killed. At night the principal fort was summoned to surrender, but an answer was returned that they should defend themselves to the death.

The Count's order was, not to attack any fort, for fear of losing too many people; but to attend exclusively to laying waste the country. This order could not be executed, all the surrounding places having been abandoned in consequence of notice of the approach of this party having been given by a soldier who had been with M. Hertel and had been taken prisoner by the English. Under these circumstances it was unanimously resolved to attack the large fort in form, as it was impossible to capture it otherwise. The entire of the enemy had withdrawn into it and had abandoned the four smaller ones. Our people lay during the night of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, on the ocean within fifty paces of the fort under cover of a very bold bluff, whence they had no fear of the enemy's continual cannonadings and heavy fire of musketry. On the night of the twenty-eighth the trench *(traversée)* was opened. Our Canadians and Indians had not much experience in that mode of beseiging places. They did not fail to work right vigorously, and by good fortune found in the forts that had been

[1] Fort Loyal. It stood at the foot of King-street, in the present city of Portland, Maine. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, I., 208, *note*. — Ed.

[2] Under Lieutenant Thaddeus Clark. *Williamson.*

abandoned, some implements wherewith to remove the earth. This work advanced with such rapidity, that the enemy demanded a parley in the course of the night of the twenty-eighth. They were required to surrender their fort, stores and provisions, and quarter was promised their garrison. They asked, on their side, six days to consider these proposals. They were allowed only the night to make up their minds, and the work continued. Their fire redoubled on the next morning — they threw a quantity of grenades without much effect. On arriving by trenches at the pallisades, preparations were made to set these on fire by means of a barrel of tar that had also been discovered, and some combustibles. Seeing this machine approacning very near them, and not being able to prevent it, those who pushed it along being sheltered in the trench, they hoisted a white flag in order to capitulate. The commander surrendered himself shortly after to Sieur de Portneuf, and the entire garrison and those in the fort marched out to the number of seventy men, exclusive of women and children. They were all conducted to the camp. A moment afterwards four vessels, crowded with people, made their appearance but seeing no English flag flying they retired. The fort was fired, the guns spiked, the stores burnt and all the inmates made prisoners. The Indians retained the majority of them. Captain Davys, the Commander, and the two daughters of his lieutenant[1] who had been killed, were brought hither with some others. Our people decamped on the 1st of June after having set fire to all the houses they found within a circle of two leagues, all of which were unoccupied. They arrived here on the 23d of the same month — Saint John's eve. One Frenchman had his arm broken in the trench by a cannon ball, and an Indian received a wound in the thigh.

There was another expedition against the English, in canoes. Sieur de Beauvais, son of Sieur de Tilly, accompanied by Sieur de la Brosse, a reduced Captain, and four other Frenchmen, joined the Indians of the Sault, and of the Mountain who composed the party which was led by the Great Mohawk.

They marched from the eighteenth of May to the twenty-sixth of the same month, without meeting any one. Scouts whom they sent out in the morning informed them they had heard the report of a gun, and shortly after they attacked two wigwams in which they discovered fourteen persons whom they seized.

These prisoners told them that they would find the remainder of their party, amounting to thirty men with their women and children, on the path they were pursuing towards an English fort which they were desirous of attacking. They continued in that direction and were the first to fall into an ambush those people had prepared for them. They attacked it, sword in hand, and carried every thing before them, after having killed four men and two women. They made forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight English women *(Anglaises)*.

They did not think it prudent to go any farther, having learned that there were seven hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* a day and a half's journey off who were in wait for them; and they retraced their steps towards Montreal.

Being arrived at noon of the fourth of June at Salmon river which falls into Lake Champlain, they constructed some canoes there for their return, and whilst engaged at evening prayer, were discovered by a party of Algonquins and Abenakis of Three Rivers who were on a war excursion in the same direction whence they were coming, and who attacked them the next morning at sunrise and killed two of their men and wounded ten; two Frenchmen, six Indians and two of the English prisoners.

[1] Lieutenant Clark. *Supra*, p. 472.

This mistake was the more to be regretted as the Great Mohawk,[1] who has been mentioned in connection with the affair at Corlard, was killed there. This is an irreparable loss which has drawn tears from the eyes of the entire country. Misfortune, it seems, attached to this party. All those who were defeated and taken prisoners by our people, were our most faithful allies. They had just made a successful attack with Sieur Hertel on the English, as could be proved by their prisoners. But the Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain knew nothing of it. This accident might have caused trouble, but through the address which was used in allaying discontent, it passed over.

Advice was received at Quebec, at the same time, of the fight which took place at Point aux Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, with some Iroquois canoes, probably a portion of the hunters who had learned the defeat of their party by Sieurs de Louvigny and D'Hosta, and had come, with a view to be revenged, by the River des Prairies, a branch of the Grand river which runs North of the Island. They were discovered by a surgeon named Jallot, who gave notice of their approach to Sieur de Colombet, a reduced Captain, who put himself at the head of twenty-five settlers and lay in ambush for them. The enemy charged him manfully and were received as bravely, but as our people were much inferior in number to theirs, they were obliged to give way, after having lost twelve men among whom was Sieur Collombet. The enemy lost twenty-five men in this affair, and retreated also.

Some time previously a party had made its appearance at la Riviere Puante,[2] opposite Three Rivers, and carried off fifteen or sixteen persons, Women and Children. They were followed, and as the pursuit was rather hot, they killed their prisoners so as to be able to escape more rapidly.

The Count had detached two parties of Regulars for the protection of the settlements on the south side of the River which were the most exposed. The 1st was commanded by Chevalier de Clermont, a half-pay Captain, who was to keep up a constant scout between Montreal and Sorel, a distance of about eighteen leagues.

The other which was commanded by Chevalier de la Motte, also a reduced Captain, was to patrol from Three Rivers to Saint Francis on Lake Saint Peter and come down in the direction of Quebec.

Chevalier de Clermont, on arriving at Sorel, learned that five or six children who were herding cattle in the vicinity of the fort, had just been carried off by a party of the enemy. He followed in pursuit with the best of his men and some settlers who joined him, speedily overtook the enemy and killed one on the spot, recovered four of the children, and put the rest of the party to flight. Four other men belonging to the same party have since been found killed; among these was an Englishman whose commission as magistrate of Orange has been taken and sent to My Lord. They killed the fifth child who was the youngest, as it was unable to follow them.

By the return of M. de Portneuf, news was received that some vessels coming from Boston had appeared off the coast where he had been engaged with his expedition. They were steering towards Port Royal which is the principal French fort in Acadia. This news was confirmed in the course of July, when the particulars were received of the surrender of that place. M. de Menneval was the King's commander, and governor of that Country. He had a garrison of between sixty and eighty men; eighteen pieces of cannon not mounted *(point en batterie)*, and the fortifications were so trifling that they in no wise protected the place.

[1] This Chief, who was known among the English by the name of Kryn, removed from Caughnawaga, on the Mohawk river to the Indian village of Laprairie, in Canada, about the year 1674. *Shea.*

[2] River Becancourt. — Ed.

Seven ships, which appeared pretty well armed, having a force on board exceeding 700 men summoned him to surrender. He accepted a tolerably advantageous capitulation, as he did not consider himself in a condition to resist. He was promised permission to march out with his garrison, arms and baggage, and to be conveyed to Quebec. He surrendered on the word of General Phips. But when the English became masters of the fort, they did not consider themselves any longer bound to observe any promises. The governor and all his garrison, along with the Reverend Mess^rs^ Petit[1] and Trouvé, missionaries in that country, were made prisoners. The Governor's and the Priests' residences and the Company's store were plundered; the Church, according to their goodly custom, was desecrated by divers ribaldries and infamous actions, and everything it possessed in the shape of ornaments was carried off. They left a sergeant of the garrison to command, under them, the colonists who had signed the Convention, to whom they permitted the free enjoyment of their properties on submitting to King William. They hoisted the English flag, which, on the arrival of M. Perrot, has since been removed by the settlers; the houses of the latter have consequently been burnt, and some of themselves hanged by other English pirates who came to the same place.

Monsieur de Menneval, his garrison and the Priests have been conveyed to Boston, where they still for the most part remain.

M. Perrot was absent from Port Royal at the time of its capture. He arrived there almost at the same time as his ship which came from France with M. de Villebon, who was in command of a company at Acadia, and steered his vessel towards the River Saint John in order to be able to unload her without anxiety. But some English pirates having had notice of the circumstance attacked him and he was constrained to escape on shore with Sieur de Villebon. No one of consequence remained, with the exception of Sieur de Saccardie, an Engineer, who went to that country in order to fortify Port Royal and was taken with the ship. M. Perrot having concealed himself sometime in the woods, was discovered one day whilst taking some rest, and made prisoner. He was subjected to a thousand indignities; but was fortunate enough, as we are informed, to have been overtaken by a French privateer who recaptured his ship and also took the English pirates by whom he had been seized. Several other occurrences took place between the French of Acadia and our Indians, and the English who summoned the settlers of the River St. John to sign the Convention which those of Port Royal had accepted, but they were ill received, and retired with some loss. Our Cannibas[2] and Abenakis[3] Indians have not ceased making war on them since M. de Port-Neuf's

[1] Rev. Louis Petit, of the Quebec Seminary, was born at Rouen in 1629, and admitted to Holy orders at Quebec on the 21st December, 1670. In 1672 he was appointed Chaplain of the Fort at Sorel, and returned to Quebec in 1673. He went back to Sorel the same year, and finally left it in 1676. He was sent to Acadia in 1677 and fixed his residence at Port Royal, where he was taken prisoner by Phips, on 25th May, 1690, and carried to Boston. He returned to Port Royal in the course of the same year, and retired from Acadia in July, 1700; remained at the Seminary of Quebec until 22d December, 1702, when he was appointed to the Parish of Ancient Lorette. He resigned that charge on account of his infirmities in 1705, and died in the Quebec Seminary on the 3d June, 1709, aged 80 years. *Rev. E. A. Taschereau's Memoir on the Missions at Acadia dependent on the Seminary of Quebec.* — Ed.

[2] The Canibas were a tribe of Abenaquis on the Kennebec river, and consisted of two or three villages. The territories they claimed extended from the sources of the Kennebec to Merry-meeting bay and the islands on the eastern side of the Sagadahock, probably to the sea. They are called by modern English writers, Norridgewocks, from their famous village. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 466, 467.

[3] The Abenakis formed one of the two great families into which the Aborigines of Maine were divided, and consisted of four tribes; the Sokokis, or Saco Indians; the Anasagunticooks, or those of the Androscoggin; the Canibas, or Kennebecks, and the Wawenocks, called Pemaquid and, sometimes Sheepscot, Indians. They originally inhabited the country between Mount Agamenticus (now York) and St. George's river, both inclusive; and eventually removed for the most part to Canada, where they are now known as the St. Francis Indians. *Williamson*, I., 463–469. — Ed.

departure; they have been burning them out as far as the vicinity of Boston; accompanied by some French, they have defeated them in divers considerable rencounters, and however feeble they might be against very strong parties, have always remained masters of the field of battle. The son of Sieur de Bellefonds, a gentleman much attached to the Count, who had performed wonders with Sieur de Portneuf's detachment and remained with the Indians in order to go out again with a war party, has, after numerous brave actions, been unfortunately killed with six Indians in a fight in which 40 Abenaquis contended against six hundred men; their small number did not prevent them routing their enemies, and killing a number of them.

As I am on the subject of the Abenakis, I shall submit to you, Madam, an extract of a letter they have addressed to the Count with a belt requesting him to cause the prisoners taken by the Indians of the Sault to be restored to them; namely, those of whom I spoke to you in Sieur de Beauvais' expedition. These are their words:—

"Father, suffer me to interrupt you for a moment with a recital of my troubles. To whom can a child disburden his heart if not to his father? You are aware what has happened to my brother, the Praying Iroquois (Thus they designate the Iroquois our allies, who have become baptized.) He mistook for enemies my relatives and some even of those who a short time before, had accompanied the French whom you sent against the English. He still retains them prisoners. This is what troubles me. I have just told him that, considering that accident as a pure mistake, I did not in truth feel unfriendly on account of it, but I did hope that on discovering, he would disavow, his error, and restore my relatives to me. Father, this Belt presented to you is to request you to confirm my word with your voice, or rather to draw from your heart, full of wisdom, words more effectual than mine to persuade them to restore us our relatives, who will come to dwell with us here if you think proper. If they refuse to restore them to us, I apprehend that my Brother at Acadia will take it ill and become disaffected in consequence, whereas I am sure he will listen to me, however bad the thoughts that might be engendered, if they be restored."

Here is also the Belt they addressed to the Iroquois:—

"Brother Praying Iroquois—for such is the name we call you since Prayer and Obedience to Onnontio, our common Father, have happily reunited us. I am about to visit you by this Belt, in order to tell you that those whom you still retain prisoners are my relatives, and to request you to restore them to me. Do not suppose that I have become ill affected on account of what has happened them. People often kill one another without distinguishing one from the other. These are some of the misfortunes attendant on war, and which it is impossible to avoid. But you would have an ill disposed heart, if after having mistaken my relatives, your allies, for enemies, after having carried them prisoners to your village, you would persist in detaining them when you are aware of your error. I measure your heart by mine own; if what happened to you befell me, and I had taken your relatives prisoners, I had no sooner perceived my mistake, than I should liberate them and restore them to you. Brother. Do not imagine, that I deceive you when I tell you, they are my relatives. The French can testify to the fact, because some of those whom you killed or captured did, as well as we, accompany them against the English, and that but a few days before the occurrence of that accident. I say nothing of the loss suffered by you of one of your warriors, (The Great Mohawk) though I feel it most sensibly. I am busy bewailing him and two of my warriors whom I also have lost in this melancholy rencounter. Brother Praying Iroquois! Let us weep for the Brave who are Dead, without allowing their deaths to upset our minds and estrange our hearts which Prayer and Friendship so long unite."

On receipt of this message the Iroquois of the Sault restored the principal Chiefs and some Squaws. They have promised to restore the others when they will see them all disposed to join their brethren who are settled here at the Falls of the Chaudière,[1] within two leagues of Quebec.

Dependent on Acadia was another fort called Chedabouctou[2] commanded by Sieur de Montorgueil with a dozen soldiers. The English proceeded to attack it after the capture of Port Royal; landed eighty men, and sent three times to demand its surrender. But their summons was not heeded. They afterwards assaulted it and were so well received that they found themselves under the necessity of retiring. Again they caused it to be summoned, but in vain. Finally, having discovered in an old store detached from the fort, some wet powder they made fuses of it, by means of which they set fire to one end of the building which was thatched. The flames soon communicated to the rest of the house, and Sieur de Montorgueil found himself, after two other summons, under the necessity of capitulating, but evincing, at the same time, so much bravery and such determination to bury himself in the ashes of his fort, if they refused him favorable terms, that he and his garrison and a Nazareth Friar[3] who served him as Missionary were allowed to depart with the honors of war—drums beating and match lighting—and to be conveyed to Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland. The fort was entirely burnt, but no harm was done to the settlers.

Isle Percée, consisting of a few houses situate at the entrance of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, has also been plundered this summer by some English pirates. That place is the rendezvous for a few vessels which come there to fish for Cod. It contained only seven or eight settlers with a Franciscan convent and a few friars; six vessels were at anchor there and fishing with their boats, which were all taken without any resistance. The Captains and the major part of the crews escaped into the woods along with the settlers, and finally got to Quebec in Biscayan long boats.[4] The houses have been burnt and the Recollect church desecrated. Some of those who escaped returned hence to see if the enemy had left any thing, but they have been attacked by the English army which was on its way to besiege us. They abandoned their vessel and escaped.

These are the most important occurrences in Canada that I have to entertain you with, Madam. I proceed now to detail to you what has happened in Canada since the beginning of summer.

The Count's departure for Montreal was delayed by the desire he felt to see completed the fortifications he was engaged in having constructed for the security of Quebec. He had the palisades necessary to inclose it, cut and brought in during the winter. After the snow had disappeared, he began a strong stone redoubt to serve as a bastion. They communicated one with the other by means of a stockaded curtain ten feet high, terraced with good sods on the inside, almost to a man's height. The exigency of the case and the want of money prevented the construction of more solid works. However, the English who threatened to swallow us up with their formidable armament, have never dared to approach these palisades, although they had artillery on shore. That work having been completed and the Burgesses' Companies arranged for the guard of their town, the Count with the Intendant and his lady

[1] The Chaudière river rises, under the name of the river Arnold, in the height of land dividing the N. W. corner of Maine from Canada, and after contributing to form Lake Megantic, flows northerly to within two leagues of Quebec, where it forms a considerable and picturesque fall, and afterwards discharges itself into the River St. Lawrence.

[2] Now Milford Haven, in the Southeast of Nova Scotia. — Ed.

[3] *Religieux du Nazareth* are properly Penitents of the third Order of St. Francis of the strict observance, or Recollects, founded by the Rev. Vincent Mussart in 1594, and also known as Fathers of Picpus; that and Nazareth were the names of two of their Convents in Paris. *Helyot. Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.*

[4] *Biscaïenne;* a row boat with sharp bow and stern, of various sizes, the largest having two masts. *Dictionaire National.*

took his departure on the 22d of July. He arrived at Montreal on the 31st of the same month. He was long and impatiently expected there. Nothing new occurred since the engagement in which M. de Collombet had been killed. Indians were out from time to time in the direction of the English, for the purpose of taking prisoners. One among the rest brought in a person he had captured at the gate of Orange. Scouts were kept constantly above the Island, on the avenues by which the enemy could come down.

Hostile parties, not exceeding two or three men, found means, however, to glide in and kill a soldier at la Chine. A farmer was also killed, or carried off, at River des Prairies.

We had only two alarms up to the eighteenth of August, on which day we experienced a very serious one. Captain de La Chassaigne, commanding at la Chine, sent a letter in great haste to the Count, from which it appeared that one hundred Indian canoes were coming down within two leagues of his fort. Orders had already been issued to fire alarm guns to notify every one to retire from the country; but this terror was soon turned into joy, when news was brought by Sieur de L'Ille Tilly, who had outstripped the others, that it was five hundred Indians of various tribes who were coming from Missilimakinak to Montreal to trade.

He was accompanied in his canoe by four of the principal Chiefs, Outawas and Hurons.

All the other canoes which had reached la Chine arrived the next day. They did not address the Count until 22d in solemn Council which was attended by every person of note, both among the French and the Indians.

So great a number had not come down since the Count had left this country, and their voyage was the result of the negotiation of Sieurs de Louvigny and Perrot from whom they received the presents the King had sent them; they were very glad to see again a Father whom they had formerly loved so much.

The speech of the Outawas was confined almost entirely to trade. They repeatedly demanded to be furnished at a low rate with the articles they were desirous of buying. A promise to that effect was given them.

They likewise demanded an explanation of the hatchet Perrot had hung up in their cabin. An answer to that was postponed to another time.

The Baron, Chief of the Hurons, spoke much more modestly. He said that he came down to see his father, to listen to his voice and do his will; that he needed powder and lead, but did not ask his father for any thing. He presented three Belts. By the first he exhorted the prosecution of the war against the Iroquois as well as against the English. He said that he feared his Father and he would die, if this war were not waged. But whatever would happen, they must die together and on the same spot.

The second thanked the Count for having formerly drawn them to Missilimakinak where they were in safety.

The third prayed him to take pity on their comrades, the Outawas, and to give them good bargains.

Souabouchie, chief of the Nipissiriniens, an Algonquin Tribe, said, that, agreeably to the orders he had received from his father, he had been at the attack on Corlard; (He gallantly performed his duty there as well as with Sieur d'Hosta); that they had on that occasion spared the Mohawks, who nevertheless came even to the gates of Montreal to kill them; that afterwards going up to Missilimakinak, he had also received orders not to attack any Iroquois should he meet them; that he was not the first who concluded from these things, that his Father was desirous to make peace with them, and that he inquired his pleasure.

The first meeting passed off in this way, and trade did not commence until the next day. As it was about to begin, La Plaque, an Iroquois of the Sault,[1] who was returning from a scouting party in the direction of the English, came within a quarter of a league of the camp of the Outawas, repeating Death cries after their manner. The Outawas quitted their peltries, and seized their arms in order to sally forth, believing the enemy were at hand. But they soon returned to continue their trade.

This Indian reported that on his way towards Orange he had discovered a large hostile army on the borders of Lake Saint Sacrament, constructing canoes; that he had followed them for some days endeavoring to secure a prisoner, but that it was impossible; finally that he had suspended three tomahawks within sight of their cabins, indicating to them that they were discovered, and that he defied them to come to Montreal. These tomahawks are a species of club on which they carve figures and in that way manifest their wishes.

Precautionary measures were adopted on receiving this notice, which afforded a pretext for inducing the Outawas to remain longer among us.

On the twenty-fifth, they were entertained at a Grand Feast consisting of two oxen, six large dogs, two barrels of wine, some prunes, and tobacco to smoke.

The Count told them he had no doubt of their obedience, and required not a new confirmation of it from them; that he would undisguisedly explain his sentiments to them when they were ready to return to their country; that he demanded from them the same frankness; as regards the war against the Iroquois which they appeared so anxious for, that he intended to prosecute it unremittingly until that Nation came, themselves, to sue humbly for peace; in which, when it was made, they should be included, being as much his children as the French; that the occasion presented itself to avenge themselves; they were aware of the tidings he received that a powerful army was coming to ravage his country; that all that was necessary to conclude was, as to the mode of proceeding; whether to go and meet this army, or to wait for it with a firm foot; that he put into their hands the hatchet which had been formerly given them, and had since been kept suspended for them, and he doubted not they would make good use of it. He began, the first, with his interpreter, to sing the War song, hatchet in hand; the Chiefs, the principal Indians and some Frenchmen chanted it likewise; the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain, the Hurons, the Nipisseriens, and such of the Indians from below as were present, appeared the most disposed to execute what was demanded of them.

To the song succeeded the feast, but it was rather a pillage than a repast, and they afterwards retired.

Chevalier de Clermont had received orders from the Count when going up to Montreal, to deviate from his ordinary course, and to proceed on a scout along the river Chambly as far as Lake Champlain, which is the route the enemy proposed to pursue in coming to attack this country. About the same time that La Plaque returned to Montreal, he discovered a number of fires and heard the report of some shots, up the Lake. He went to the place, and during the night saw eight of the enemy's canoes passing, in each of which were from eighteen to twenty men, who repaired to an island below the place where he lay in ambush. They were, doubtless, followed by others, and as he was afraid of being surrounded, and as his party, which consisted only of thirty men, could not resist so large a force, he retired under cover of the darkness, and encamped a league below the enemy. He watched them for two days

[1] Nephew of the Great Mohawk. Supra, p. 474.

successively; finally, as he feared an attack, he sent two of his canoes down the Chambly rapid, and with the third remained behind to be certain of every thing. He kept in the centre of the river to attract the enemy, two of whose canoes pursued, but could not overtake him; he found his men at the foot of the rapid, and proceeded by land with them to fort Chambly, whence he dispatched an officer named Sieur de la Bruère, who arrived at Montreal on Tuesday the 29th of August, at eleven o'clock at night.

This intelligence caused the Count to order the four guns to be fired as a signal to the troops, who were dispersed throughout all the settlements for the purpose of assisting the farmers to save their harvest. The nearest companies arrived in the morning with the settlers who were to accompany them; the others came in, one after the other, in the course of the day, and some of them left the same day for La Prairie de la Madelaine, two leagues above Montreal on the opposite bank of the river, which was the direction it was supposed the enemy intended to take.

The Indians were invited to join us, and some refreshments were given them in order to encourage them. They promised to send thither all their warriors and young men, the greater portion of whom started the same time as the Count, on Thursday afternoon.

At night a scouting party was sent out, consisting of two Frenchmen and two Indians of each tribe, making ten men in all. Friday morning, the first of September, the review came off, and this little army was found to be twelve hundred strong.

In the afternoon, some Iroquois of the Sault invited the chiefs of the other Tribes to visit the Count, when something of importance would be communicated to them.

Louis Atériata was the Orator. He offered several Belts and exhorted every one to open his heart to the Count, as they had promised, and not to conceal from him any, even the most secret, transaction.

He told the Outawas that he was aware of all their negotiation with our enemies; that he was informed of it by themselves. If they were indeed brethren, let them explain, then, why they wished to treat with the Iroquois, independent of the French.

One of the Outawas, who had accompanied *La Petite Racine* the head of the embassy to the Senecas, answered — It was true they had restored some Iroquois prisoners, and promised to give up some more; that they had been forced to declare war; to cease and renew hostilities without having been advised of the reason; that such conduct was wholly unintelligible to them, but that fearing lest Onontio (i. e. M. de Denonville) who was unable to defend himself, should allow them to be crushed without affording them any assistance, they had been constrained to look, themselves, to their own safety, and by an arrangement prevent their ruin.

That this negotiation had not been concluded; that *La Petite Racine* had died at the Senecas; that the other messengers were at Missilimakinak, and had laid aside all idea of bringing this affair to a close, when they received their father's orders by the mouth of Perrot; that they had come down with a view to learn his will, and would no sooner have returned home than they would put all his orders into execution.

The Baron, a Huron chief, said: His Tribe did not participate in that affair; that as soon as he knew his father wished to wage war against the Iroquois, he sent one portion of his young men against them and had come, with the other, to see him.

The Count was very glad that Louis Ateriata had furnished him with an opportunity to learn the true sentiments of all the Indians. He promised to lead them against the enemy as soon as his scouts had returned; or to send them home as they requested.

They, then, went to their camp where their young men commenced a War dance which continued until night.

On Saturday at nine o'clock in the morning, the scouts returned. They had been as far as Chambly only, although they had promised to go farther. Reliance was placed on their report and representation that they had not seen any trails, and as it was of the greatest importance to finish the harvest, every one was dismissed home on the very same day. The Count returned to Montreal in the evening.

This negligence on the part of the Indians, who were too anxious to return home, was the cause of a small, and the only check we received this year from the Iroquois.

On the Monday after we left La Prairie de la Madelaine, the enemy, who no doubt had seen us and watched our movements, made an attack, a quarter of a league from the village at a place called La Fourche, where all the farmers and the garrison of the fort were engaged cutting the grain. This was the former site of the Village, the fort and La Prairie having been founded only as a more convenient place for defence; all the reapers were at a considerable distance one from the other, contrary to the orders they had received from the Count, and had no arms wherewith to defend themselves. The Officer in command of the garrison, had neglected to station sentinels and a guard who could give an alarm in case of attack. The enemy therefore encountered less difficulty than they would otherwise have met, had things been in a proper condition. Eleven farmers, three women, one girl and ten soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners. Little resistance was offered; six Iroquois, however, were killed on the occasion. They had time to set fire to all the houses and to some stacks of hay, and to kill some horned cattle before any reinforcement arrrived from Montreal; after which they regained the forest.[1]

On the same day, 4th September, a meeting was held with the Outawas who were expressing a strong desire to depart. The Count told them they ought to be satisfied with the cheap bargains they had had, and if notice of their intended arrival had been given, they would have had still cheaper; that the canoes and provisions which they were selling the French who were going to their country, were not any cheaper than the goods they received in return.[2]

That as regards the war, he endorsed all that Nicholas Perrot had stated to them; and he again presented them with hatchets, as well for themselves as for their allies; that he believed, by engaging them to make war, he was giving them life, thereby guaranteeing them against death at the hands of the Iroquois which they could not otherwise escape.

To what the Hurons had said, he answered — That he was very glad to see them so well disposed to listen to the voice of their Father who will never abandon them, and who assures them that he will never lay down the hatchet until he shall have humbled the Iroquois, and forced them to sue for peace, in which they shall all be included as well as the French; that he exhorts them to harrass the enemy on their side as he will do on his, until an opportunity be found to attack them in their villages; previous to which they will receive news from him; that they knew what he had done to the English, and that he proposed continuing his operations; that if the English had been attacked rather than the Iroquois, it was because he regarded them as the instigators of the Iroquois revolt, and wished to punish them accordingly; that the Mohawks had been spared in the affair at Corlard, because Orehaoué had advised them of his return, and it was expected that on hearing it, they would again become dutiful

[1] The English account of this fight will be found in Documentary History of New-York, 8vo. II., 287. — Ed.

[2] Que les canots et les vivres qu'ils vendaient aux Français qui allaient chez eux n'etaient pas moins chers que les marchandises qu'ils en recevaient. *Text.*

and sue for peace; but as they had made no overture, orders had been issued to spare them no longer; that they saw clearly, he opened his heart to them; let them decide what they had to do on their part.

They were then dismissed, and presents were made to all the Chiefs and principal men. The Count entertained them frequently at his table pending their sojourn at Montreal.

Three Indians made their appearance a few days after at the Fort of Chateauguay which was commanded by Sieur Desmarais, a reduced Captain. He had stepped out before they were discovered and was walking with a soldier and his servant. As he was somewhat ahead of these, he could not regain the fort where they were crying To arms! He was overtaken by the Indians who knocked him on the head with their hatchets but had not time to cut it off; they took away only three of his fingers. Nothing of moment occurred at Montreal since that time. Some alarms were given but they turned out to be false. Some of our Indians have gone to attack the Iroquois and have not yet returned.

On the 22nd September a servant of Sieur Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis on Lake Saint Peter, being in the woods, discovered some of the enemy, and came in haste to communicate the intelligence to the Fort. M. De La Mothe, a reduced Captain, who had his detachment in that vicinity, arrived there about two o'clock in the afternoon. He wished at first to attack the enemy, and did in fact leave shortly after, accompanied by Sieur de Murat lieutenant to Sieur de Galiffet who commanded the fort. They had thirty-four men with them and discovered the enemy in their huts, who were not expecting them and were put to rout by the first charge which was a vigorous one; but the fugitives formed a junction with those in two other cabins which had not been attacked, and returning in great numbers and together, found our people divided and easily made them retreat in their turn. No more than half of them escaped. Sieur de la Motte was killed on the occasion and nothing has been heard of Sieur de Murat. Such is the account, Madam, of the last brush we have had with the Iroquois.

The Count was preparing to return to Quebec; winter quarters had already been designated for each of the companies; he was waiting only for Sieur de la Durantaye and some other Frenchmen who were coming down from Missilimakinac. They arrived about the first of October to the number of fifty-five canoes loaded with beaver.

Ouabouchie, Chief of the Upper Algonquins, whom I have already mentioned, had left the Outawas and came down again with their party to act as their scout. For the purpose of escorting him beyond danger on his return, he was allowed a detachment of thirty men who were to convey him fifty leagues beyond Montreal. They returned without meeting anything.

Sieurs de Mantet, de Perigny his brother, St Pierre de Repentigny and de Montesson, with the two sons of M. de la Vallière, Captain of the Count's guards, went, also accompanied by fifty men, in the direction of Fort Frontenac, to try to take some prisoners from whom they might receive some intelligence of Chevalier d'Eau and of the enemy's plans. They have been as far as the fort, without meeting any one; they found only six trifling breaches in it although it was supposed entirely ruined. There is little appearance of the Iroquois having been there since spring, as the grass is every where extremely high. They arrived here two days after the departure of the English.

That of the Count for Quebec was fixed for Tuesday the tenth of October. As he was about to embark with the Intendant and Lady, a canoe, sent expressly by M. Prevost, Major of Quebec, arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon. It made extraordinary dispatch having left only on the seventh and brought two letters from him.

The first letter was dated the fifth, and he sent copy of the report brought by one of the principal Indians of Acadia of the Abenaki tribe, who was deputed expressly by his Chiefs.

"I come without loss of time to advise thee, that I have learned from an English woman of respectability whom we captured at the taking of Pescadouet,[1] that thirty ships, three of which are very large, are leaving in order to take Quebec; that these vessels are from Boston and four considerable towns; that the English boast they will reduce Quebec as easily as they have taken Port Royal. On learning this news the chiefs and principal men have deemed it necessary to send word to the Great Captain of Quebec. I have been twelve days coming; therefore it must be six weeks since this fleet sailed."

The second message was to request the Great Captain of Quebec that he cause the Praying Iroquois to restore their people whom they took on the supposition that they were attacking Indians entirely in the English interest.

The third, that they had sent this Sachem to tell the Great Captain of the French that their principal chiefs could not come this fall to speak with him as they had promised, because they are still actually at war; they will endeavor to send some one towards the end of next winter; that they will make a sudden irruption on the English after Christmas, when they expect them all to be returned home.

The other letter of the seventh stated that Sieur de Cananville had, on his way back from Tadoussac, and whilst stopping to ascertain if he did not perceive some French ships, had seen four, eight[2] of which had appeared to him very large.

M. Prevost, on this intelligence, dispatched his brother-in-law Sieur de Granville, a reduced lieutenant, with a well armed *biscaïenne*[3] and canoe towards Tadoussac to obtain intelligence.

We started shortly after the receipt of this news, without, however, attaching much credit to it.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, whilst opposite S^{t} Ours, fifteen leagues from Montreal, the Count received additional intelligence from M. Prevost confirming the first. He had learned from three men who had made their escape, that the vessel which the Misses La Lande and Jolliet were on board of, had been captured thirty leagues below Quebec, by an English fleet of thirty-three vessels; that the enemy might be about the Isle aux Coudres, twelve leagues off.

This last confirmation obliged the Count to dispatch Captain de Ramsay to inform M. de Callières thereof, and to order down the troops and a portion of the militia. He slept that night at Sorel.

Thursday. The wind being favorable, he arrived at noon at Three Rivers where he issued orders to send every body down. He was obliged to sleep in the sloop *(galliote)* at Grondines, fifteen leagues below, as the night and bad weather prevented his going ashore.

On Friday, he could only reach Point aux Trembles, where he arrived at noon. The rain and storm detained him there the remainder of the day.

Saturday, 14th. He left in a canoe and arrived at noon at Quebec where, as you may well imagine, Madam, he was received with great joy. The citizens seemed to have no more fear, now that they possessed their governor; and although he brought along with him only two

[1] Piscataqua, New Hampshire.

[2] *Sic.* The numbers, ought, doubtless, to be transposed. — Ed.

[3] For an explanation of this term see note 4, *supra*, p. 477.

@ three hundred men, they openly declared that they waited unflinchingly for the English who could come whenever they pleased.

On his arrival he inspected all the posts; found every thing in perfect good order, and was surprised at the diligence with which the Major had, within six days and with very little help, constructed retrenchments at unprotected points, and batteries which, one would have supposed, had been begun two months before.

Sieur Le Moyne de Longueil had already gone with some Hurons and Abenaquis to examine the enemy's movements; the settlements of Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans and Point Levy were perfectly well provided, and should the enemy approach them, the settlers had promised to make a good resistance, which they did effectually.

The other settlers around Quebec who were even protected by the town had flocked into it; streams of them were arriving every moment, and it appeared that every one would fain participate in an action which each hoped would terminate gloriously for Canada.

Sunday morning the 15th 8ber. M. de Vaudreuil, Colonel of the Regular Troops, left with a hundred men to meet and attack the enemy, should they land; he was, also, to keep them constantly in sight, and give notice of the moment of their arrival.

The Count dispatched at the same time two canoes which were to go along each side of the river, to meet our vessels and advise them of what was going on.

He caused the erection of a battery of eight guns to be begun the same morning on the height, to the right of the fort; it was completed next morning at day break.

Though I am no Engineer, I shall give you Madam, a brief description of Quebec, which will not be perhaps entirely technical, but you will excuse my imperfect ability in this regard.

You know that the River, at that point, forms a large basin; it flows down in a single stream and divides at the Island of Orleans, two leagues below, into two arms, one of which passes to the North between that Island and Côte de Beaupré, and the other to the South, between the same Island and Point Levy. Thus is formed that large basin, on the Beauport side of which the enemy's fleet came to an anchor. The falls of Montmorency, the most beautiful sheet of water in the world, separates Côte de Beaupré from Beauport which is only a league from Quebec. There is a Little river[1] between these two last mentioned places, fordable at low water.

Quebec is situate a little above Point Levy, on the opposite shore. It is divided into an Upper and a Lower Town. The only communication between these is by a very steep street.[2] The Churches and all the Convents are in the Upper Town. The fort is on the crest *(croupe)* of the Mountain *(Montagne)* and commands the Lower town, where the handsomest houses are located and all the Merchants reside.

The Palace in which the Intendant lives is almost wholly detached from the other parts of the town. It lies to the left, on the shore of the Little river, and at the base of the hill.

The fortifications the Count caused to be erected, began at that point, ascended towards the Upper town which they inclosed, and terminated on the fort side at the pitch of the Mountain, at the place called Cape Diamond.

A palisade was continued along the beach near the Palace, and ran under the Hospital as far as the fence of the Seminary where it was lost in inaccessible rocks. Above was another palisade that terminated at the same place, which is called Sault au Matelot, where a battery of three guns was erected.

[1] The River St. Charles.

[2] Mountain-street. — Ed.

The other upper battery, already mentioned, stood to the right. There were two in the lower town of three eighteen pounders each, both of which were located in the interval between those above.

The entrances where there were no gates, were barricaded with heavy beams and hogsheads filled with earth, and mounted with pedereros.

The street leading from the Upper to the Lower Town was intersected by three distinct barricades *(retranchements)* formed of barrels and bags of earth. Another battery has been erected, since the attack, at the Sault au Matelot a little further to the right than the former one. Still another has been constructed at the gate leading to the Little river.[1]

Some small cannon were ranged around the Upper town, particularly on the Windmill hill[2] which served as a Cavalier.

Such, Madam, was the disposition of the town on the arrival of the English. But we placed more reliance on our good cause and the resolution each had seemingly formed to perform his duty well, than on such feeble fortifications.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, news arrived that the enemy's fleet had weighed anchor and passed the point at the lower end of the Island of Orleans. Another message stated that they had anchored three leagues from Quebec.

Monday 16th October. M. de Vaudreuil returned about three o'clock in the morning, and the ships' lights were perceptible shortly after. At day break, the entire fleet was discovered, numbering thirty-four sail, four only of which were first class ships; four others were smaller, and the remainder consisted of ketches, barks, brigantines or flyboats. The small craft ranged themselves along the Cote de Beauport, and the large ones kept farther out in the offing.

At ten o'clock a boat carrying a flag of truce at the bow, left the Admiral's ship and made toward the shore. Four canoes carrying a similar flag, went out to meet it; they met about midway. On board the boat was a trumpeter who accompanied the General's messenger. The latter was placed alone in a canoe; his eyes were bandaged and he was conducted to the Count's quarters. The following is a copy of the letter he presented:

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majesties Forces of New England, by Sea and Land;

To Count Frontenac Lieutenant General and Governour for the French King at Canada; or in his absence, to his Deputy, or Him or Them, in Chief Command at Quebec.

The War between the two Crowns of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the Destruction made by the French and Indians under your command and encouragement, upon the Persons and Estates of their Majesties Subjects of New England, without any provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition, for their own security and satisfaction.

And although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and Indians might, upon the present opportunity, prompt unto a severe Revenge, yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchristian like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

[1] Now called Palace Gate.

[2] The "butte du Moulin" mentioned in the text was a hill or elevation, originally called Mount Carmel, situate behind Saint Louis-street. It was the site of a Windmill. *Letter of G. B. Faribault, Esq., Quebec.*

I the aforesaid Sir William Phips, Knight, do hereby in the Name, and on the Behalf of Their Most Excellent Majesties William and Mary, King and Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their Majesties Government of Massachuset Colony in New England, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King's and other Stores, unembezzled, with a seasonable Delivery of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your persons and Estates to my Dispose; Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a Christian; according to what shall be found for their Majesties Service, and the Subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am come provided, and am Resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all wrongs and Injuries Offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of England; and when too late, make you wish you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

Your answer positive in an Hour, returned by your own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Required, upon the Peril that will Ensue.

(Signed) WILLIAM PHIPS.

After this letter, which was in English, was interpreted, the Messenger pulled out of his fob a watch which he presented to the Count who took it and, pretending not to see distinctly what hour it was, the Messenger came forward to inform him that it was ten o'clock, and required him to send him back, with his answer, at eleven o'clock precisely. "I will not keep "you waiting so long," replied the Count. "Tell your General I do not recognize King "William, and that the Prince of Orange is an Usurper who has violated the most sacred ties "of blood in wishing to dethrone his father in law; that I recognize no other Sovereign in "England than King James; that your General ought not to be surprised at the hostilities he "says are carried on by the French against the Massachusetts Colony, since he must expect "that the King, my Master, having received the King of England under his protection, and "being ready to replace him on his Throne by the force of his arms, as I am informed, would "order me to wage war in this country, on a people who would rebel against their lawful "Sovereign."—And pointing to a number of Officers with whom his room was filled, he said to him, smiling, "Does your General imagine, even if he offered me better conditions, "and that I were of a temper to accept them, that so many gallant gentlemen would consent "to it, and advise me to place any confidence in the word of a man who has violated the "Capitulation he had made with the Governor of Port Royal; who has been wanting in loyalty "to his lawful King, forgetful of all the benefits he has received from him, in order to adhere to "the fortunes of a Prince who, whilst he endeavors to persuade the world that he would be the "Liberator of England and Defender of the Faith, tramples on the laws and privileges of "the Kingdom, and overturns the English Church. This is what Divine Justice, which your "General invokes in his letter, will not fail some day to punish severely."

This speech having greatly astonished and alarmed the Messenger, he asked the Count if he would not give him an answer in writing? "No," replied he; "the only answer I can give "your General will be from the mouth of my cannon and musketry, that he may learn it is "not in such a style that a person of my rank is summoned. Let him do his best as I will "do mine!"

On this reply being rendered, the messenger's eyes were again bandaged, and he was conducted back to his boat.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, some of the enemy's boats went in pursuit of Sieur de Longueil who was passing along the fleet on his return with his Indians, in company with

Sieur de Maricourt, his brother, who was coming from Hudson's bay in the ship commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, the latter having been fortunately advised sufficiently in season to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. Mons^{r} de Longueil, however, gained the shore and received them with a sharp volley of musketry. The boats were forced to return to their ships, and on their way were saluted also by the people of Beauport, who were on the beach.

Tuesday, a bark crowded with men proceeded from the Point Levi side to between Beauport and the Little River: a pretty considerable skirmish occurred there after she grounded, and she would have been boarded were it not that the people would have to go up to their waists in the water to reach her.

Wednesday 18th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, almost all the boats were seen making towards the same point where this bark grounded the evening before. As it was uncertain where the enemy would land, there was but a small force at that place. The major portion of the Montreal and Three Rivers Militia, and those who were considered the most alert, were dispatched thither to skirmish. The enemy, to the number of two thousand men, had already landed and were drawn up in order of battle before the arrival of our people, who with some settlers from Beauport that united with them, amounted to at most three hundred men, all of whom were not engaged, as the ground was very uneven, full of brushwood and rocky, add to which, the tide was out and they were half up to the knee in mud. They were divided into several small parties, and attacked this large force which was very compact, without observing scarcely any order, and in Indian fashion. They caused a first battalion to give way and force it to retire to the rear. The firing continued over an hour; our men skipped incessantly around the enemy from tree to tree; consequently the furious fire to which they were exposed, did not greatly inconvenience them whilst they took sure aim on men who were in a solid mass. The Count detached a battalion of the troops to bring off our people. We lost on this occasion Chevalier de Clermont, a half pay captain who had volunteered with some other officers. He advanced rather too far, and was unable to retreat. The son of Sieur de la Touche, Seigneur of Champlain, was also killed on that occasion and Sieur Juchereau de S^{t} Denis[1] aged over sixty years, who commanded the Beauport Militia, had his arm broken. We had, in all, ten or twelve wounded, one of whom is since dead; all the others are expected to recover.

The enemy lost in that affair one hundred and fifty men according to the report of a farmer who visited the field of battle during the night. They burnt some houses after the battle.

At night, their four largest ships anchored before Quebec. The Rear admiral who bore the blue flag, lay a little to the left, nearly opposite the Sault au Matelot; the Admiral was on his right; the Vice admiral a little above, both opposite the Lower town, and the fourth who bore the pennant of Commodore *(chef d'escadre)* lay somewhat further towards Cape Diamond. We fired at them the first, and they then began a pretty brisk cannonade. We answered them as vigorously. They fired almost entirely at the Upper town. That evening a citizen's son was

[1] Nicholas Juchereau de St. Denis, son of Jean Juchereau, Sieur de More, a native of Ferté Vidame, diocese of Chartres, came to Quebec with his father in 1640. In 1649 he married Marie daughter of Robert Giffart, Sieur de Beauport, first surgeon of the Province. He was appointed by De Tracy, captain in the militia; served in both campaigns against the Mohawks and continued to serve in that capacity in the various subsequent campaigns and in 1690 was wounded as above. For his bravery he obtained letters of Noblesse in 1692 entitling him to the rank of Esquire. He died at Beauport in October of that year, and was buried on the 5th of the same month. His age according to the Parish Register was about 66. His son was the celebrated St. Denis who attempted in 1700 to found a settlement at the mouth of the Ohio, and subsequently took a prominent part in the colony of Louisiana. — Ed.

killed and another wounded. Sieur de Vieuxpont had his gun carried away and his arm disabled by the same shot. About eight o'clock at night the firing ceased on both sides.

Thursday. At day break we again were the first to begin. The enemy had, seemingly, slackened their fire somewhat. The Rear admiral who kept up the most vigorous fire found himself greatly incommoded by the Sault au Matelot batteries, and that to the left, below. He also was obliged the first to haul off *(relâcher)*. The Admiral followed him pretty closely, but very precipitately; he had received more than twenty shot in his hull many of which were below the water line. All his rigging was cut; his main mast was almost broken so that he was obliged to fish it; a number of men were wounded and several killed. For the most of these shots he was indebted to Sieur de S^te^ Helène, who, himself, aimed the guns. Fearing to receive any more which would finish him, he paid out the whole of his cable, cut it, and drifted away in disorder. The two others held on their fire a little longer, but ceased between noon and five o'clock in the evening. They went for shelter into *L'ance des mères*, beyond Cape Diamond, where they repaired as best they could. A detachment was sent to this cove to observe them; some of their men were killed on shore, and they were obliged to anchor beyond the range of musket shot.

Friday. Sieurs de Longueil, de S^te^ Hélène with some Frenchmen began to skirmish, about two o'clock in the afternoon, with the van of the enemy's army which was marching in good order along the Little River, and drove in their flankers *(gens détachés)* who rejoined the main body. The engagement was a long while obstinate; our people fighting in the same manner as the day before. The Count had, meanwhile, caused three battalions of Regulars to be posted in order of battle on this side of the river, and was at their head to receive the enemy should he attempt crossing. Our men retreated regularly but unfortunately Sieur de Sainte Hélène had his leg broken by a musket ball. His brother, Sieur de Longueil, who had an arm broken last year at the battle of La Chine, received, also, a contusion in the side, and had it not been for his powder horn which happened to be where the ball struck, he would have been killed. Two other men were wounded and a soldier and farmer killed. The enemy fired some volleys of cannon at our people, without effect. They sent some shots, also, where the Regulars were in line, from which we knew that they had loaded some guns. They were answered from the battery at the Little River gate. They afterwards set fire to some barns, which could not be prevented, and killed some cattle that were wandering about the country and sent them on board their ships. They did not lose less on this occasion than on the preceding.

Saturday 21^st^. Sieur de Villieu, a half pay Lieutenant, who had demanded a small detachment of Volunteer soldiers from the Count, proceded also towards the enemy's camp.

Sieurs de Cabanac and Duclos de Beaumanoir[1] went out likewise with some other small detachments.

Sieur de Villieu began skirmishing about two o'clock in the afternoon. He drew the enemy into an ambuscade where he maintained his post a considerable time. With a view to surround him, they detached a party which was attacked by another ambuscade of militia belonging to Beauport, Beaupré and the Island of Orleans. Sieurs de Cabanac and de Beumanoir made an attack also, on their side. Our men skirmished whilst constantly retiring until they reached a house when they came to a halt where there was a quantity of palisades on a hill, and from behind these renewed their fire. The fight continued until night, and the reinforcements the enemy were always sending thither served but to increase their loss. We had only a

[1] Charlevoix makes three, of these two officers. *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, I., 86. — Ed.

young student and one Indian wounded. The enemy must have suffered considerably. The night, which was very dark and wet, afforded them means to remove their dead and to conceal the extent of their disaster and prevent its being known; for their alarm was so great that under favor of the darkness they precipitately reëmbarked and abandoned their artillery. Sieur de Villieu and the militia were not aware of the circumstance, and did not perceive their success until daybreak the next morning Sunday the twenty-second. The Indians, who first made the discovery, found five cannon with their field furniture, a hundred pounds of powder, and forty @ fifty balls; those of Beauport and Beaupré took possession of them. Several boats attempted to land in order to retake them and were repulsed.

Captain de Moine went out on the evening before, with a hundred men. He made a very considerable circuit to reach Beauport and was not in the engagement. The Count stationed him at some distance from the Camp of the militia in order to support them in case of a fresh attack. They felt confident of keeping their ground with two pieces of cannon which were left them. The others three were brought hither the same day.

In the afternoon the two Vessels which were in *L'anse des Mères* set sail in order to rejoin the fleet; they were saluted with some shots in passing which they returned without doing us much harm.

Monday. Captains de Subercaze and D Orvilliers started at the head of one hundred men to throw themselves into the Island of Orleans. Sieur de Villieu also received orders to go down to Cape Torment, below Cote de Beaupré. It was correctly surmised that the enemy would soon quit us, and it was feared they would attack those places. They sailed during the night and drifted down with the tide; but some not being able to find good anchorage were obliged to put into port. Finally, they all disappeared on Tuesday at ten o'clock in the morning, and went to anchor at *L'Arbre Sec.*

Miss de La Lande, who was prisoner on board the Admiral's ship, seeing they were about to return home inquired of the General, through an interpreter, if he wanted to take her along and abandon a number of his countrymen who were prisoners at Quebec; if an exchange were proposed, she hoped such negotiation might succeed. She, herself, was sent on parole to make this proposal. The Count readily consented, being very glad to recover her and her maid, Sieur de Grandville, and Sieur Trouvé, a priest, who had been taken at Port Royal and had been brought hither with some others from Acadia, expecting they would be very useful after the capture of the Country.

In the evening she returned, greatly elated, on board the Admiral's ship. The English prisoners we wished to restore were mustered that very night; they consisted merely of women and children and none of any consideration except Captain Davys[1] who was commander of the Fort which Sieur de Portneuf took. There were, besides, his lieutenant's two daughters who appeared very well bred. The Count had ransomed them from the Indians, and put them to board. Another girl[2] of nine or ten years of age who was somewhat well looking, had

[1] Silvanus Davis belonged to one of the oldest families in Maine. He had served already in the Indian war of 1676 when he was wounded and had a narrow escape from the enemy. He settled in Portland in 1680 as a merchant and built saw mills there. At the commencement of hostilities in 1689 he again entered the public service and was in command of Fort Loyal (Portland) when the French captured it. He remained at Quebec a prisoner four months. On the return of Governer Phipps from England with the new Charter in 1692, Capt. Davis was appointed a Counsellor for Sagadahock. He died in Boston in 1703. *Collections of Historical Society of Maine*, I., 209.

[2] Sarah Gerrish, grand-daughter of Major Waldron, who was killed in the attack on Dover, New Hampshire in 1689. She had been taken by the Indians to Canada, ransomed by Mde de Champigny who treated her courteously, and sent her to school. She lived with her friends on her return till she was sixteen years old. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 203.

been ransomed by the Intendant's lady, who felt considerable pain at her surrender yet, nevertheless, submitted for the public good. They amounted to eighteen in all.

M. de la Vallière was entrusted to make this exchange. He proceeded by land on Wednesday morning to the place opposite where the English were moored. The negotiation continued throughout the day. A Chaplain had come ashore and means were found to detain him in consequence of the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the surrender of M. Trouvé. Finally, the exchange was completed in good faith, but we had greatly the advantage in it, since in return for children we received adult men, fit for service, and the number of French exceeded that of the English. They detained two of our French pilots whom they promised to put ashore after passing the dangers of the River. It is not known if they kept their word, as they boasted they would return next spring.

All our prisoners arrived that night, with the exception of Sieur Trouvé who did not return until Thursday morning with Sieur de la Vallière. Some Abenakis arrived from Acadia at the same time. They said they had been to a Mohegan village where they learned that the English had been defeated off the Coast of France.

That the Small pox had destroyed four hundred Iroquois and a hundred Mohegans *(Loups)* and that in the great Mohegan town where they had been, only sixteen men had been spared by the disease.

That one hundred Iroquois belonging to the party that accompanied the English, had died of it; that the Iroquois afflicted by this loss had returned home, so irritated against the English that they plundered them on the way of all they could.

That fifty Dutchmen were to go in seven days, with some of their Indian allies, to the Outawas to endeavor to impose on them.

That within two months, the Canibas had defeated one hundred and seventy Englishmen and thirty Mohegans *(Loups.)*

That on one occasion, when the English manifested a disposition to make peace with the Abenakis, the latter gave them for answer, that neither they, nor their children, nor their children's children should ever make peace with the English by whom they had been so often deceived. This is the latest intelligence we have had from Acadia, and the only news we have had of the Iroquois. That distemper might have been the reason that they had attempted so little during the whole of this year, and doubtless made them retire to their villages.

Friday, 27th. Three men arrived from the Bay St Paul who report that they had been on board two French ships which were ready to pass the Narrows at Isle aux Coudres; that they had notified them that the English fleet was before Quebec; that they learned from them that they were to be followed by eight others in whose company they had left Rochelle. Some canoes kept exprcssly by the Count along the shore, confirmed soon after what those settlers had reported. A third ship called *le Glorieux* was also notified to the same effect, and news arrived that she was preparing to enter the river Saguenay in order to remain concealed there until the enemy's fleet had passed; no news of any the others had been received. Regarding the two first, it is not yet ascertained what decision they have come to, and at this date which is the ninth of November, no intelligence of them has as yet been received. Immediately upon receiving this information from those settlers, the Count dispatched a number of canoes filled with people to go on board those ships, but they could not find them. One of these canoes went down as far as Saguenay, and has not yet got back, which induces us to hope that it will have overtaken some of those vessels and returned in her when the wind comes around

favorable. An armed bark with thirty men on board, has also been dispatched to meet those vessels. We are thus prevented despairing, as yet, of their arrival, and we expect them from day to day with impatience in consequence of our want of all sorts of necessaries, every thing failing in this country, and the Count's family not being spared any more than the rest by this scarcity.

Several passengers left the ship and came here in a canoe. Sieur De la Forêt has delivered to the Count the King's packets and your letters. It has afforded us great joy to receive news so agreeable as those which have arrived from France. We hope the great victories his Majesty has gained over the enemy by sea and land, and the advantages France derives from them, may be reflected on us, and that He will not abandon this poor country, which despite of the wretchedness in which it has long been, essays to make the other extremity of the Earth acquainted with the Glory of its August Monarch, and has been fortunate enough to add some trifle to his triumphs.

Sunday last, rejoicings were made with great pomp. The Admiral's Flag and another taken by Sieur de Portneuf at Acadia, were borne to the Church amidst the rolling of drums. The *Te Deum* was sung by the Bishop, and there was afterwards a solemn procession in honor of the Virgin, the patroness of the Country, all the troops being under arms. A perpetual festival under the name of "Our Lady of Victories" was instituted, and the Church commenced in the Lower town was dedicated, in eternal commemoration of the protection we have received from Heaven on the occasion of this sudden attack; since, had the enemy used as much diligence as they might, and not been delayed by the winds, they would have arrived at Quebec unawares and had infallibly overpowered it, as it was unprovided with any force.

Bonfires *(jeu de joie)* were lighted at nightfall in honor of the Count. Cannon, and musketry were repeatedly discharged, and we did not forget to fire off several times, the guns we captured from the enemy, and which will be of use hereafter, to us.

At last, on the 12th November we learned that the three French Ships which appeared off Isle aux Coudres, had entered the Saguenay, which after having seen the enemy's fleet sail by, they had left and were at hand. *Le Saint François de Xavier* came to anchor on the 15th; the frigate called *la Fleur de Mai* the 16th and *le Glorieux* the 17th. The two former prepared to return, although the season is far advanced and ice appears already in the river, all the small streams being frozen; we should have been glad had the eleven ships which, we understand, have left Rochelle for these parts, arrived here in safety. This year might be said to have been replete with every sort of good fortune.

You ordered me, Madam, to give you a detail of every thing that occurred. I know not if this Account will be acceptable to you. It is true. This is the sole good quality I dare ascribe to it. I shall be richly rewarded for my trouble if this little task be agreeable, and can add any thing to the protestations I have ever made to you, that I am with profound respect, Madam,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant

DE MONSEIGNAT.[1]

[1] M. de Monseignat was Comptroller general of the Marine and fortifications of New France. He was a protegé of the celebrated Mde de Maintenon. J. R. B.

Chevalier de Callières to M. de Seignelay.

Memoir of Chevalier de Callières Governor of Montreal, for Mylord, the Marquis de Seignelay. 1649.

The English having designed to conquer Canada completely after having reduced Acadia, resolved to come overland to attack Montreal with two thousand men of their nation and 1500 Iroquois and other Indians, their allies, whilst a fleet, equipped at Boston, consisting of four large men of War and 28 small vessels, would proceed with an invading force of 2000 men to attack Quebec.

Small pox broke out among their land forces, and destroyed from four to five hundred men on their march. This obliged them to return, and we have been sufficiently fortunate to drive their fleet from before Quebec.

They threaten to return and attack us in the spring both by sea and land; and their General told our prisoners that they must subjugate us, or we must become their masters.

This opinion is sufficiently well founded, and it will be difficult for our Colony and theirs to exist except by the destruction and conquest of one or the other.

The question is, then, either to place us in a position to resist the new efforts of the English, or to conquer them.

For our support and defence we require supplies to leave France promptly, in the month of March next.

These supplies must consist of flour, pork, powder, lead, muskets, clothing for the troops, money for their pay, and other articles required by the Memoirs of the Intendant who represents the scarcity and necessities of this country.

We would require, also, six hundred men to replace those who have perished in the war and by sickness since the year 1689, to the number of 6 @ 700 as well soldiers as settlers; or, at least, 300 recruits and an increase of 300 settlers in the King's pay, in militia companies to be formed of one hundred men each with a view of saving the expense of officers. These three companies of young Canadians would render more service than Regular troops by going out in detachments against the English and Iroquois; it will be particularly necessary to have one of them in my government which is a frontier, so that I may send them out at the first notice of the enemy's approach; and this should be the governor's company with a Lieutenant and Ensign, natives of the country and possessing the greatest experience in hunting.

The expense hereof to the King will not amount to more than 100 regular soldiers; it will be of great help to the country and serve, at the same time, to discipline the youth You led me to hope, My Lord, for a company with the pay allowed by the King to a Captain, over and above any allowance as Governor, in consequence of the small amount of the latter. This is what you have granted M. de Vaudreuil in addition to his ordinary pay as commander of the other companies. But I consider rather the good of the service than my own interest in this establishment of one or more companies of natives of the country in his Majesty's pay; for I know from repeated experience what they will be capable of doing when they will be well officered and thoroughly disciplined, which I intend shall be done if you please to commit the care of them to me.

In regard to the conquest of New-York and subsequently of New England, the management of which, as well as the government of these countries you do me the honor to destine for me, it would be necessary, should his Majesty still continue disposed to think of it, to equip immediately six good frigates, some flyboats, or transports with 1500 land forces and eight months' provisions together with the other articles demanded in my Memoirs of 1689; and that this armament leave in the spring for Chedabouctou[1] or La Hêve, in Acadia. A vessel should be detached to Quebec to arrange with Count de Frontenac the orders and time for attacking New-York by sea and land.

We should march a force of 1500 Regulars and Militia, by land and water, direct to Orange, of which, I dare assure you, we will render ourselves masters in a few days; and be afterwards in a state to descend the Albany river to Manatte in order to take that town with its stone fort by the aid of the troops and the ships' guns, according to the plan I had the honor to submit to you in writing. If the season were not too far advanced, we could, afterwards, proceed against Boston, and attack it by sea and land with our entire reunited forces.

But though we should take only Orange and Manatte, we shall secure the whole of Canada by subjugating the Iroquois, who would not have any more communication with the English. We should cut off at the same time the communication of Boston with the other English Colonies, and thereby facilitate its capture, or eventual ruin.

After the reduction of Manatte, those six frigates could go to the Islands in the month of July so as to provide for their safety.

The privateers of S[t] Malo could be also interested in this expedition by attaching to it 4 privateers with two men of war; and we have learned from M. Trouvé, priest of Acadia, who has been a prisoner at Boston, that the Saint Malo privateers have captured this year, 16 Boston vessels with 25,000 pistoles they were sending to the prince of Orange, and General Phips' brother, and that pilots acquainted with the coasts of New-York and New England can be found among those prisoners.

This expedition would be so much the more useful as by protecting Canada against the continued incursions of the English and Iroquois who have combined to destroy it, 'twould secure for his Majesty a fine and fruitful country and gain for his subjects divers considerable and highly useful branches of commerce, such as the cod fishery and fur trade, several millions of which France imports annually. It would diminish the expense his Majesty is obliged to incur for the preservation of Canada, and increase his revenues by the duties he would derive from those conquered countries, which abound in various sorts of commodities.

No fear of attack need be entertained by us from the English when they would know that we were in the field. It would suffice to cause the Canadian settlers to retire with three companies of soldiers, pending the expedition, into the three towns of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, so as to protect them against the incursions of the Iroquois. But if we be not placed in a condition to go and attack the English, we shall languish and perish eventually in consequence of their frequent attacks, and the burnings by parties of Iroquois who will set fire to the houses in the country and prevent the saving of the harvest.

[1] See note 2, supra, p. 477.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Camp before Mons, 7th April, 1691.

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His Majesty not being in a condition at present to authorize the execution of the attack they proposed against New-York and New England, they must continue to inform themselves of the means of effecting it and advise him thereof; also make the necessary arrangements to attack the English Colonies by land, in case that comport with the King's service.

His Majesty is very glad to recommend to them again the execution of the orders they have received for the concentration of the colonists into villages, and for the security of the farmers whilst sowing and harvesting, as was done last year.

His Majesty hoping that they will have induced the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal to prepare palisades and materials necessary for the fortifications, has been again pleased to order the transmission of a fund of 20,000lb for the purpose of completing them as well as the other posts, with the aid the settlers may be able to lend them.

He desires also, that Sieur de Frontenac pay particular attention to the orders given to prevent either the Iroquois or English taking advantage of the Works left standing at Fort Frontenac when it was abandoned; and as it appears, according to the reports to his Majesty, that they have not been there, he desires that an account be rendered him of what has become of the provisions, implements, ammunition and arms left at that place, to a very considerable amount, being obliged to inform them in this regard, that he has cause to be highly displeased with those who authorized the abandonment of that post, who might have removed the most valuable property, or at least concealed it in the woods, where the enemy will not have been able to make any use of it.

Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny will likewise give his Majesty an account of the state of Fort St Louis of the Illinois; of the conduct of Sieur de la Forest who obtained the grant of it for himself and Sieur de Tonti; and of the movements in which said Sieur de la Forest will have engaged the said Illinois against the common enemy.

Although his Majesty may have explained his intentions respecting the war to Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny, he would wish to inform them also, that he approves the means said Sieur de Frontenac has commenced employing to force the Iroquois to a peace, and to detach them from the English, taking care always to let them understand that he does not desire it through fear of the continuance of the War, his Majesty being, nevertheless, persuaded that nothing can be more necessary to his service and to the improvement of the Colony, than to secure, as soon as he will be able, a treaty with the Indians, in connection with the Outaouas and others who are under his obedience.

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M. de Frontenac to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

If the frigate we dispatched on the 27 November last, has, as I hope, arrived safely, you will have learned by the letters I did myself the honor to write to you, and whereof I send you duplicates, all that occurred in this country and the successful manner in which we have driven the English from before Quebec.

Their expedition was not badly arranged, for I have since learned for a certainty that at the time they were to attack Quebec, another body which they formed at the head of Lake S^{t} Sacrament, composed of four thousand men, as well English as Dutch who live around Manath and Orange, as of the Five Iroquois Nations and Mohegans *(Loups)*, who adjoin the English, and their allies, was to fall on Montreal. This would have exceedingly embarrassed us, but, the small pox or plague having been fortunately communicated to the Iroquois and English, by the goods and clothes the latter brought them, killed five or six hundred in four or five days. This broke them up, and obliged them to return to their villages where the bad air continued to destroy a number of others.

The Kanibats and Abenakis, who are Indians from the neighborhood of Boston and our allies, have sent me a confirmation of this news by delegates they deputed to me; also that when they left their country in the month of February, there had arrived at Boston only four of the ships which composed the fleet that had been before Quebec, and that the English had lost in that expedition more than nine hundred men. It is impossible to describe the ravages these Indians commit for fifty leagues around Boston from which they are within three days' journey, capturing daily their forts and buildings; killing numbers of their people, and performing incredible deeds of bravery. Their fidelity and affection towards the French are not the less, as you perceive by the assurances they have communicated to me by the messages their delegates have brought me, copy whereof I send you.

Wherefore I shall not omit any thing in order to maintain them in these good dispositions, and though we are straitened for ammunition as well as for every thing else, I have nevertheless given them powder and lead, as much as ten men, that their party consisted of, could carry, and have assured them I should immediately send them some by canoes until I could dispatch a sloop loaded with all sorts of necessaries to them, when the ships will have arrived from France.

I know not whether the embarrassment consequent on this ill success and the bad news they have received from Europe, whence they have not had any reinforcements since two years, have not led the English to adopt the resolution of getting the Mohawks—who are nearer and more attached to them than the other four Iroquois tribes—to proceed as narrated in the letter of Father Bruyas, Superior of the Sault Mission, copy whereof I send you.

Though these advances were made, apparently not without the concurrence of the other four Nations, who doubtless had learned with reason that I did not wish to listen to them after their perfidious conduct in detaining Chevalier d'Au, and killing two of the Frenchmen whom I had sent last year with him to inform them that, pursuant to the King's orders, I was ready to send them back the Indians who had been transported to France with Oroaoue their chief, when they would come in quest of them, as he asked them to do, there is so little sincerity in all the messages they send, that I am taking new precautions to guarantee us

against whatever surprisals they may make, so that I may not experience what has already happened to M. de Denonville, who allowed himself to be amused by similar proposals.

Nevertheless, I directed M. de Callieres to protract these negotiations through our Indians of the Sault, in order that it may not appear that I made any advances on my side, for knowing the humor they are of, the surest means to induce them to wish for peace is, to evince an indifference about it, and to prosecute the war against them with the utmost vigor possible.

This is what I sent word to the Hurons and the other Upper Nations to do, by Sieur de Courtemanche whom I dispatched to them with an escort of ten men only; and that they should not discontinue perpetually harrassing the Iroquois by frequent parties, as they commenced doing this winter, having carried off several prisoners from them and killed many others. Perhaps this is one of the motives which causes them to desire peace.

I recommended the same course to the Chiefs of the Cannibals[1] when they left me, and I am persuaded, if his Majesty adopt the resolution to send out an expedition to bombard Boston or Manathe, and particularly to take the latter, the capture of which may guarantee this peace and deprive the Iroquois of every hope of protection, a solid and stable peace will be effected, and this war will be terminated with as much glory for his Majesty as advantage for this Colony.

The King of England must be the first to desire the chastisement and reduction of those Rebels and old Republican leaven of Cromwell, inasmuch as, previous to this War, they never heartily recognized the authority of the late King his brother, and declared openly against himself on this last occasion. I should think, also, that he ought to entertain like sentiments towards those who occupy posts in the Island of Newfoundland; and that, on his Majesty retaking Acadia, thoroughly routing the English from the Island of Newfoundland, becoming absolute Master of the Great Bank, and consequently of the entire of the fisheries, were he to send three or four frigates every year to cruize from Cape Sable to the North of the Island of Newfoundland, he will secure for his Kingdom a trade exceeding twenty millions, and which would be more profitable than the conquest of the Indies.

I beg your pardon, My Lord, for expressing my thoughts so freely to you, but the ardent zeal I entertain for the King's and your individual Glory — since you may be the first promoter of these great enterprizes — induces me not to conceal aught from you that may contribute thereunto.

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Your most humble most obedient
and most obliged Servant,

May 10, 1691. FRONTENAC.

[1] Canibas. — ED.

M. de Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain.

Extracts of the Memoir of M. de Champigny to the Minister, dated 10th May, 1691.

M. de Champigny demands reinforcements, which the impending attack of the English makes him most anxiously desire.

I. The present condition of the Colony causes us to desire the speedy arrival of the reinforcements which have been demanded by Count de Frontenac and myself. We have informed you by our letters of the Month of November transmitted by the frigate *la Fleur de Mai*, dispatched expressly by us for that purpose, that we experienced a serious want of provisions; that of ten or eleven ships which have sailed from France for this country in 1690, only three had arrived; that we had repulsed the English in the attack they had made on Quebec, and that we were threatened with their reappearance in the course of this Spring with a larger force. Neither resolution nor firmness is wanting here for a vigorous opposition to their designs and I am persuaded that you will have reason to be satisfied. I have been careful in economising the pork and flour which arrived last year, so that I have still sufficient for the support of the troops for two months. But we have very little ammunition.

Fortification of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers necessary for the preservation of Canada.

II. It being absolutely necessary to inclose Quebec, to construct retrenchments in the *Place*, cover the redoubts, repair the batteries, erect new ones, make a new palisading at Three Rivers, the present one being entirely ruined, and complete the ditch which surrounds Montreal, We have had these works begun, as the safety of Canada depends on the security of those three points. I send you, My Lord, an estimate of the expense thereof. However economical and saving we may be of the King's supplies, it is impossible to expend less than the twenty thousand livres I have required.

Appropriations for the War; how much expended on the occasion of the siege of Quebec.

The seventy-five thousand livres appropriated for the expenses of the war of 1690, have been expended for that object according to the two returns I send you. One amounts to 42,709$^{\text{ll}}$ 9$^{\text{s}}$ including the disbursements to the first of September 1690, whereof I have sent you the like for the month of November last; and the Second of 32,276$^{\text{ll}}$ 16 . 10. which is the amount of the disbursements expended since, principally on occasion of the siege of Quebec. Some additional expenses have been incurred for the war, but they will be included in those of the current year, an account of which I shall send you, as well as of those which will hereafter accrue, by the ships to arrive. I am very glad, My Lord, to assure you that I pay the strictest attention to economizing the King's funds as I am well aware that my duty obliges me to it, and that it is what is most agreeable to you.

Paper money.

III. Though Count de Frontenac and I have drawn, through M$^{\text{r}}$ de Lubert's clerk last November, bills of Exchange on France for 87,377$^{\text{ll}}$ in order to have funds in this Country, we could not meanwhile avoid this year to make a new issue of paper money *(monnaie de cartes)* in order to meet all the expenses, as a portion of our funds which consists of ammunition, did not arrive last year, and we have redeemed the paper money issued in 1690. It is highly necessary, My Lord, to adopt some other expedient in order to have funds every year in this Country to meet the expenses of the first five or six months of the one succeeding. If you will authorize the payment in France of Bills of Exchange to be drawn here when the last ships sail, at two or three months' sight, by M. de Lubert's clerk, means

will be found to borrow to the amount of fifty thousand écus in ready money. We pray you think of it, My Lord, and consider the wrong done the troops who purchase at much higher rates for paper money, than for specie, and who experience, in addition, considerable difficulty in procuring necessaries.

Of the distribution of Brandy among the Indians.

IV. Some people pretend that the prohibition to convey Brandy into the depths of the forest does not exclude them from introducing it into the villages of the Indians settled within the Colony, at Michilinakinak, three hundred leagues from Montreal where there is a fort for the reception of the Missionaries; nor into other distant places along rivers, as if these in this Country did not run through forests. My opinion is, that the King intended to exclude its introduction among the Indians who are almost entirely settled on the banks of rivers, and meant to permit the inhabitants to vend it in Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, and in the settlements of the Colony. Do me the favor to communicate to me your pleasure, in order that I may cause it to be executed.

Death of Sieur le Moyne de Ste. Hélene.

V. We lost this winter Sieur le Moyne de Sainte Helène a gentleman of this Country, lieutenant of the Troops, whose death was caused by a musket shot he received in the attack by the English last autumn. He has been regretted by French and Indians. M. de Longueil, his brother is going to France to the Barège Springs, not being perfectly cured of a gun shot wound he received two years ago in the arm. He is a highly honorable man and deserves a company.

M. de Longueil his brother goes to France to the Springs of Barège.

Useless efforts of the English to seduce the Indians of Acadia.

VI. The Indians of Acadia have sent hither this winter, several of their people, who have reported to us that they had been warmly pressed to submit to the English, who asserted that they had reduced Quebec. But instead of believing them, and receiving their proposals, these Indians had continued the war, and had captured one of their vessels, freighted with merchandize. They reported likewise that M. de Menneval, who was taken prisoner by the English last year, had been sent to Old England, and that M. Petit, priest of Acadia, whom they had, also, taken, was sent back to Port Royal. M. de Frontenac had these Indians supplied with powder and ball for their tribes, in order to encourage them to continue the war. He had promised to send them some canoes to convey these as well as other supplies to them. I am fully satisfied that such cannot but be useful.

These Indians are much attached to us, and irreconcilable enemies of the English. The cause.

These Indians are much attached to us, and irreconcilable enemies of the English in consequence of a piece of treachery the latter had perpetrated on them some years ago, killing and massacring a large number of their people who had visited them in good faith. M. de Frontenac has also, proposed to me to send a ketch by sea to the river Saint John in Acadia, to transport to these people a larger supply of ammunition and goods to be traded among them. But I have represented to him that I could not entertain such a proposition without your express order, as you had forbade me engaging in any traffic. Besides, the Indians who came here have stated that they did not know any thing of the place to which it was proposed to send this Ketch. On fully considering matters I am led to believe that this voyage and trade were designed for the benefit of the Captain of M. de Frontenac's guards who has a settlement and some establishments in those parts. However that may be, having informed M. de Frontenac that the fitting out of this vessel would cost the King considerable, that all the stores were short of arms and of all sorts of supplies, that we had no funds to meet these advances, he perceived the indispensable necessity of deferring

these enterprises and contenting himself with sending at present a Biscayan long boat and two canoes under the command of a son of the Captain of his guards. I agree as to the importance of forwarding goods and ammunition to the Indians for their own support, and to obtain their peltries to the exclusion of Foreigners, especially at this time when Acadia has been seized by the English to whom these Indians have been in the habit of resorting for purposes of trade. But licenses or permits can be given to our merchants to go there, similar to those issued for the Outawas Country, and people can proceed thither by the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, without incurring the dangers of the seas. Merchants will be found to undertake that.

Two Mohawks, arrived at the Sault, inform our Indians of the approach of a body of 800 Iroquois, among whom are some English.

We learned in the beginning of April, that two influential Iroquois of the Mohawk tribe had arrived at the village of the Sault, a league from Montreal, and told our Christian Indians, treating them as brothers, that being incapable of permitting any injury or violence to be committed against them, they had come expressly with one hundred and forty-six men who were encamped within two leagues of the Sault, to notify them that a large force, consisting of eight hundred Iroquois and some parties of Mohegans *(Loups)* among whom were some English, was on its way to carry them off and to inflict on this country all possible injury, and that they advised them to return to the Mohawk village in order to avoid the impending tempest. But our Indians encouraged by their missionaries, and aided by a reinforcement M. de Callières had sent them, remained faithful, and declined the proposal. This Mohawk party having, before arriving, captured twelve persons belonging to the Sault, brought them back, and told our Indians that there ought to be a cessation of hostilities; adding that if the Iroquois did not wish to make peace, they would withdraw from them and remain in their village, smoking. Our Indians gave them for answer that the governor must be spoken to and nothing be undertaken, meanwhile, on one side or the other. M. de Frontenac being at Quebec and the Mohawks being unable to wait, they returned home except twenty-five who remained with their relatives at the Sault. They added, likewise, that they had not burnt those of our people whom they had captured on the retreat from Corlard in the beginning of '90 and at La Prairie de la Madeleine last summer, because we had spared the lives of thirty of theirs who were found at Corlard when it was burnt by our Frenchmen and Indians. M. de Frontenac is to inform you particularly regarding every thing that occurred on both sides.

Invited to accompany them to the Mohawk Village; on their declining restore 12 persons whom they had prisoners and talk of peace.

Chevalier d'O, M. de Frontenac's Ambassador to the Iroquois, captured contrary to the Laws of Nations, is given to the Mohawks who send him to Boston. 3 Frenchmen, his companions, burnt. News of the English and Indians.

These Mohawks have, also, reported that Chevalier d'O, a reduced Captain, sent to the Iroquois by M. de Frontenac in the month of May 1690, had been given up to and sent by them to Boston, where he remained; that his interpreter and two other Frenchmen who had accompanied him, had been burnt by the Iroquois in three Villages to which they had been distributed; that Father Millet, a Jesuit, was a prisoner with other Frenchmen, in the Indian Villages; that the English had taken a vessel loaded with beaver, apparently belonging to the Company of Acadia where M^{r} Perrot was; that they had captured four or five others, supposed to be those that had been fishing at Isle Percée last summer: They, likewise, stated that our Upper Indians had struck several blows on the Iroquois and killed fifteen or twenty of their men; that goods were very scarce in New England; that the entire country was abandoned; that the old men, the women and children had retired to Boston and Manatte; that only four of the ships belonging to the fleet which had appeared before Quebec, had

returned to Boston, and that the others had remained at the mouth of this River for the purpose of laying in wait for the French Ships; but this last statement is probably not true, as it is impossible to winter in those parts which are very dangerous, and the greater portion of their vessels were small ketches, with a great many sick and wounded, and no provisions on board.

La Plaque, an Indian, nephew of the Gt Mohawk, meets the party that came to the Sault, and restores to it the prisoners he had taken belonging to their Tribe.

Is about going to France to see Louis XIV.

La Plaque, an Indian, who set out with some of his men from the Sault last winter on an excursion to capture some English prisoners so as to obtain intelligence from them, met, on his return, the Mohawks on their way home, who informed him of what they had said and done at the Sault. This obliged him to surrender five prisoners he was conveying, and on his return to the Sault he confirmed what the Mohawks had stated. This Indian is proceeding to France, saying that he wishes to see the Great Onnontio,—that is, the King,—of whom he has heard so much talk. He is a very brave, and well looking man; the nephew of the Great Mohawk who was the Chief of our Indians.

Of the reconstruction of the Castle of Quebec.

When Monsieur de Denonville was here, we wrote you, My Lord, respecting the bad condition of the Castle of Quebec. M. de Frontenac who occupies it at present, has also remarked it, and would wish it to be rebuilt. If the King is disposed to incur this expense at present, it were well, the building not being worth any thing. It will cost at least 20,000 f. by making use of the old foundations. And if his Majesty do not desire that to be done, it will suffice to cover it with shingles, replace some beams that are rotten, and make the necessary repairs without thinking of building a roof,[1] or slating it, as may possibly be required, for the walls are not sufficiently strong to bear such a weight; and provided two or three thousand livres be laid out on it, it can last some years longer. But these are always useless expenses similar to those incurred heretofore, which though trifling in amount, form nevertheless a pretty considerable sum.

Quebec, 10th May, 1691. CHAMPIGNY.

M. de Champigny to the Minister.

Extract from the Memoir instructif annexed to M. de Champigny's despatch of the 10th May, 1691.

Fortified places into which the people can retire for security, in season of war, constitute the main stay in all parts of the world. Canada is exposed on all sides. Every house borders on the forest, and is consequently open to the unimpeded incursions of the enemy. It is plain, then, that villages inclosed with palisades must be completed in order to protect the settlers from the Indians; and Quebec and Villemarie fortified with a good wall, particularly the former, in consequence of the attacks from the sea to which it is open so as to afford the people a place of refuge in case of an attack by Europeans, and a means of making a vigorous defence; simple picket inclosures such as they have, being insufficient and of no duration.

[1] *Mansarde.* A roof, the top of which is flat and the sides perpendicular; so called from Mansard, the architect, who invented it. *James' Military Dictionary.* — ED.

The Intendant in that country, aware of the importance of that fortification, has submitted to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay in his letters of the month of November 1690, the views he entertained to effect it without subjecting the King to any expense. Nothing more is necessary than to appropriate to that purpose the twenty-five licenses usually issued every year for trading in the Outawas Country, each of which produces a thousand livres; they are bestowed gratuitously to settlers and are of no benefit to his Majesty. The public interest cannot be better advanced than by applying them to that use. Fifteen more can be issued for the Illinois trade, each of which will also produce a thousand livres, and thus an annual fund of forty thousand livres would be obtained, provided peace existed and we could send to those Tribes.

The French for several years occupied Fort Cataracouy sixty leagues beyond Montreal; the Marquis de Denonville had been constrained to cause it to be abandoned at the close of the year 1689, it being untenable in time of War in consequence of the difficulty of victualing it. M. de Frontenac has always intended to establish it, because it is his work, and he still persists in that design. But there is no appearance of its possibly succeeding, owing to the many difficulties which attend it. All the buildings have fallen, and almost all the walls have been blown up, so that it would require to be rebuilt anew, which cannot be effected unless at incredible expense, and even were this fort rebuilt it would need as much preparation, expenditure and men to supply it with necessaries as to make a campaign in the enemy's territory. Besides, strictly speaking, this fort is a prison for the confinement of a garrison, and does not prevent the going and coming of the enemy except they be within musket shot. Hence it is to be concluded that it is very difficult to reëstablish it; that it requires a considerable sum to maintain it, when built, and that it is utterly useless. It will be possibly alleged that it is a retreat for the Indian allies of the French when they come to make war against the Iroquois; but that argument is destroyed when it is known that they always make their attacks suddenly, and that as soon as they strike the enemy, they retreat homeward, the forest and the swiftness of their heels being their greatest security. All that can be done at that post is to carry on trade there in time of peace.

There is not the smallest shadow of a doubt but Peace is the principal and greatest good of the country. But we have it not; and although people may represent that it will be made, I do not think we should so flatter ourselves. It is true that in the month of April last there arrived at the village of our Indians at the Sault, a league from Montreal, a party of one hundred and forty-six Iroquois from the Mohawk country, who said that there ought to be an end of killing, which means, that peace ought to be concluded, and gave notice that a large body of eight hundred Iroquois with some Mohegans and Englishmen among them, was coming to attack the Sault, in order to carry them off and afterwards overrun the Country for the purpose of inflicting on it all the injuries in their power. The speech and these Mohawks will be converted to whatever use people please. If they like, it will be said that the Indians are in good faith and wish to detach themselves from the other Iroquois villages; but no reliance is to be placed on them, for they, themselves, would be overwhelmed by their own nation: As a general observation, the Iroquois do not seem to desire peace, inasmuch as they have burnt Chevalier d'O's interpreter and two other Frenchmen whom M. de Frontenac sent with him, a year ago; and have delivered Chevalier d'O to the Mohawks who sent him to Boston to save him from destruction, as a return for our Frenchmen and Indians having spared the lives of thirty of their people who were at Corlard when it was burnt. Oréoaoué, a Chief of one

of those villages who was a prisoner among us, and is one of those who returned from France in 1689, went hunting in the beginning of last Spring and has not returned, which makes us suspect that he will have gone back to his own country. Another similar prisoner killed one of our Christian Indians, whilst hunting with him last winter, and went afterwards over to the Iroquois. The Outawas and Illinois have made some attacks on them within a year and killed some of their people, and the English are continually with the Iroquois to divert them from any thoughts of peace. Thus, it is evident that matters are more embroiled than ever; and as we are not in a condition to go with force of arms to the Iroquois to destroy all their towns at the same time, nothing remains but to make some presents to all our Indian allies, Outawas, Illinois and other Upper Nations in order to induce them to continue to harrass the enemy; to act in like manner towards the Abenakis, Canibas and other Nations of Acadia so that they may persist in their attacks on the English in the neighborhood of Boston; in which they have heretofore experienced invariable success, and advantage; engage our Christian Indians settled in the Colony to unite with our French to do the like in the direction of Orange, and to be most vigilant within the settlements; to perform the sowing and the reaping in a body without being dispersed and at too great a distance, as the Iroquois most generally take advantage of those seasons to attack the Colony; on which occasions success has hardly ever failed them up to the present time.

For the support and continuance of this war, it is necessary that the King be so good as to assist the country, as he has done of late years, with a supply of troops, money, provisions and ammunition. The Intendant has sent My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay estimates of all that is required, wherein he has only entered the articles absolutely necessary. It is full time that they arrive as well as the clothing for the Soldiers who have not had any for three years. The stores are empty; and the Treasury without any funds except paper money, which is not employed so profitably as ordinary currency.

It is proper to add to this Memoir the news which has just arrived from Montreal, in proof that the war rages worse than ever. The eight hundred Iroquois whose approach the Mohawks reported, made their appearance at the upper part of the Colony. Three or four hundred of them fell on the lower part of the Island of Montreal, where they burnt twenty-five houses, and took, or killed three persons; the others have scattered themselves, in divers bands, through different places without any one being aware where they will strike as they keep the woods. It is evident then how important it is not to flatter ourselves any longer with the hope of peace, and to send from France (if the preservation of this Country be desired) necessary aid in men and ammunition; to provide, at the same time, for the security of the three principal places, and when such defences will be constructed, to proceed against the enemy who at present rules the Country and prevents the sowing being completed, which throws the settlers into great consternation.

Oreoaë, the Iroquois chief who was a prisoner here, and was supposed to have gone home, as we have already stated, has come in to-day from hunting. He appeared greatly displeased with his Nation when he learned that they burnt the Interpreter and the two Canoemen of Chevalier d'O. M. de Frontenac has proposed to him to speak to those nations, to which he answered, that since they had burnt Chevalier d'O's men he was no longer their Captain, and that perhaps they would burn himself. This will show that affairs are more confused than ever.

Quebec, 12th May, 1691. CHAMPIGNY.

M. de Champigny to the Minister.

My Lord,

The 800 Iroquois (see extracts of the 10th) attack Montreal, 400 of them at the lower end of the island, burn 25 houses; fortunate precautions of M. de Callières.

We have just learned by a canoe sent by M. de Callières, that the eight hundred Iroquois with whom we were threatened, had made their appearance and were dispersed in various bands throughout the neighborhood North and South of Montreal; that three @ four hundred had invaded the lower part of that Island where they burnt twenty-five houses in which, fortunately, there were but one man and two women who have been killed or taken prisoners. The precautions adopted by Monsr de Callières have saved a considerable number of persons thereabouts; also the grain, furniture and cattle which were distributed among the forts. We do not yet know what place will be attacked by the others who are in the woods and at liberty to make a descent at whatever point they please, and it is scarcely possible with the few troops in the country to garrison the three principal places, and the forts, and to take the field against them. The difficulty of continuing the sowing, which had only been begun throughout the entire Upper country above Three Rivers, and the want here of munitions of war, are most unfortunate circumstances. You are aware, then, my Lord, how important it is that we be supplied with troops, provisions and ammunition. I am reduced to the necessity of having the leaden gutters and weights melted in order to be run into bullets. M. Gaillard who is about to embark, will explain to you every thing you desire to know. He has a thorough knowledge of the state of this Country. He takes charge of a Memoir I have drawn up on every particular, so that he may have the honor of conversing with you thereupon, when he submits it to you. He is as well informed as I am of its contents, and you can repose entire confidence in his representations, being full of integrity and honor.

It is not yet known where the others will alight.

The difficulty of continuing the sowing renders the Upper country uneasy.

Demands reinforcements.

I am with most profound respect
My Lord,
Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged servant
CHAMPIGNY.

Quebec 12 May 1691.

M. de Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain.[1]

My Lord,

Thanks the Minister for the reinforcements sent.

We could not desire more agreeable news than those we have just received from you by the fleet you have had the goodness to send us under the command

[1] LOUIS PHÉLYPEAUX, Count de PONTCHARTRAIN, son of Paul Phélypeaux, Lord de P., Secretary of State, was born in 1643. At the age of 17 he was admitted Councillor in the Parliament of Paris, and in 1667 was elected first President of the Parliament of Brittany. He was appointed Intendant of Finances in 1687, and succeeded M. de Seignelay as Secretary of State, in 1690. In 1699 he was appointed Chancellor, and after having served his country with zeal in that office for the space of 15 years, resigned the post in 1714 and retired to the Institution of the Oratory, where he occupied his time in prayer, reading meditation and almsgiving. Towards the close of his life he removed to his Chateau of Pontchartrain, where he expired on the 22nd of December, 1727, at the age of 85. M. de Pontchartrain was very small of stature, thin, but well formed. Though poor, he was so honest that force was necessary to oblige him to accept an office which conferred on him power, patronage and wealth. In authority he preserved an inviolable attachment to the laws and forms of justice. *Biographie Universelle.*

of M. du Tast, who has acquitted himself very well of his charge whereof he will render you an account. Count de Frontenac will communicate to you the reasons which induced him not to send that officer to Hudson's bay, and why he detained him here. *Le Soleil d'Afrique* goes to Acadia, and *la Catherine* remains with us for the purpose of conveying the latest intelligence to you. This succor was needed, and has arrived at a time when we were in great want of it. We know not how to express to his Majesty the deep obligations of the country for the powerful protection he has afforded; and as it is through you, My Lord, we have obtained it, we tender to you our most humble thanks. If the arrival of this fleet has diffused general joy throughout the country, I have individually experienced the most profound gratification on learning that the King had bestowed on you the offices held by My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay. I participate in the joy as in duty bound, and feel highly honored in serving under your orders; my zeal, exactitude and fidelity herein will equal my efforts to deserve the honor of your protection.

The Iroquois continue to harrass us since May; cause great destruction in the settlements of Montreal and environs.

Since the despatches I have had the honor to address My Lord de Seignelay last May by *le Saint Francois Xavier* and *le Glorieux*, which will have been handed you, the Iroquois have continued to remain in the Colony, harrassing us. They never acted with so much obstinacy, having taken and killed many Frenchmen and committed great havoc throughout the settlements of Montreal and its environs. A party consisting of English, Iroquois, Mohawks, and Indians called *Loups*, three hundred in all, has just fallen on La Prairie de la Madelaine where we had a camp of six hundred men including both Regulars and Militia. They surprised and routed our Militia, to whose support the Regulars proceeded immediately. The enemy fired a volley; killed several officers, soldiers and militia and retreated. Our loss has been repaired by Captain de Vallerenne, commanding a small separate detachment. He fell in with the enemy on their way back, and though inferior in point of numbers, he fought them with such tact, resolution and courage that he cut them to pieces, having killed or wounded nearly all of them, and this has most effectually reëstablished our honor. That officer deserves your protection, My Lord. M. de Frontenac sends you a detailed account of this action.

A party consisting of 300 Mohegans, Mohawks and English at Laprairie de la Madelaine, surprizes and routes the Colonists. Beaten in turn by M. de Valrenne at the head of an inferior force.

I do not transmit to you by this opportunity a report of my department, deferring it until the sailing of *la Catherine*. I will merely say that we shall need early assistance in the spring equal to that afforded this year, together with a thousand soldiers, for we have every reason to fear that the English will attack us by sea towards the close of next May. This is particularly to solicit the honor of your protection, being with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient,
and most obliged Servant,
CHAMPIGNY.

12 August 1691.

M. de Frontenac to M. de Pontchartrain.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I detained him [M. du Tast] as well as Sieur de Bonnaventure here for reasons which I submitted to you, and they sailed hence only on the 3d September; the first with orders to cruise, as long as his stores permitted, along the mouth of our river, where we are informed there are some vessels from Manathe and Boston; and to touch afterwards at Placentia and the Islands of St. Peter as his orders from Court direct.

The other will land Sieur de Villebon at the place he shall select for his establishment, and is ordered to call at Port Royal, to push as far as Boston and Manatte, and acquire all the information and knowledge possible respecting the entire of those coasts, with a view to render you a faithful report thereof, which may facilitate the execution of any demonstrations it will possibly be desirable to make against them.

This year the opportunity would have been the most favorable in the world, in consequence of the situation of affairs in that country and the confusion which must prevail at Manatte, as you perceive by the copy of Sieur de St. Castin's letters which I send you. Those the Governor of Boston and M. de Nelson[1] address me, and which I annex, will lead you also to conclude that the nature of their advances and their friendly language, so different from what they formerly addressed to M. de Denonville, indicate that their arrogance is somewhat abated, and that they are greatly afraid of our incursions and of those of our Indians.

I know not whether you approve my answer and the complaints I make that, under pretence of asking leave to release their prisoners in the hands of our Indians, they appear rather to entertain the design of attempting to alienate the latter from us and to debauch even our Frenchmen. As they have none of our people in their hands, we have no interest in listening to an exchange unless they include such as are among the Iroquois so as to make the exchange general.

It will, nevertheless, be always well to know what they desire to propose, and if they should make other overtures, which I could submit to you by our last ships, I shall request you to prescribe to me what course I am to pursue.

It would be useless for me to repeat to you all the arguments contained in my despatches of to the Marquis de Seignelay on the subject of the capture of Manath, and New-York, as the most assured means of terminating this war and of utterly reducing the Iroquois. Neither is it necessary for me to tell you that, according to my limited information, the Canada forces cannot coöperate in that expedition, even were they more numerous than they are, owing to the distance of the places; the difficulty of the communications, of the precise rendezvous necessary to be made, and many other reasons I have explained sufficiently in detail; that therefore, the only thing we could undertake from here would be to attack Orange, for which would still be required both time and forces in addition to those we already have, so as not to expose this country by utterly stripping it; and that, if the design were formed to proceed to Manath, such could not be accomplished except by sending an expedition by sea to bombard it, and by landing at the same time a force which would conquer it.

I proposed likewise sending other vessels against Boston, to bombard that place, and to see if the fright into which it would throw its inhabitants, would not force them to surrender,

[1] See note, IV., 211. — Ed.

whereof there is some appearance. This would at least cause a diversion; give them some occupation and prevent them thinking of sending reinforcements to Manath, the capture whereof is alone necessary for the security of this country, which is very well able to dispense with that of Boston. I believe it would be necessary to burn and entirely destroy the latter city, were we masters of it, and to think only of placing the post of Port Royal on a solid foundation.

I am aware that in the present state of European affairs, it will perhaps be difficult to think of matters so remote. But the King's arms are everywhere accompanied by such considerable good fortune and success, that I hope those he will have gained over his enemies this campaign will place him in condition to undertake what he pleases in more distant countries.

* * * * * * * * * * *

My Lord

Your most humble and most
Obedient Servant

October 20 1691. FRONTENAC.

M. de Villebon to M. de Pontchartrain.

Extracts from a Memoir annexed to Chevalier de Villebon's letter to My Lord de Pontchartrain. 12th October, 1691.

ON ACADIA.

1st Had the English succeeded in gaining our Indian allies over to agree to a peace with them after the fall of Port Royal, there is no doubt but Canada would have been entirely exposed and, I dare add, lost, in consequence of the facilities they possess of reaching Quebec from the river Saint John and from Pentagouet in ten or twelve days at farthest, and of the knowledge of the state of the country and of our forces.

Therefore, they cannot be too closely engaged in our interests; this is easily effected by continuing the presents that his Majesty has begun to make them this year. Munitions of war ought especially to form a large proportion of these presents, and the gentlemen of the Company of Acadia, besides, ought to supply them, as they do the settlers, with whatever will be of use to them.

A garrison ought to be always stationed, during the war, at the place where I am going to reside. The Indian never feels so much encouraged as when he sees himself sustained.

2d As the Cod constitutes the greatest part of the New England trade, and as that fish is only transiently with them, they are obliged to come and fish along our coasts, and it may be asserted that half of New England has supported itself by this trade; and as the Indians prevent them entering our ports, to wood and water and shelter themselves from bad weather, they will leave nothing undone to engage the said Indians in a peace, or to establish themselves at Port Royal, where, once settled, they would easily attract those Indians who would be forced to go thither in order to procure their necessaries.

Respecting Boston.

3d. I am told by well informed inhabitants of Port Royal, who returned from Boston in the month of May, that there were no fortifications to the town, although Count de Frontenac, on the report made to him, states that there is a sodded inclosure around it. There are only two gun-batteries on the left, going in.

The fort at the entrance, about a league from the town, is no great affair. It is of stone with four small bastions, on a little island somewhat perpendicular, and washed by the sea; a battery of ten or twelve guns, without embrasures, must be passed; the channel is narrow, and their resource, in case an attempt be made to pass the fort, is to sink two vessels for the defence of the mouth of the harbor. No town can be easier burnt than Boston. More than two-thirds of it consists of frame houses, covered with shingles. The streets are very narrow. I estimate the town, having been there twice, as two-thirds the size of Rochelle.

Respecting Manatte.

The memoirs which Count de Frontenac sends respecting Manatte are very correct. The Governor sent thither by the Prince of Orange is called Colonel Slaughter. He arrived there this spring in a frigate of forty-six guns and about one hundred and fifty soldiers, and on his arrival, caused a colonist[1] and ten or twelve others who had seized the fort, to be hung.

The expedition against Manatte would be the most advantageous for Canada. It would render the King master of a fine Country, and put an end at once to the Iroquois war. The expense incurred for Canada during two years would be more than sufficient for this expedition.

A French privateer has taken three Vessels this summer within view of Boston. I could not learn where he was fitted out. Two or three frigates would be required to cruise along the coast. No vessels could enter without being captured. This year's fleet to the number of ten or twelve, arrived there without convoy.

Petition of M. de Callières to M. de Pontchartrain. 1691.

To My Lord de Pontchartrain, Minister and Secretary of State.

My Lord,

Chevr de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal and territories adjacent, and commander in chief of Canada in the absence and default of Count de Frontenac, represents to you that, when his Majesty was pleased to honor him in 1689, with the commission of commander in chief in addition to that of governor of the Island of Montreal, whereof he is in possession since 1684, his Majesty having regard to the modicity of his ordinary pay of 3,000ll and to the expenses to which he is subject, being on the frontier of the Colony where he has the honor to command all the troops and militia of the country, and where he bears the chief brunt of the war against the English and the Iroquois, granted him as a gratuity for the year 1690, the sum of 2,000ll with the hope of increasing, and fixing it at 3,000ll per annum, equal to the allowance to his other governors of the American islands who have

[1] Jacob Leisler.—Ed.

3,000ll old pay and 3,000ll gratuity annually. But the vast expenses of the war having prevented him last year enjoying the plenitude of his Majesty's bounty, the gratuity granted him for that year amounted to only 1,500ll.

He hopes, My Lord, that you will have regard to his long service of twenty-eight years, twenty of which have been spent in the King's armies and the last eight in his government; to those he renders with success and all possible zeal and industry in the defence of the entire Colony, and to the great need he has of support in a period of general scarcity throughout this country, where he is subject to heavy expenses appertaining necessarily to his office, and is obliged even to pay a high rent for a house, being the only governor to whom the King does not furnish quarters.

He requests of you the favor, My Lord, to cause to be accorded to him, this year, a gratuity of 3,000ll, equal to that of the other governors of the Antillas, who are not subject to the same expenses, and for your prosperity he will ever Pray.

Memoir on the state of Canada.

Memoir on the present state of Canada, and the aid required to be extended to it for its preservation. 1691.

Dangers to which Canada is exposed.

The English of New England having been unsuccessful in the expedition they set on foot in the year 1690, for the conquest of Canada, it is confidently reported that they are preparing to renew the attack with a greater force, both by sea and land. General Phlips[1] who commanded the former expedition, has obtained for that purpose from the Prince of Orange, three men of war, which he is to add to all the forces of New England and New-York, whereof he has been created Governor General, and gives out that he is to return this year to besiege Quebec, with five thousand land forces, whilst another body of three thousand English and Iroquois are to march to the attack of Montreal.

The troops maintained in Canada by the King were about thirteen hundred men in 1690, at the date of the English attack. They have decreased since; more than half have been either killed on divers occasions or have died of disease. More than two thousand men, including Militia, Regulars and Veterans, have been lost in Canada since the War.

This remarkable diminution in a country that is sparcely peopled, the settlements of which extend more than eighty leagues along the river Stᵗ Lawrence exclusive of the frontier forts which are more than three hundred leagues off, renders this Colony unable to resist any new attack by the English, unless promptly aided by his Majesty.

Reinforcements required for the defence of Canada.

For that purpose, Canada requires one thousand effective men to complete the thirty-two Companies his Majesty has maintained hitherto here, some of which are reduced to fifteen or sixteen men. This reinforcement will not increase the pay roll *(état)* of his Majesty's troops; the officers being paid, new ones will not be required.

There are three towns to be garrisoned, vizᵗ Quebec, Ville-Marie in the island of Montreal, and Three Rivers, besides several small posts throughout, and on the frontier of, the Colony which render this aid absolutely indispensable.

[1] *Sic.* — Ed.

Flour, Pork and other provisions are also required for the subsistence of the troops, with arms and ammunition as per memoirs of the Governor General and the Intendant.

It is necessary to fortify Villemarie by doubling and terracing the palisades which the Governor of Montreal erected there and widening the ditch. This will not be a great expense; it will secure the entire Colony, whereof the island of Montreal is the frontier and the most important barrier in the whole Country against the incursions of the English and Iroquois.

It would be further expedient that his Majesty be pleased to send this year, four frigates of about 40 guns to cruise at the mouth of the river S^{t} Lawrence, and along the Coasts of Acadia and New England. These will be sufficient to cripple the Naval expedition which is to be fitted out at Boston, the capital of New England, with a design of returning to besiege Quebec; and would secure the passage of the reinforcements his Majesty will please to send hither, and the trade of his subjects on all these Coasts; those four frigates can also capture prizes there, which will indemnify his Majesty for this expense.

Reasons for preserving Canada.

It comports with His Majesty's interest, glory, and piety to preserve Canada; which is the first and most ancient of our Colonies in America and the establishment whereof has cost his Majesty and his subjects several Millions.

That country is useful of itself, by furnishing a quantity of peltries, to wit Beaver, Martin, Elk for making robes *(Buffles)*, black Fox, Bear and other Skins which are sold in France and foreign Countries for considerable sums; it exports Indian corn, wheat, peas, and other vegetables and articles, which contribute to the supply of our Insular Colonies.

It is capable of furnishing very fine masts and all sorts of timber for the construction of Vessels, as has been shown by the specimens thereof that have been transmitted; whereby we would be placed in a condition to dispense with that of Sweden and Norway.

Exclusive of a quantity of Whale, porpoise and other oils, a large amount of dry Cod and Salmon can be supplied; its stationary fisheries, the establishment of which has been commenced both on the coast of Acadia and in the river S^{t} Lawrence.

A great quantity of French wines and brandies, and of all sorts of manufactures are sold there; these are exported every year from Rochelle, Rochefort, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dieppe and other ports whence is carried on a considerable trade with this country from which his Majesty derives large revenues. One of the chiefest reasons his Majesty has to preserve this Colony is, because it carries on the trade in green cod, in which are engaged more than four hundred merchants' vessels, the property of his subjects, who go for that fish to the Great Bank and to the Newfoundland coast dependent on the government of Canada, and supply almost the entire of Europe with it. This trade alone is, also, one of the most considerable that is carried on in France; it is estimated to amount to between fifteen and twenty millions annually, and could not be prosecuted in time of war, should the English become Masters of Canada.

It comports with his Majesty's glory not to abandon over ten thousand of his subjects, in this Country, and who would there be put to the sword or constrained to submit to the Conqueror's yoke.

But the interest that is paramount to all others in his Majesty's heart is that of the Religion which, after having taken such deep root there by his pious care and charity, would be utterly destroyed and abandoned to the fury of heretics, and especially of French Huguenots who have fled in great numbers to New England; constitute the main force of those expeditions; and openly proclaim that they will revenge themselves on the Priests, Friars and Nuns of that

Country. Add to this, the loss of the entire fruits of so many holy Missions which have converted a great number of Indians, of whom more than forty thousand souls owe, under God, their salvation to the forethought and charity of his Majesty, who therein satisfies the pious intentions of the late King his father, who resolved to maintain this Colony with a view to propagate the Faith among a barbarous people, in order to draw down on the Royal Family the blessings of Heaven which we behold so abundantly showered on it.

Measures recommended for the better Defence of Canada.

REMARKS on what appears Important to the King's service for the preservation of New France. 1691.

As the inhabited parts of Canada lie along the River S[t] Lawrence, both on the North and South shores, and as the cleared lands extend on an average only a quarter of a league back into the woods, the settlements are, by such proximity, always in danger of being burnt by the enemy who possess, by instinct, so thorough a knowledge of the forest that they find themselves much less embarrassed in it, than we in the best beaten roads. This shows that it is impossible to protect, with the troops in this country, all the houses situated as they are at a considerable distance, one from the other; or to save them from danger except by collecting them all—at least between Montreal and Three Rivers—into villages which can be inclosed by pickets in a very short time, and thereby placed beyond insult; the Indians rarely attacking fortified posts.

There is no doubt but the people of this Country, who are not very docile nor easily governed, would strongly object to shut themselves up, loving liberty and, by no means, discipline. But it is well to constrain them in this instance by a Royal order, with a penalty to those contravening it, of having their houses razed; the enemy, also, will be thus deprived of the privilege of burning the settlements, as they are in the habit of doing to their advantage and our prejudice.

And in order that the settlers may be able to plant and to attend to their harvests and other operations in perfect safety, the troops can be distributed around said forts, causing regularity to be observed in all things.

That is to say:—let several of the peasantry assemble with their arms and work equally the one for the other, whilst they will be supported by detachments of soldiers; all retiring every night to their post in good order.

This being regularly observed, the bravest of the settlers can, without fear for the Country, be sent out with our Savages who will be attached to six or seven hundred good men to be selected from among the troops. The remainder will be sufficient to guard the posts confided to them.

The detachment to be composed of said troops, settlers and Indians will be strong enough for an expedition against the Mohawks and even against Orange which they can insult whilst detachments will lay waste and burn the adjacent settlements *(plat pays.)*

And in order to facilitate the success of this affair, it would be desirable that the places occupied by the English on the Coasts might be bombarded and cannonaded from the sea at the same time. That would worry and throw them assuredly into all sorts of panic; and, loving their trade better than war, it would oblige them to think seriously of seeking repose and of no longer inciting and urging the Iroquois by presents to invade our territory. These would, undoubtedly, accept a peace, which, however indifferent it may be, would always be more beneficial to us than the greatest victories and advantages that we might gain over them, short of their utter annihilation which is very difficult to effect, as we have neither sufficient troops nor, even had we the force, sufficient facilities to admit our going to their Country in a somewhat considerable body, on account of the Rapids and inaccessible places which have to be passed to reach it. This forms no impediment when they make a descent on us, nor when they return home, because they go across the woods, which we cannot do except with difficulty.

To remedy the necessity that may exist of making war against them, a hearty union must be always maintained with the Indian tribes in our interest; because it would be very disadvantageous and altogether ruinous to trade should they form an alliance with the Iroquois: for, besides encouraging them to carry their peltries to the English, they might even seduce them into a mutual league for the destruction of the Colony.

To avoid such a misfortune, it is well to preserve the posts we occupy in their country, namely, Fort S^{t} Louis of Louisiana, Detroit, and Michilimacquina. These can be kept up at a very trifling expense which will not be of less utility to us than if it were more considerable. By this means, we render ourselves masters of those Indians, who are much better adapted than we, to the war to be waged against our enemies.

And for that purpose they can be won by some presents to which they are very sensible. This will in no wise increase the expense the King has concluded to incur for the support of this Colony, if it be deducted from the extraordinaries of the war, which would amount to a much greater sum, were the enemy to be attacked by large armies, as has been heretofore the case.

Our Indians in the adjacent Missions will not ask any thing better, after the example of the others, than to wage war in their own way, that is in large and small parties which it were well to send from all points very frequently against the five Nations.

Officers and soldiers are to be found among the Regular troops who will act perfectly in the same manner.

Those of respectability belonging to the country, almost all of whom are well disposed and very enterprizing, will eagerly demand leave to attack the enemy. They cannot fail to be very useful, possessing as they do almost the same knowledge of the woods as the Indians, with whose manners they are also acquainted, which is a very great advantage.

And as it may happen that the number of Colonists who would volunteer to accompany them would not be always sufficient for the expeditions to be undertaken; and that Regulars would have to be attached to those sorts of parties, it were well if the Governor General had the Royal authority to commission such as he might find qualified for such expeditions.

They have so much ambition that nothing seems to them difficult when there is question of undertaking any thing extraordinary, by which distinction can be acquired, if the King were pleased as an encouragement to them, to reward those who would occasionally signalize

themselves with a silver gilt medal of trifling value, having his portrait on one side and on the other a branch of palm or some other honorable device; it would produce most certainly wonderful emulation and effect were the Governor General to have a number of these for distribution among the most valiant.

It is to be remarked that the enemy come rarely to invade the north part of our territory except by lake S^{t} Louis or S^{t} Peter. They can be prevented by incurring a very trifling expense; that is, by constructing four long bateaux, with oars, in each of which twenty or thirty soldiers can be placed with a small cannon and some swivels; and by stationing two of these bateaux to guard each lake. The Iroquois would assuredly be thereby prevented passing, as they have only bark canoes which could be sunk by firing small shot into them.

The King being at war with so many enemies, it may possibly happen that some of their adventurers may surprise Quebec which is without any fortification or force to resist an attack, however trifling it may be.

The plan to obviate such an accident, which would inevitably bring with it the loss of Canada, is to have two small galleys constructed here, to serve not only for the transport of all the provisions required by the troops in the Upper country, but for going to reconnoitre all the craft that would approach, and prevent them attempting any of those things above alluded to, by annoying them with those two galleys which would give warning at Quebec, of their approach.

This can not fail of success, because within ten or twelve leagues of Quebec are narrows called Isle au Coudre, and Traverses the passage through which causes the best pilot to tremble; ships are always stopped there unless they have the wind and tide entirely favorable, which happens but rarely. As regards the maintenance and armament of these galleys; to save expense they can be commanded by two captains of the troops of this country, and in order that they always be in a condition to sustain all the fatigue to be endured, their crews should be formed of good soldiers and sailors selected from the other companies, as is the custom for Grenadiers in the Regiments in France.

Their pay might also be increased on account of the trouble they will be exposed to; all which could be effected without any extra expense to the King, by appropriating a part of what has to be paid for chartering vessels employed in the transportation of supplies and ammunition to the stores of Mont-royal, in which service those galleys can be employed, as we have already observed, whenever fears are not entertained for Quebec.

Those two galleys could be easily supplied in a short time with rowers, by condemning thereto deserters and other persons of the country who would deserve punishment. This would tend considerably to keep the Volunteers and Libertines within the bounds of duty and submission.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1690, 1691.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the frigate *La Fleur de Mai*, on the 27th November, 1690, to the close Sixteen hundred and Ninety-one.

Shortly after the English had left Quebec, the troops, which were all collected there, were sent away; and as the small stock of provisions received from France was hardly sufficient for a month's supply, Count de Frontenac, the governor general, and Mr de Champigny, the Intendant, resolved to distribute them throughout all the Settlements, and to oblige the farmers to feed them for the same sum the King allows his soldiers a day. This was effected with some difficulty, the crops having that year fallen very short. The joy felt by every one for the success we had gained, and the hope that it would be followed by powerful reinforcements from France, moderated, however, in some degree, the sorrow that scarcity might create.

The death of Sieur Lemoyne de Ste Hélène Lieutenant in the army, affected every one profoundly. That gentleman had, as already stated, been wounded in the late affair, whilst fighting courageously against the English. He was an officer of distinction who on divers occasions afforded proofs of his bravery against the Iroquois; at the North, against the English, from whom he had right boldly taken Corlard, the preceding winter.

Meanwhile, six months of winter which are to be certainly calculated on in this country, and the impossibility of receiving any supplies until Spring, rendered every thing excessively dear. Wheat was worth some twelve to fifteen livres[1] the *minot;* Wine one hundred écus the barrel; Brandy, six hundred livres, and all other articles in proportion.

Every description of food was acceptable, and the ground was no sooner bare of snow than herbs, roots, and the trifling quantity of fish that could be caught, constituted the sustenance of a large number of families.

This pitiable state to which the country was reduced, absolutely prevented the possibility of thinking of sending any expedition against the enemy. The entire Winter thus passed away without scarcely a single movement.

In the month of February, an Indian of the Iroquois[2] Nation, who had been taken by the enemy near Orange, came to Three Rivers where several of his relatives lived; he reported that he had been conveyed, after his capture, to the head *(au haut)* of Lake Champlain where the Iroquois Tribes and other Indian allies of the English were assembled; that he had been released by some of his relations who took him to their Wigwam; that the Iroquois numbered nine hundred; Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, and 470 Mohawks, Oneidas, *Loups* or Mauraygans,[3] that they worked for a month constructing Canoes, during which time the English supplied them with provisions and sent some cases containing, the Indians say, poisoned clothing which they were to abandon to be pillaged by the French Soldiers.

The canoes being completed, sixteen hundred English joined the Indians with the intention of coming to attack Montreal, whilst the Ships should attack Quebec. But they were always unwilling to go on board the elm canoes[4] which the Iroquois had made for them, for fear, as they said, of being drowned. This greatly incensed all the Indian Nations, who reproached

[1] About $2.70. [2] Sokoquis. *La Potherie*, III., 126. [3] Mohegans.—Ed.

[4] *Canots d'ormes.* The Nations of the Algonquin family used only canoes of Birch bark. The Iroquois make theirs only of Elm bark, or buy those of Birch from other Tribes. *Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages*, II., 216.

them with having given a great deal of unnecessary trouble; that it was they who had prevented the Indians making peace with the French; that they were incapable of affording them any assistance and had not yet taken any of our Islands whilst they were killed by us every day; that so far from being of any advantage to the Indians, they had just caused the death of numbers of them by the poison they had designed for us; that three hundred Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, and ninety young Mohawks and Oneidas did, in fact, die within three days; and that he believed the English had lost five or six hundred men, whether this mortality proceeded from these pretended poisoned clothes or from some contagious disease.

The Indians withdrawing from them, destroyed all the grain around Orange, and killed most of their Cattle.

We have since received advices, that a large number of Indians had in reality died during that campaign, which was the cause of breaking up the expedition.

In the month of March, some Abenakis belonging to the Mission of Pentagouët arrived, and presented the Count with their Message in form of a petition wherein they requested him not to be surprised at their long silence, and to attribute it only to the attention they had given to the prosecution of the war which they had undertaken by his order, and to protecting themselves from the schemes of their enemies, against which he had put them on their guard: That they are poor, having neither necessaries for clothing nor for fighting; that their greatest sorrow proceeded from their inability to strike a blow during the winter — which is the best season; but that even though he should give them neither powder nor lead nor iron arrow-heads, *(fers de flêches)*, they would make use of the bones of wild beasts and would not discontinue harrassing their enemies, to whom they had so declared last fall, and that, despite of menaces to destroy them which had been uttered in the confidence of superior numbers, they had answered — Though we be few, our destruction will cost you dear. Even should they have taken Quebec, as they gave out, they (the Abenakis) would never make peace until their Father, in Canada, had so ordered them.

Finally, they prayed him to cause their Brethren to be given up to them who are detained prisoners by the Iroquois, (meaning our Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain;) whom they beg to believe that, however that ill treatment may be considered a cause of complaint, they never thought ill of their brothers, the Iroquois; that they deposited all their resentment in their Father's hands, like a child who seeks for means to live in friendship with his brethren. This was what they had to say to him, at present.

The Count answered: that he thanked them for the good-will they manifested, and the fidelity they had invariably preserved towards the French; that he saw very well the English could not have gained much success against Quebec; on the contrary, they would have been well beaten there; that he did not believe they would hazard coming hither with so small a force, and that the French were expecting considerable reinforcements from France who would bring, at the same time, the necessary supplies both for the French and for the Indians their allies; that he had already sent powder and ball to their villages; that he (the Count) would give them still more, and as many iron arrow-heads as they could carry; that on the opening of the navigation he would dispatch a Biscayan long boat *(biscayenne)* by sea, and some canoes by the river S^{t} John, which would carry them a further supply and the goods they said they stood in need of, which has been done; and that on the arrival of the fleet from France they would receive powerful assistance; that they should retain their good dispositions, and

bear particularly in mind not to confide in the English, who would infallibly deceive them as they had heretofore done; that he would never abandon them, and that he hoped the result of this war would be in harmony with its commencement which had been sufficiently prosperous. He finally dismissed them after having treated them well, and given a present privately to each of the chiefs.

Some time after this, there was quite a serious alarm in the vicinity of Montreal. A party of Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain, whilst hunting in the immediate neighborhood of Chambly were set on by a large body of Mohawks and English, and ten of them taken prisoners.

Two days after, the same Mohawks sent back two of our prisoners by three of their men, who entered, unarmed, the fort of the Sault. This proceeding created various surmises as to their designs, particularly when they sent back the remainder of our people, whom they had taken, and when also some forty of them came unarmed to visit their relatives; some of them even remaining there, and saying that they were willing to risk themselves with our Indians, who gave them some presents as an acknowledgment of the good treatment they had received at their hands.

This gave rise to some sort of negotiation, and it appears from the letter which Father Bruyas, the Jesuit Missionary at the Sault, wrote to the Count on the subject, that the Mohawks were not very averse to a peace, to which they would endeavor to cause the other Iroquois nations to agree. They said, as the Father reports, that they were weary of killing and of being killed; and as a mark of their earnest desire to terminate the war, that they had hastened their arrival in our settlements in order to warn us that eight hundred Iroquois were ready to fall on us and to destroy every thing between Montreal and Three Rivers.

That as regards their Tribe, the Warriors principally were solicitous for peace and had already concluded it without the participation of the Chiefs who are not always sincere; that if the Dutch and the other Iroquois did not wish to enter into the projected arrangements, they would allow them to do the fighting and they would smoke in peace on their mats.

This Father added, that if he were permitted to speak his mind respecting what he had seen and heard, he believed they were sincere, and that things were in a fair train for a durable peace with that Tribe, and through them with all the others; that the high price of the clothing and provisions they got from the English, and the Pestilence which prevailed among them, might have disgusted them with a War in which they had lost a number of brave people; that, however, he would not guarantee their perseverance, yet neither could he share the opinion of those who doubted their good faith.

Father de Lamberville, also a Jesuit and Missionary at the Sault, seemed to be of this number; although he considered them sincere in certain things, he, nevertheless, could not believe them so in all.

They answered the questions M. de Callières put to them at Montreal, whether he had thought proper to have them conducted, on parole, for the purpose of interrogating them without meddling with the proposals for peace they had submitted to the Indians with whom he left that negotiation. They spoke somewhat diversely; greatly enhancing the advantages the English had gained on the Coast of Acadia and diminishing their loss before Quebec and the number of people whom, we know, they had lost in the different engagements throughout the course of the past year. They confirmed the news we had received that Chevalier de D'eau was at Manatte, and that two of five Frenchmen who had accompanied him had been

burnt at Onondaga and Seneca; that a third had died of sickness at Mohawk and that the remainder were alive.

The result showed us that this negotiation was but a scheme either to prevent us forming expeditions against the Mohawks, who are more within our reach, or to debauch the Indians of the Sault and to induce them to keep quiet.

However, it was not considered wise to repel them altogether, lest it might appear as if we declined all proposals of peace, and the warning they gave, served only to put us more on our guard.

The ice which had not yet moved in the beginning of April, retarded somewhat Sieur de Courtemanche whom Count de Frontenac was sending to Missilimakinac to convey to the Hurons, Onnontagues[1] and our other Indian allies in the Upper country, the news of what occurred at Quebec during the English siege. His voyage was most prosperous, having met none of the enemy though he passed places where they most generally hunted, and which were their rendezvous when lying in wait to attack us.

Having called together all the Indians in order to ascertain their sentiments respecting what the Count had said to them last year at Montreal, and whether they had commenced hostilities against the Iroquois, as he had exhorted them to do; the most of them answered, that their warriors had gone to execute his orders, and that those whom they had not yet dispatched, promised to follow immediately and to manifest to their father their entire obedience. He had also learned that the Miamis and the Illinois, who are much farther off, had likewise organized their war parties and were on the march, which news is found to be correct, the enemy having been harrassed from all sides in their villages and in their fishing and hunting grounds, and having lost considerable people; so that the Senecas have been obliged to abandon their towns, and to remove to the Cayugas who are not so open to invasion as they.

Sieur de Courtemanche set out from Missilimakinac on the 30th of May, and arrived at Montreal on the 18th June, without any accident, though the enemy had overrun more than twenty leagues of territory on his route.

The information we had received from the Mohawks of the descent of that party of eight hundred men, put us quite on the alert. Meanwhile as it was the season of planting, there were always some laborers scattered throughout the rural districts, some of whom, consequently, fell into the hands of the Iroquois at the lower end *(au bout)* of the Island of Montreal, La Chine, River des Prairies and Point aux Trembles, where they burnt some houses. But their exploits were not of any moment, the most of the inhabitants being in the forts and the houses empty. The Indians never dared to attempt carrying any of the places where they expected resistance, keeping themselves beyond the range of musket shot, and making great uproar accompanied with an incessant fire.

After the first effort, they spread in small squads all over the Island and along the North shore, whence crossing occasionally to the South side, they endeavored wherever they happened to land, to make prisoners of those whom they surprised in field, and to kill the cattle; that is the only thing they effected.

It was vexatious enough to see the enemy rove, in this way, all around us, and make themselves masters of the rural districts. We did not lack the courage and desire to attack them. But we had such a small quantity of provisions, that it was impossible to keep parties out a long while and to supply them with necessaries.

[1] *Sic.* Outaouacks. *La Potherie*, III., 132.

Some battalions of Regulars were, however, always kept in the field to patrol the most exposed places.

The post on the Mountain, only half a league distant from Montreal, was not supposed to be subject to insult. The enemy, notwithstanding, attacked it when the major part of the Squaws were busy at their Indian corn; captured some of them and drove the rest into the fort. Assistance from Montreal having soon arrived, they were easily repulsed with the loss of some of their men. They killed and wounded also, two or three of our Indians. This greatly excited the latter and contributed to the formation of a party of two hundred men, French and Indians, under the command of Sieur Lemoine de Bienville.

Something good was anticipated from this, and they appeared to be resolved boldly to attack whatever they might encounter; but having met, near the Long Sault of the River *des Iroquois*,[1] some eighty or ninety Indians whom they recognized to be Oneidas or Mohawks, they deliberated a long time as to whether they should attack them or allow them to pass unharmed on account of the negotiations about peace, in favor of which the Mohawks appeared to be willing to act as Mediators. Finally, the Indians from the Sault, who formed the majority, prevailed on the Frenchmen, and it was resolved not to attack these pretended allies, who have since had no opportunity to inflict much harm on us.

Some of them accompanied our Indians to Montreal, and the remainder returned home.

Those who conversed with Monsieur de Callières appeared to be satisfied with the proposals which the Mohawks, who were here in March, had made to the Indians of the Sault, and approved of the proposals of peace and of neutrality submitted by Onouragonas, one of their Chiefs. Their real sentiments are still a matter of great doubt; but what we shall say, hereafter, of the same Ouragonas, will scarcely suspend the judgment to be passed on all those Indian propositions.

Chevalier de Vaudreuil, the commander of the troops, did not exhibit the same indulgence towards a party of 40 or 50 Oneidas; and as this battle was very hot, I shall detail it somewhat more at length than I proposed to do in this Relation.

Captain de Mine was with some soldiers at a place called Repentigny on the North shore[2] to examine the enemy's movements, and perceiving some persons quite at their ease in a house that had been abandoned, he retreated to the Islands in the middle of the River, so as not to excite any suspicion. Here he was joined by Monsieur de Vaudreuil, who had left Montreal shortly after him, with some Canadians, picked Soldiers and Oreaouë, the famous Indian whom the Count had brought from France, who began, on this occasion to give marks of his bravery, and of the fidelity he entertained towards the French.

The two parties having formed a junction, it was determined to land a little below the house occupied by the enemy, and to approach it with the greatest precaution possible. In fine, it was entirely surrounded so that no person could escape. Fifteen or twenty paces from the door some Iroquois were found asleep, who were easily killed; the remainder made a vigorous resistance in the house, firing continually through the windows and loop holes they had made. This cost the lives of four or five of our Frenchmen, whom the desire to be revenged for the affronts the enemy daily inflicted on us—ranging throughout all our settlements in the assurance they felt that they could not be followed in the woods—carried a little too far, some among them being so daring as to go up to the very house to drag out by the hair

[1] The Saint Lawrence.

[2] of the river Saint Lawrence, in the present county of St. Sulpice, and a little below the Island of Montreal. — Ed

those who presented themselves at the windows and at the door. The house was all in flames and the Iroquois, being no longer able to resist, made a virtue of necessity, and rushed forth in small parties and endeavored to avenge their inevitable death, by killing some of our men. They perished for the most part in these sorties; some were burnt in the house; five were taken alive and a solitary one escaped through more than fifty discharges of musketry. Of those five, two were conveyed to Montreal one of whom has been given to the Sontaouans[1] who came down since, as will be related hereafter; the other a young lad, fourteen years of age, belonging to those who entertain Father Milet, and who have preserved his life, has been given to the family of a man named Paul, an Indian of the Sault, who has since been killed on another occasion.

The remaining three having fallen into the hands of farmers who lost their relatives, have been burnt at Point aux Trembles, Boucherville and Repentigny; But it will require a great deal before the animosity of the French, whatever cause of vengeance they may have, will equal the unheard of cruelties which the Iroquois inflict daily on the prisoners who fall into their hands.

This victory abated considerably the ardor of the enemy. Independent of the loss of three or four brave farmers and soldiers on this occasion, the death of Sieur Lemoyne de Bianville,[2] the brother of the late Sieur de S^te^ Hélène, was exceedingly regretted. Captains de Mine and de Grisaffy highly distinguished themselves on this occasion; also Sieurs Declarain and Calatogne, Subalterns, and several Volunteers.

The conduct and bravery of M^r^ de Vaudreuil must not be forgotten, and it may be said that on this, and on all other occasions where he was present, he afforded proofs of an experienced commander and an intrepid soldier.

Before detailing what subsequently occurred, I think it will not be out of place to note the secret intrigues the enemy was endeavoring to set on foot with our Indians for the purpose of carrying them back, or of at least diverting their arms away from themselves.

They took advantage, then, of a belt they were sending to the family of Sieur S^te^ Hélène for whom they expressed great consideration, and whose death they professed to condole. But at the same time they instructed two Squaws belonging to the Mountain, who were prisoners among them, and whom they were restoring, to give a Belt, secretly and under hand, to an Indian of the Sault named Louis Atoriata, (the King's godson, who carefully cherishes the Medal which his Majesty has presented to him,) exhorting him to retire, with his family, among them and to bring the greatest number possible of the people of the Sault along with him, that they may avoid inevitable destruction. By another Belt they invited Tamouratoüa, an Indian of the Mountain, to withdraw also with all his people, and to advise them of his instructions by a Seneca whom they demanded back. They threatened both of them, should they not return forthwith, to confound them with the French of Montreal whom they were about to attack. These two Indians communicated these messages to Monsieur de Callières, and, promising inviolable fidelity, delivered those two Belts into his hands.

The two Squaws reported that the Iroquois had gone to the Long Sault of the River Sonnontouans,[3] twenty leagues above Montreal, where they intended to lie in wait for whatever might be coming down to us from Missilimakinak, and to harrass us until harvest. However,

[1] *Sic.* Outaouaus. — Ed.

[2] After his death, his name was given to one of his brothers, then a youth, who became subsequently Governor of Louisiana. *Charlevoix.*

[3] Outaouais. *La Potherie*, III., 136; *Charlevoix*, II., 99.

whether they were induced to retire in consequence of the news they received that two hundred canoes were being made, preparatory to an attack on either their posts or villages, or of intelligence from home, that our allies were making continual inroads into their country, and were killing a great many people, they decamped towards the end of June, since which time we have seen only small parties, that came either to break a few heads or capture some people by surprise. The situation of the country puts it out of our power to prevent these forays.

The desire to expel the enemy from the Long Sault induced M. de Vaudreuil to come down from Montreal. Independent of the serious loss of his equipage which he incurred, this voyage nearly cost him his life, one of the wildest storms ever experienced having upset in Lake S[t] Peter the vessel he was on board of. It was with difficulty he escaped in a small boat; some persons were drowned in the vessel which could never right itself.

The Count, on his report, detailed a detachment from the three companies employed on the fortifications that had been undertaken at Quebec, and having collected all the provisions and canoes possible, went up as far as Three Rivers where he could more conveniently ascertain what might be doing on one side or the other — either by the Iroquois above, or by the English whose attack by sea was always to be apprehended.

But the receipt of assurances that the fort at the Long Sault was abandoned, caused this expedition to abort, the want of provisions not allowing us to proceed farther.

Another motive obliged him to make this voyage. He was desirous to visit the fortifications which M. de Ramezay, the governor, had erected at Three Rivers, since winter. He had every reason to be pleased with them. Never was there such beautiful pallisading and the attention Lieutenant de Beaucourt had applied to this work which he conducted, has been crowned with perfect success.

That voyage occupied eight days, and the Count arrived at Quebec on the 30[th] of June.

The first of July may be noted as one of the most fortunate days for Canada, the frigate *le Soleil d'Afrique*, commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, having unexpectedly arrived between five and six o'clock in the evening of that day. The important news she brought from France, and to speak naturally, the succor by which she was followed, had a salutary effect on the hearts and spirits of every body.

Canada had been for a long time groaning under a cruel famine, and the advantages she had gained last year over her enemies, did not dispel the apprehension of another visit from them in her present unfortunate condition. But sure of the protection of her prince, this fear was easily dispelled, and the joy of having been able to please him by the efforts she had made, prompted her to desire more brilliant opportunities to manifest to him her fidelity and zeal.

This news soon spread throughout the country and inspired the most desponding with courage.

Monsieur Dutartre[1] followed by all his fleet, arrived twelve days after the *Soleil d'Afrique*.

Some Sonnontouans[2] canoes, numbering sixteen men arrived almost at the same time; not finding Count de Frontenac at Montreal, as they expected, they went down to Quebec to see him.

They dwelt considerably on the risk they had encountered in passing through the fire of the war to our settlements, and, in the usual style of that nation, demanded that they might have good bargains of what they would wish to purchase; the desire of seeing their father

[1] Du Tast. *Charlevoix*, II., 100.—Ed. [2] An error for Outaouas. See *supra*, notes 1, 3, p. 518.

alone had brought them to Quebec, where their Ancients had formerly had a governor with whom they were highly pleased, having had every thing at a low price.

But if the high price of clothing did not allow us to content them in every respect, at least the good cheer, the presents they received and the exhibitions *(spectacles)* unknown in their country, afforded them ample satisfaction.

The fourteen beautiful ships in the harbor, the various evolutions of the sailors, the roar of the artillery and the structure of the vessels which was shown to them, were so many novelties that they admired without ceasing.

But nothing delighted them more, than what occurred at the public rejoicings on the twenty-second of July, by the King's order, for the capture of Mons.

After the *Te Deum*, the Count gave an entertainment at the Castle of Quebec to the most respectable citizens of both sexes.

These Indians admired some thirty beautiful Ladies who, out of very becoming respect for their host, paid them every attention. They were unable to understand how we could have glasses of all sorts of colors; they were playfully made to believe that those Big Canoes they had seen in the river, had brought them to us, and that the French were not less curious in what contributed to pastimes and pleasure than in what might be of use in attacking their enemies, and defending themselves.

Conversation turned on the number of canoes, cannon, shells and balls that had been shown them, in order that they may, hence, expect to be powerfully aided in making war, and perfectly well regaled when they would come to see us.

After the bonfires lighted by the Count and Intendant, they were not less astonished by the illumination of the ships and all the houses, the discharge of the guns both of the town and vessels and the fireworks which were set off.

They were dismissed on the following day, when they carried away a great many presents.

Meanwhile preparations were making to dispatch Sieur de la Forêt, a reduced Captain and commander of Fort S^{t} Louis of the Illinois, who was to convey the Royal presents to all our Indian allies in the Upper Country. He was to be accompanied in his voyage by several Frenchmen.

Intelligence was received at the same time from M. de Calliers, that an English prisoner, whom some Indians had taken at the gates of Orange, had assured him that two hundred of his countrymen and a great number of Mohegans *(Loups)* and Mohawks were about coming to make an attack in the direction of Montreal.

This obliged the Count to muster what remained of the troops at Quebec and the best of the settlers in that neighborhood, in order to take them with him to Three Rivers, and detach them thence wherever it may be proper.

He also detained the ships of Mess^{rs} du Tartre and Bonneaventure so that they may act in case any thing come from the sea board.

A few days after his arrival, he learned that the enemy had on the eleventh of August, fallen on La Prairie de la Madelaine where our little army was encamped.

The announcement of the death of some officers of rank excited alarm at first, but the news received since the fourteenth, afforded so much cause to rejoice that those interested forgot the loss of their relatives; and I cannot, I think, employ myself better than in describing the most obstinate battle that has ever been fought in Canada since the foundation of the Colony.

I shall, therefore, resume matters a little further back.

On receiving the various accounts of the march of the English, the Mohegans and the Mohawks, M. de Calliers mustered what he could of Regulars and garrisons and the greatest number possible of Militia, and encamped them at La Prairie de la Madelaine, on the ground occupied by the Count the preceding year. Scouting parties were continually sent out. One of Sieur Hertel's sons, accompanied by three Algonquins and an Indian from the Mountain, discovered in the river Richelieu above the Chambly rapid *(portage)*, a canoe at which he fired. They were Mohawks who were, also, scouting. As it was supposed that the enemy would attack Chambly, or take the road leading thence to La Prairie de la Madelaine in order to fall on our settlements to the South, Mons[r] de Calliers thought it well to detach M[r] de Vallrenne, a veteran Captain, with Captains de Muyes and Dorvilliers, Sieur de LEpinay his Lieutenant and several Subalterns; he was followed by some picked men of his battalion, some Militia and Indians the greater portion of whom were Themiscamings or northern people belonging to the tribe of the Chief named Routine; Oreaoué who had but just arrived, as we shall state presently, wished to march with him; he was accompanied by some Hurons of Loretto, near Quebec, brave and faithful Indians, who have performed prodigies throughout the whole of this campaign.

Some Iroquois of the Mountain and Sault, the most considerable of whom was Paul, of whom we have already spoken, also joined the expedition.

This force was to form a junction with Sieur Lebert Duchêne who was accompanied by some Militia and already posted near Chambly.

The order was to take possession of, and defend that fort should the enemy threaten it, or if they marched against La Prairie, to follow, and attack them in the rear whilst those remaining in the Camp would oppose them in front.

The whole army had been already three days bivouacking in the Camp, and awaiting the enemy with a firm foot; at length, the night of the tenth and eleventh being very rainy and dark, some of the Militia, weary from watching, retired into the fort where a severe attack of fever confined M. de Calliers to his bed since he had left Montreal.

In order to understand more clearly what I have to state, I think it proper to give a short sketch of the manner in which he was encamped.

This fort is some thirty paces from the river at low water; the ground on which it is situated is sloped as well as the two prairies which are alongside the place called *La Fourche*, and intersected by a small stream within range of half cannon shot of the fort, and, also, by a ravine a little nearer the fort. Between these two stands the Mill.

In that direction the Militia was encamped to the left of the fort. It was thought best to station them on the bank of the river which is, as already observed, within thirty paces of the Prairie. The Outawas were likewise with them. The troops were encamped on the right, and the officers' tents were immediately opposite them on a height *(en haut.)*

About an hour before day break the Sentinel at the Mill hearing a noise and perceiving somebody gliding along the side of the hill *(l'écorre)* discharged his piece and shouted "To Arms!" The enemy had crept along the river *La Fourche* and the Ravine[1] and gained the water side. They pressed pretty hard the few Militia that remained, some of whom were killed, and, among the rest, six of our Outaouaus.

Meanwhile, the troops that had been under arms all night marched in good order; a part by the Prairie going around the fort; a part along the beach.

[1] Racine. *Text.* — Ravine. *Charlevoix.* — Ed.

They were led by Sieur de S^{t} Cirque, a Veteran Captain, who commanded in the absence of M. de Calliers. It could not be supposed that this large crowd in the camp of the Militia were enemies, no notice having been received that the Canadians had retired into the fort. They, therefore, were not attacked at first, and our troops were consequently exposed to a pretty sharp fire.

M. de S^{t} Cirque received a ball in the thigh. Captain Desquérat was mortally wounded, and Sieur d'Hosta, a reduced Captain, was killed on the spot.

This did not prevent the enemy being vigorously pressed, and as there was too much haste in following them, some of the officers and many of the soldiers who were farthest in advance, fell into an ambush that had been prepared for them at the Ravine above mentioned, and where the enemy had made a stand.

This cost Lieutenant Domergue his life.

Sieur de S^{t} Cirque died on entering the fort. The ball had cut the artery. It was impossible to prevail on him to retire until the enemy had retreated. He had served, all his life, in the best regiments of France and commanded a battalion in Sicily.

Sieur Desquérat, who died on the next day was not less regretted; also Sieur d'Hosta who, during the eight years he had been in this country, had given strong proofs of distinction.

The death of these gallant men was fully revenged two or three hours after.

The enemy retreated with more than thirty wounded; they left several dead on the field, and one a prisoner; he was caught in the act of throwing grenades into the fort, and stated that their design was to carry it by assault *(d'emblée)*, not supposing that it was so strongly garrisoned. They had marched hardly two leagues when one of their scouts showed himself to M de Valrenne's troop who followed their trail at a rapid pace. That officer had scarcely time to put his handful of men into a position of defence; his entire force consisted only of one hundred and twenty men, so that the English were more than two to one.

Two large trees which had fallen down across the road served him for a retrenchment; behind this he posted his men three deep, and they were to fire by ranks, which they executed very well.

The enemy were marching precipitately and, imagining to frighten us by their cries, approached within pistol shot of the retrenchment and of the fire of the first rank. More than thirty of them dropped. They were not, however, deterred by this heavy fire, and the English and Mohawks returned as many as three times to the charge. The Mohegans *(Loups)* who did not expect such a vigorous resistance, gave way somewhat.

Routine and his party thinking to surround and put them all to flight, was, himself, repulsed by the enemy. Here a sort of melée occurred, each quitting his post to engage at close quarters, where, if fire-arms were used, it was so near that, it may be said, they burned rather than killed one another.

Some of our young Canadians who had never smelt powder before, gave way a little, but were easily rallied by Sieur Le Bert Duchêne, their Commander, and the shame of having flinched made them afterwards do wonders. Our soldiers also greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion, and the emulation between the French and Indians caused every one to perform his duty perfectly. But nothing could equal the intrepidity displayed by Sieur de Valrenne. He was every where; his presence of mind, and the coolness with which he gave his orders, animated every body; he was efficiently seconded by Sieurs de Muyet, Dorvilliers, l'Epinay, Varlet, Perrès and Lebert Duchêne. The three last were dangerously wounded.

Sieurs de la Bruière, Denyt and de Poiras, subaltern officers, were killed, and Messrs Varlet and Duchêne have since died; Mr Pérès' fate is still uncertain.

The Indian Chiefs were not behind the French officers in signalizing themselves. Oreaouë surpassed himself, and Paul of the Sault fell encouraging all by word and example.

But the severe loss experienced by the enemy cooled their ardor by degrees. For one of ours that fell, we killed four or five of theirs, and after an hour and a half's fighting, they withdrew but in such disorder that they abandoned all their baggage and colors and, had not the strength to pursue them failed our Frenchmen and even the Indians, not a single man of them had escaped.

Three days' marching through the country, intersected by fallen trees, ravines and marshes, with scarcely any food and no drink but very muddy water, had so fatigued M. de Valrenne's party that it was not only impossible for them to pursue the enemy, but even to defend themelves any longer had the fight been prolonged. That officer, therefore, thought proper to recall those who were in pursuit of the retreating party, and to entrench himself on the field of battle behind a large abatis of trees which he had constructed. He sent those who were able to march, to the camp of La Prairie to demand some fresh men to remove the wounded, and to assist his troops to return thither.

The Indians of the Sault having received news of the great victory, started from their fort to the number of 6^{xx} men, and it seemed by their appearance that, being fresh and active, they ought to pursue the enemy, and that were they to attack, they could easily defeat the handful that remained, the most of whom were wounded and left marks of their weakness and disorder in the traces of blood to be seen every where they passed. Nevertheless, having arrived at the field of battle, they contented themselves with counting over and pillaging the dead, and then retired under pretence of the firing they said they heard at La Prairie, and which took place at the burial of the officers who had been killed.

If we are to believe the report of an Englishman, which Sieur de Valrennes had from another that was found in the fort they had constructed on the Richelieu river for the security of their canoes; of Indians who had counted the dead, and of prisoners whom Sieur de la Chapelle has since brought in, the loss of the English on this occasion, appears to be nearly two hundred men.

The Mohawks had thirty killed on the field, and out of more than a hundred who had left home only some twenty had returned to their village, fifteen days afterwards.

The loss of the Mohegans *(Loups)* is not so well ascertained, as they gave way the first.

But what is very certain is, that, considering the nature of the ground and the small number of our Frenchmen, no one could even have adopted more effectual measures than Sieur de Valrenne, or made so good a use of the advantage afforded by a trifling retrenchment.

He acted impartially towards the French militia, the Regulars and the Indians; he assigned to each the post for which he considered him best qualified; and charging only at the proper moment, intimidated the enemy so much by his calm behavior that, though he was considerably inferior to him in point of numbers, the experience obtained in the course of a long service, from his early youth, furnished him with means to drive them before him, and he would have totally defeated them as we have represented, had the fatigue of his men allowed him to pursue them.

M. de Calliers sent him a battalion to convey the wounded, as he had required, and he arrived at La Prairie in the evening. In addition to the officers already mentioned, we have

some eighteen or twenty men, Soldiers, Militia and Indians, killed in this engagement; the dead at La Prairie and on this occasion may amount to forty, and as many wounded. This seriously reduces our troops.

Sieur de Valrenne was dispatched in person to Three Rivers to furnish M. de Frontenac with the details of every thing that happened. Oreaouë and some Indians of Loretto accompanied him, and I think it my duty to state what that Indian had previously performed.

He had started with fifteen or sixteen as well Huron as other Indians of the Mountain to go, he said, to revenge himself on the people of his nation for the affronts he had received from them. He struck his blow between Cayuga and Onondaga, and brought a man and a woman away prisoners; another Indian of the Mountain brought away three scalps.

On his return, Oroaouë met in Lake Frontenac fifty Tionnontatez or Hurons of Missilimakinac, our allies, who also were on the war path. Under the impression that he was an Iroquois, they, at first, wounded one of his men, who has since died, but afterwards having mutually recognized each other, he informed them of the vigorous war we were prosecuting; of the advantage we had gained at Repentigny, and of the supplies we were daily expecting from France, which would place us in a condition to do better in future and to provide our allies with whatever munitions of war they may require.

We have not yet heard the particulars of the success gained by these different parties of our Upper Indians who, it is calculated, must have been at least from seven to eight hundred strong. But the marked inactivity of the Iroquois Nations, with the exception of the Mohawks, and the abandonment of their Village by the Senecas, would lead us to infer that those have, for the most part, been successful.

Oreaouë on arriving at Three Rivers on the fourteenth experienced a very cordial reception from the Count. The latter never doubted his fidelity, notwithstanding the opinion of many persons who did not know him as well as he; but a hunt of four or five months in the winter within a few days' journey of his country and his return to Quebec, when he was least expected and when it was in his power easily to have escaped, if he pleased, effectually closed their mouths.

He presented his Onondaga prisoner to the Count who despite the repugnance he felt, considered it his duty to hand him over to the Algonquins to put him to death, as a small return for the cruelties they inflicted on us every day. He was not, however, tormented as much as he deserved and a blow from a hatchet which a Huron inflicted, pursuant to orders, delivered him from the torture of the fire he would have made him endure by those Algonquins, who are better judges of those sorts of things.

Two days after the execution, Oreaouë started anew with the same Hurons of Loretto and those of the Sault and the Mountain, who appeared to him the most faithful; and on arriving at Montreal, was fortunate enough to find an opportunity for signalizing himself again.

Two Frenchmen and a woman had been taken at the River des Prairies by a party of the enemy; Oreaouë set off on their trail and overtook them at the place called the Rapide Plat of the River *des Iroquois*, whilst making their canoes, and killed two on the spot, took four prisoners, and set our three French people at liberty whom he brought in triumph back to Montreal.

Never was man so much caressed. Every Indian tribe demanded him as their Chief, and the deliverance of our prisoners made all bless the hour he had been brought from France by the Count, and the care the latter had taken of him.

After having visited Quebec, to receive the reward of so many heroic actions, he set out immediately to return again to the War. He observed with a modesty not very common to an Indian, that he had not yet done enough to repay the obligations he was under to his father Onnontio, and to mark his attachment to the French.

A few days before his return to Montreal from this expedition, Sieur de Lachapelle, a reduced lieutenant, arrived there. He had organized a party of seven or eight Indians to go towards Orange to carry off some English. Two leagues from the town they fell in with a Mohawk hut in which they found two men. The talk about peace prevented any attack on these; three others arrived there shortly after, and conversing peaceably together stated that several of their nation had joined the English, and had (as they reported) killed a great many people at La Prairie de la Madelaine.

This made our party resolve to kill them in the night, not being able to take them all prisoners; but an Indian traitor belonging to the Mountain notified them of this design, caused three of them to escape and went off, himself, with them. The other two have been brought to Montreal and interrogated more minutely. They report, that of all the English who had come against us, only ten had returned to Orange when they had left; that of their nation thirty had been killed on the field, both in the engagement at La Prairie and in that with Sieur de Valrenne.

That a large number of wounded had not yet come back; that Onnonragouas, that fine intermediator of last winter, was one of the leaders of the party, and had been killed; that they did not know the loss of the Mohegans *(Loups)*. The lives of these two prisoners were spared.

Lieutenant de la Brosse returned also, a few days after, with some Indians he had conducted over a large extent of hunting ground that he had explored. He met scarcely any one, and contented himself with bringing in some scalps, not having been able to take any prisoners.

Twenty-fourth of August. The Count, on his return from Three Rivers, set about preparing for the dispatch of the ships of Mess^rs^ Dutartre[1] and de Bonaventure. They sailed in the fore part of September, the former to cruise at the mouth of our river where, we were informed, some English pirates were prowling; the latter, to convey Sieur de Villebon and his men to Acadia.

The Count received letters, soon after, from M. de S^t^ Castin of that place, who sent a canoe with two others addressed to him by the Governor and Council of Boston and M. de Nelson. They were very civil, and designed to induce him [M. de Frontenac] to prevail on the Abenakis and other Indians, to surrender the prisoners in their possession; they reminded him of the obligations their Colony was under to him formerly; and requested him to continue the same friendly disposition notwithstanding the War the English and French were unavoidably engaged in. He answered them in nearly the same style, and that if they were desirous of having their people back it would first be necessary for them to restore Chevalier d'Eau who whilst acting as his envoy, had, contrary to the Law of Nations, been captured by the Iroquois; his companions burnt, and himself detained at Manath; that they had no more right to carry off, in violation of the articles of Capitulation which had been granted, Sieur de Monneval Governor of Port Royal, and his garrison some of whom were still prisoners; that when they would have repaired these contraventions of the laws of honorable warfare, it would be time to think of a general exchange of what prisoners may be in the hands of each Nation or of the Indian allies.

[1] See note 1, *supra*, p. 519.

In the way of news, Sieur de S^t^ Castin informed him, that New England was in an extremely low condition; that they had experienced a considerable loss at the Islands; that great divisions between the English and the Dutch existed at Manath since the death of their Governor,[1] and that a sort of civil war prevailed there; that all this talk about an exchange of prisoners was merely to bring our Indians to a peace, and that he would oppose it with all his might.

The harvest at Montreal, which was very fine and saved with all possible care, being completed, M. de la Forest, a reduced Captain, took his departure, at length, from the head of the Island, on the eleventh of September, with a convoy of one hundred and ten men for the purpose of transporting to Missilimakinac the presents destined by the King for our Indian allies. He took back with him the Onnontagues[2] to whom two prisoners had been given with a view to diminish any sorrow they might feel for the loss of six of their people who had been killed at La Prairie.

Though this voyage was absolutely demanded by the public interests, and for the encouragement of our Indian allies in the vigorous prosecution of the war—these people being influenced only by presents—it was retarded by various secret intrigues such as are commonly resorted to here.

The Indians of the Sault, in consequence of some movement to which they were prompted, took it into their heads to wish to stop it, remonstrating by Belts that, independent of the risk of attack to be encountered on the way, the Colony would be stripped of the best of its young men. But these new Councillors of State were not listened to, and on express and reiterated orders from the Count, who perceived the spirit by which they were prompted, this Convoy started on the day I have stated.

We had the frigate, *le Petit Sage*, on the twelfth of September. She met three English ships; one in passing Cape Ray; the other near Bird Island, and the third at Anticosti. They did not attack her.

L'Honoré, which arrived eight days after, was attacked by this last. Her gallant bearing saved her, and after having exchanged some shots, the Englishman tacked about, and our ship continued her course. She informed Mess^rs^ Dutartre and de Bonnaventure of the place this privateer was to be found.

Le S^t^. Francois de Xavier and *le S^t^. Jean* anchored here on the fifth of October without having fallen in with any thing.

One of the ships belonging to the Northern Company, named *la S^te^ Anne*, commanded by Sieur Lemoine d'hiberville [arrived from] Hudson's bay on the nineteenth of October, freighted with beaver and peltries for said Company. On the sixth of November, Sieur de Neuvillette, brother of Sieur de Villebon the governor of Acadia, brought accounts from thence.

Sieur de Bonnaventure after leaving this harbor did not fall in with any vessel until he reached the coast of Acadia, where he captured a small craft of little consequence which he ordered to be burnt.

He went with Sieur de Villebon to Port Royal, and having landed, hoisted the French, in the place of the English, flag which he found there. The settlers appeared to him to be very well disposed, but it will be very difficult to keep them so, if they be not protected against the incursions of the English, who by the facility they possess of reaching that place, could give them reason to repent of any excessive attachment they might entertain towards us.

[1] Sloughter. — Ed.

[2] *Sic.* Outaouaks. *La Potherie*, III., 147.

From Port Royal they proceeded towards the River S[t] John and, learning that M. de Nelson was coming there with a vessel, concealed themselves behind a point. On hearing the report of two guns — which was the signal to give notice of his arrival — they gave him chase, and easily brought him to and made him prisoner. Another small Ketch escaped under favor of the twilight.

There might have been on board this prize, some twenty @ twenty-five men; among the rest Colonel Tync[1] who was returning from Port Royal, whither he had been sent in the capacity of Governor. He had not thought proper to remain there, not being able to engage the settlers to guarantee him against the insults the Indians might offer him. One Aldem and his son, Boston merchants, were, also, on board.

The father has been released with the crew, and has left his son as a hostage for the security of the ship. He has promised to bring back from Boston such of the soldiers as may be found there belonging to the Port Royal garrison who have been detained contrary to the promise given them when they capitulated.

Colonel Tync has also remained at the fort at the mouth *(au bas)* of the river S[t] John, occupied by Sieur de Villebon, who has sent to Count de Frontenac M. de Nelson from whose capture this country will, possibly, derive great benefit. He is a gentleman of merit and intelligence; possessing influence in Boston, where his friends have always been opposed to those of Sir William Phips. He has ever distinguished himself by kind treatment of the French, as well in peace as during the War, and to him M. de Monneval, Governor of Port Royal, is indebted for his liberty. In like manner he may anticipate every civility that can be extended to a prisoner.[2]

Report on the Affairs of Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland.

Extract of the Memoir on the Affairs of Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland. 17 February 1692.

After the retreat of the English of Boston from Quebec, and the failure of the expedition of those of New-York, which was in connection with the Iroquois, to make a simultaneous attack on the upper part of the Colony in the month of October 1690, the country found itself in want of every thing, and particularly of provisions because the greater portion of the ships

[1] Colonel Edward Tyng was the second son of Edward Tyng who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1636; he became a proprietor of land in 1663 in Portland, whither he removed in 1680, and was commandant of Fort Loyal in 1681. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thaddeus Clarke, *supra*, p. 472, and was appointed one of the Councillors of Maine in 1678, and so continued during the presidency of Mr. Danforth (1680–1686), and in 1686 was appointed by the King member of the Council under President Joseph Dudley, who married his sister, and held that office under Governor Andros, with whom he was a favorite; by whom he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the province of Sagadahock in 1688, 1689, and whose "arbitrary power ambition prompted him to support against the rights and interests of the people." He was commissioned Governor of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, and was taken prisoner, not on his passage thither, as is generally stated, but on his return from that place; he was carried to Quebec, whence he was removed, by order of Louis XIV., to France, where he died. He left four children, two sons and two daughters. One of the latter married a brother of Dr. Franklin. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, 192, 214. — Ed.

[2] The above Document is embodied in Letter III. of the 3d Volume of M. de Potherie's *Histoire de la Amerique Septentrionale*. — Ed.

which were bringing supplies from France to enable the troops and the settlers to continue the war, had been obliged to return, the river being occupied by the English.

This distress obliged M. de Frontenac to cause the soldiers to be quartered among the farmers during the winter and up to the month of July, when the King's ships and the merchants who had sailed from France in May, arrived at Quebec, whereby the Iroquois, the English and the Dutch of New-York were afforded an opportunity to make an attack in the spring on the Colony at the Upper part of the river, and even on the forts near Montreal which they expected to carry. Some sharp fighting ensued in which the King's arms had the advantage, with the loss, however, of several brave Officers and a number of Soldiers and Canadians.

The Colony was reduced to the lowest ebb when the reinforcements arrived. He has sent to the Upper Indians, whom he had conciliated, the presents the King had designed for them in order to stimulate them to prosecute the war against the Iroquois, whilst agreeably to his Majesty's orders, he had dispatched ammunition, arms, officers and some Canadians by sea to the Canibas, so that they may wage war against the people of New England, their enemies and neighbors.

The harvest has since been saved pretty quietly. M^{r} de Frontenac had intended to send a strong party towards Orange for the purpose of attacking the English and the Mohawks, but the season being found too far advanced, he has been obliged to abandon that point, and to let the winter pass until reinforcements should come from France so as to commence operations when they would arrive, and be in a condition to resist the enemy, who were threatening to make another attack on Quebec by sea, and on Montreal by the Iroquois and those of New-York.

In fact, Phips who commanded the expedition against Quebec, came to England in the summer to solicit some men of war on behalf of the people of New England, who offer to furnish men and to defray the expense of an attack on Quebec.

M. de Frontenac who was engaged with all possible activity in fortifying Quebec, represents that having lost more than 500 Regulars and a number of the best Canadians in the frequent and sharp conflicts he has had with the enemy during the past and previous year, it becomes necessary to send him some men to reinforce the 28 companies, and additional soldiers to place the seven reduced companies on their former establishment; some ammunition and provisions, and some such presents as his Majesty made last year to the Indian allies.

He also represents that with his remaining soldiers he can scarcely hope to effect any thing except to make the enemy purchase dearly the execution of their plans.

He demands particularly that the King would be pleased to send as early as possible any assistance his Majesty may be willing to afford that Colony, which is of so much importance of itself, and in regard to the English and the fisheries of the gulf of S^{t} Lawrence, of Acadia and particularly of Newfoundland, which constitute one of the most considerable branches of the National commerce, and give employment to the greatest number of sailors. The invasion of Canada would inevitably carry with it the loss of these fisheries.

Diligence in the dispatch of those reinforcements, which are to guarantee the safety of those interests, will tend to prevent the inconveniences resulting from forced inaction, and from any expeditions by the enemy in the beginning of Summer. It will afford time to distribute those reinforcements so as to resist the enemy's greatest efforts, and the King's ships which are to convey the troops, will have time to leave Quebec in sufficient season to operate elsewhere and in other expeditions without any increased expense.

Mr de Frontenac and the Intendant demand 1,000 men to recruit and increase the forces.

Note.—The reduced officers, now employed, will serve to organize the additional companies.

They have transmitted an Estimate of the Indian presents.

It amounts to..... 17.958.

Another Estimate of munitions of war, provisions, clothing and merchandise, amounting, exclusive of artillery and 12000lbs of fine powder, to..... 98,339.

They make urgent entreaties for funds for the fortifications.

The King sent last year..... 24,000.

The provisions contained in the annexed estimate are partly for the subsistence of the troops and his Majesty made remittance in 1691 for the extraordinary expenses of the war.

Sent in 1691 for the payment of the fortifications of 1690..... 16.000 ll

And for 1691..... 20.000

36.000.

M. de Champigny has sent a statement of the application of these 36.000 and another of 15,505ll 3 sous 9 farthings additional which have been expended, and which he caused the Treasurer to advance.

The expense for subsisting the soldiers that his Majesty will send out, will have to be increased.

The funds appropriated last year for the pay of Chev: de Vaudreuil, of the officers of the 28 companies, of the reduced officers and of the soldiers to the number of 1313, amounted to 218.072.ll

It is proposed to fit out two 36 gun frigates each on a war establishment, and a transport of 400 tons, to convoy the merchant vessels and to guard and carry over the soldiers, provisions, ammunition, arms, and goods.

To provide for what the three vessels will not be able to carry, his Majesty will, if he pleases, have the goodness to grant permits to six merchant vessels for the transportation of supplies necessary for the inhabitants, on condition that they will convey gratuitously some of his Majesty's effects in proportion to about one-fourth the contents of said vessels; and some soldiers on his Majesty paying their board and passage.

After having been unloaded at Quebec, one of the frigates will proceed with two of the ships belonging to the Northern Company of Canada, to Hudson's bay, in order to coöperate with Sieur d'Iberville's expedition against the English of Port Nelson, after which it will return, passing along the island of Newfoundland in order to wage war against the English, and to succor the French, of that island.

Note.—Sieur d'Iberville took three forts from the English in that Bay in the year 1689, and, the year following defeated and captured three ships sent by the English to expel them from these posts.

It appears necessary to give the command of this frigate to said Sieur d'Iberville, and to place a lieutenant on board to bring her back, after the Nelson expedition.

It is intended that the other frigate, after having been at Quebec, will cruize along the coasts of Acadia, enter la baie Francaise[1] and convey the supplies which the Company of Acadia sends to the Colonists and to the river Saint John, and whatever his Majesty transmits to the Canibas and for the French, who have been ordered thither to operate against New England; she will afterwards make a foray on the Boston coast and so return by the island of Newfoundland.

The Castle of Quebec is in ruins. M. de Frontenac sends the report of the inspection, and of the work to be done for 12 @ 1400 ^{li} which he demands, or at least a part of it to begin with.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Frontenac.

Versailles, April 1692.

Sir,

The King having informed you of the attention his Majesty has paid to your reiterated proposals to attack New-York and New England from the Sea, I am highly pleased to inform you again on that point, that he would have had a force organized for that expedition, if the present state of his affairs had permitted it and that, when feasible, he will not let the opportunity pass. But as the Memoirs sent by you do not contain information as precise as would be desirable in order to facilitate and guarantee the execution of such a design, particularly as regards the lay of the coasts, the landings, and anchorage of the ships, it becomes necessary that you again consult with those who will happen to have been at those places, in order to prepare extensive plans thereof, and to mark thereon the soundings *(les fonds)* and all requisite observations. His Majesty approves, also, that you send Sieur de Cadillac to France by the first ships, who, he understands, is the best instructed on these points. You will make any excuse you please for sending him, so as to conceal[2] the knowledge of this design which the English already seriously suspect. Wherefore, I must remark, in regard to the liberty I understand has been allowed to M^{r} Nelson, that such a degree of civility and good treatment may be extended to him as is due to a prisoner of rank, but more precaution ought to be taken in his case, to prevent a man like him, who is esteemed the most active and most determined against Canada and the best adapted to aid the designs of the English in getting up expeditions, having the means of ascertaining your condition by the liberty he enjoys of seeing places and communicating with all sorts of people. Under these circumstances, I think you ought to have him confined after the arrival of the ships, and not allow him to speak except to persons of education, and to those whom it will not be possible for you to suspect.

You must not exchange said Nelson, unless the English have restored, as they were bound to do, the 53 French soldiers of Port Royal detained at Boston for the English prisoners sent back to Boston, pursuant to the agreement with Sieur de Villebon; and you must wait for the return of those soldiers inasmuch as they have been detained contrary to the faith of the Capitulation granted by Phips to Sieur de Meneval.

[1] Bay of Fundy.

[2] "pour *aider* la connoissance de ce dessein," is the text. The word *aider* is supposed to be a mistake for *céler*. — Ed.

If, in that case, you have to negotiate the exchange of Mr Nelson and other English prisoners, you can surrender him on obtaining Chevalier d'O and Father Millet, the Jesuit, if they have not been sent back, as Sieur de Villebon had caused us to expect; or in all events, you can exchange said Nelson for such other Frenchmen as will possibly fall into the enemy's hands.

I have still to add to the King's observations regarding his intentions for the next Campaign, and to what I have written to you on the same subject, that as it appears by the adieus of M. de Champigny and your own letters, that you had prepared last fall the forces and material necessary for attacking Orange and the Mohawks, and that such expedition did not take place in consequence of the proper time for it having been allowed to pass away, it seems that it would be highly advantageous that you prepare, in good season, to execute it at the commencement of Autumn, if you consider its success possible, and if the English have not entered the river and the Iroquois have returned home, or are occupied by the diversion made by the Indian allies.

M. de Frontenac to M. de Pontchartrain.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The different movements also on our side, and which have been continued from the beginning of winter to the present time, have given a considerable check to the Iroquois. It is true that they have received serious rebuffs in three different encounters; one towards Lake Champlain in the month of December; the second in the beginning of the month of March, near the Islands of Tonniata,[1] 50 leagues from Montreal where they were hunting, and the last at the falls of the Long Sault on the river leading to the Outaouas where one of their detachments was overtaken, consisting of two hundred men who had the hardihood to advance even below the Island of Montreal, but did not return the same way having been pursued, captured, killed and defeated with loss of their principal chiefs. M. de Vaudreuil commanded on that last occasion on which he distinguished himself, having been very well seconded by all the officers who were with him. He is an officer of merit and of right good will. I shall furnish you, My Lord, by the last ships sailing hence, with a fuller detail of these actions, and of what occurred in this country since the departure of the vessels last year, allowing myself at present only the honor of writing to you hastily, and merely to give you a general outline of things, under the impression that my despatches will be safer in these ships, though apparently they may not arrive in France as soon as those which will leave here only towards the end of October.

I shall add that those advantages have secured us repose during our seed time and harvest; and that small detachments frequently renewed, which has been our policy, have caused more inconvenience to the enemy than the marching of large levies of men to their villages. The latter make great noise and do little harm and, besides, could not be raised, in consequence of the number of Wolves we have at present, without stripping the country and consequently exposing it to such attacks as the English and Indians would make when they would find us at

[1] Above Prescott, C. W. See *supra*, p. 77.

a distance; the former coming either by Sea or from Orange by lake Champlain; the latter by the Great Iroquois[1] and Outaouas rivers where they ordinarily hunt.

I am well aware that there are people of a different opinion, who urge the Indians to make earnest entreaties to me in order to induce me to go and attack the enemy in the centre of his country with the slender force that I have remaining. I put them off, and endeavor to amuse them by always giving them hopes, that I shall grant their desire so as not to lead them to suspect our want of means. But I will not hesitate, My Lord, to tell you that such is not my opinion, and that I consider I should be guilty of great imprudence in risking a matter of this nature so long as you have not sent us wherewithal to reinforce our troops, and until I have found means to establish entrepôts and sure depôts for provisions so that we may not experience any want and may be able to convey thither, without difficulty, the sick and the wounded, the number of which cannot fail to be considerable in expeditions so distant and routes so difficult as those are that must be followed.

All, then, that I think myself able to effect this year, whilst awaiting the reinforcements you lead me to expect next season and which we so much need, is to observe an efficient defensive, to put myself in a condition to repel the enemy should they come to attack us, and [so] to manage [as] to be safe next spring.

The worm[2] has made great ravage this year among our grain, and the harvest is much less abundant than was expected, so that we should continue to be greatly straitened for food as in preceding years, had not the last ships, on board of which, 'tis said, was to be put the remainder of the flour in the invoices sent us, not arrived in safety. The Intendant is to advise you of the price at which it is charged to us; it is much higher than private individuals who import the article purchase it for in France. The consequent increased rates of the Soldier's ration diminish his balance and deprives the officers of the power to keep him in as good condition as would be necessary.

The bad faith of the English respecting the restoration of the fifty-three soldiers of the Port Royal garrison, has been very flagrant. Instead of sending them back by the merchant named Alden who, when Sieur de Villebon permitted him to return with his vessel to Boston, had pledged himself to bring them back, he (Alden) at his next visit did all in his power to entice Sieur de Villebon on board an armed brigantine in which he had come, with a view apparently to carry him off. Perceiving that the latter was not such a dupe as to fall into that trap, he contented himself with landing merely six of the Port Royal soldiers, saying that the others were desirous of remaining; and setting sail, he returned to Boston forcibly taking with him two of Sieur de Villebon's men who through curiosity had gone to see his vessel, and without paying for the one that had been restored to him when he was taken, and for which he had given his note. Sieur de Villebon, therefore, considered it his duty to send hither to me Colonel Ting and this Alden's son, whom he had until then detained with him, and whom I caused to be lodged in prison on their arrival. But as they, as well as M[r] Nelson and the other English persons whom we have taken, or have rescued from the hands of the Indians, are a heavy charge to us; as it would be easy for them in time to find means of escape and to return to their country, and as the English of Boston have none of our prisoners whom they could propose to exchange; those belonging to the garrison of Port Royal not being admissible in such exchange, as you observe to me in your despatches; we — the Intendant and I — have thought proper, in order to free ourselves from this embarrassment, and from the expense

[1] Saint Lawrence.

[2] The word in the text is *Chenilles*, caterpillars. — Ed.

attendant thereupon, to send the major part of them to France, and to distribute them among the vessels about to sail thither, in order that you may direct what shall be done with them, and prevent the return particularly of M^r^ Nelson, Colonel Ting and this Alden's son especially to Boston and Manath.

The generous liberty I allowed the first has not greatly augmented his stock of knowledge regarding this country and town, in which he sojourned, previous to the war, a sufficient length of time to become acquainted with it, and to see that it is at present in a better condition than it was then.

Yet he is so full of zeal for the Prince of Orange's party, and for his religion, and so strongly impressed with the justice of his claims on Port Royal and Acadia through an uncle of his,[1] to whom, he says, they belonged before the restitution thereof by the English in virtue of the Treaty, that it is highly important not to allow him to return to Boston though Phipps, at present governor of that place, be his mortal enemy and the cabal of relatives and friends there be, as it were, entirely opposed to him. Moreover, there is no exchange to be proposed for Chevalier Dau or Father Millet, the latter not being at the disposal of those of Boston, but in the hands of the Indians in one of the villages called Oneida, whence the former could not withdraw him; and the first has found means to escape and return here, where he has arrived within these few days.

He will give you an account, My Lord, of the perils he has run, and of all his adventures which surpass those of their kind we read in Romances. It is impossible to evince more firmness and zeal for the King's service and glory than he has manifested in all the trials to which he has been subjected. And he, therefore, hopes that you will have the goodness to use your endeavors to procure some reward for him in return.

The information he will likewise furnish you regarding Manath and Boston will possibly add something more to what you will learn respecting them from the persons I have already mentioned. You will thus possess, I hope, all the light you express a wish for, and will turn your attention, seriously, to the execution of an expedition which will never be so easy as it is at the present conjuncture, when confusion and division reign paramount in those two cities which cannot expect considerable assistance from Europe.

Chevalier Dau assures me that Phipps always intends to make an effort to come and attack us next year. This will oblige me to adopt all possible precautions in order to give him a proper reception, and forces me to supplicate you to solicit from his Majesty a strong reinforcement of troops, without which I cannot avoid falling; and should it be granted, to have it dispatched in such season that it will arrive here in all the month of May.

When I spoke to you, My Lord, of Fort Frontenac and of the advantage I could derive from it during the continuance of this war, it was not with the intention of reëstablishing it immediately, and as soon as I should have his Majesty's permission. I am well aware I have not the means of doing so at present owing to the few troops here, who must neither be separated nor detached; but I dare to tell you, and to maintain the position against whomsoever at the peril of my head, that should the occasion offer, I could not render the King a greater service, nor the Colony a greater benefit, than by reëstablishing that post, which is equally necessary both during war and during the most profound peace; and that all those who will say the contrary are either very ignorant of the affairs of, and have not profited by their sojourn in, this country; or are moved by motives of jealousy and private

[1] Sir Thomas Temple. See note, *supra*, p. 75.

interest to make representations to you, the falsehood of which is easily demonstrated, when you will be pleased to inform yourself of the utility it has been to me during the ten years of my first administration, having the Indians in peace now only by means thereof; and learn also the advantages the governors, my successors, have derived from it when they wished to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country, which I should have already done, since my return, had I not found the place abandoned either through caprice, or from motives perhaps not entirely known to me, but which I might, nevertheless, be able to expose when it will please you to order me so to do.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Let my great distance and the small means I possess of recalling myself often to your mind, not weaken nor diminish the desire you may entertain to be the author of my fortune and of my repose, inasmuch as you could not procure it for any one who would be more grateful, or with more profound respect and more sincere and perfect attachment,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient
and most obliged servant

15 September, 1692. FRONTENAC.

Narrative of Military Operations in Canada. 1691, 1692.

An Account of the Military Operations in Canada from the month of November, 1691, to the month of October, 1692.

In the beginning of December, a party of hostile Indians, 34 in number, having surprised 22 of our Savages, men, women and children, who were out hunting in the neighborhood of Chambly, took them prisoners and set off towards Orange. Intelligence of that event having been immediately conveyed to the village of the Saut S[t] Louis by a Squaw who had made her escape, 40 of our Indians belonging to that post started at the same time in pursuit of the enemy and, having overtaken them on Lake Champlain, attacked and forced their retrenchments. Of the 34 they numbered, 16 were killed; 14 taken prisoners, and the remaining 4 escaped. Those they had captured were recovered, and we lost on this occasion only 4 of our Indians. This action was so promptly executed, that we heard at Quebec of the capture of our Indians, and of the defeat of the enemy at the same time.

Having come down to Quebec after striking this blow, in order to inform Count de Frontenac thereof, our Indians requested permission, at the same time, that a party of Frenchmen and Indians be organized to go in quest of the enemy in their country. This having been granted, it set out in the month of February, to the number of 120 Frenchmen and 205 Indians under the command of Captain Dorvilliers. This officer, after being three days out, scalded his foot by the accidental upsetting of a kettle of boiling water, and was obliged to return; he resigned the command to Sieur de Brancour,[1] a reduced Captain in this country. They proceeded as far as [the Island of Tonihata[2]] above Montreal in the direction of Cataracouy where they

[1] *Sic.* Charlevoix prints it Beaucour, or rather Beaucourt. — ED. [2] Charlevoix' *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, II., 112.

discovered 50 of the enemy whom they attacked at noon in Camp, killing 24, and taking 16 of them prisoners; the other 10 escaped. Among the enemy were found three French prisoners who were liberated. We lost, on this occasion, 5 Indians, 1 Frenchman, and had 5 wounded. Sieur de Brancour conducted this expedition with a great deal of prudence. He was accompanied by Lieutenants de Sourdy, Dauberville, Labrosse and Forsan, and by Beaubassin, a reduced lieutenant, who acquitted themselves very well on the occasion. It is impossible to describe the fatigue attendant on these expeditions in which every person walking on snow shoes is obliged to carry his provisions on his back across the woods and over the snow. These officers ought to be distinguished by some special favor, as there are but few of them in this country capable of marching on such expeditions.

In the month of April a party of hostile Savages killed one of our Indians in the river S[t] Francis, above Three Rivers and made good his escape.

In the same month, divers small parties, composed of 3, 4, 8, 10 and 12 of our Indians, set out from Montreal to go to divers parts of the enemy's territory. One of these having laid in ambush within sight of Orange, surprised three Englishmen, 2 of whom they killed and brought in 1, who reported to us that no ship had reached them; that goods were scarce, and that a pound of powder sold for a pound of Beaver which they value at 10 @ 12 french livres.

Two other of these parties having met without recognizing each other, fought like enemies; and three of them fell at the first shot; they afterwards discovered their mistake.

Several Indians belonging to these small parties deserted to the enemy; they had been previously prisoners, and at war with our Indians.

At the close of April, M. de Frontenac dispatched 43 Frenchmen from Montreal with his orders to Missilimakinac in the Outaouas country, and caused them to be escorted by 3 Frenchmen and 25 Indians under the command of Sieur De La Noue, a Canadian officer, beyond a certain point where it was reported the enemy were lying in ambush. After a march of several days without meeting any one, and under the impression that the enemy was not on that route, the escort returned to Montreal where the 43 Frenchmen arrived the following day, having discovered the enemy's fires two hours after separating.

On their arrival, M[r] de Frontenac dispatched the same 43 Frenchmen with a more numerous escort, but they, too, were constrained to come back, having discovered the main body of the enemy about the same place that they had originally seen them.[1]

These two retreats obliged M[r] de Frontenac to send two canoes of Frenchmen and Indians by two other routes to convey his orders to Missilimakinac, and to give notice to the Voyageurs that the enemy were waiting for them on the way.

At the end of May, 29 canoes of Indians called Algonquins *à têtes de Boule*[2] came down to Montreal to dispose of their peltries. M. de Frontenac gave them 36 Frenchmen to escort them beyond the dangerous points, which extend from within 12 leagues of Montreal to a place called the Long Sault,[3] the navigation of which is very difficult in consequence of strong currents and vast breakers *(bouillons)*. One portion of our Indians and Frenchmen being on shore and the other in canoes, the enemy attacked those more in advance and charged them so violently that those who were in the water were obliged to paddle out among the breakers;

[1] At the River du Lièvre *(Charlevoix)* or Hare river, which flows from the North, and falls into the Ottawa river in the town of Buckingham, county of Ottawa, C. E., a little below, but on the opposite side to, Bytown. — Ed.

[2] The Indians around Lake Abitibis, South east of Hudson's bay, were called by the French, *Têtes de boule*, or Round Heads.

[3] Of the Ottawa river. *Charlevoix.*

some of those on land reëmbarked and did likewise, and the remainder fled into the woods; almost all the canoes upset, and all what know for certain of this affar is, that we lost on that occasion 21 Frenchmen and three Indians. Of this number fifteen are prisoners. What is also to be regretted is, that the enemy will have a quantity of ammunition and merchandise with which the canoes of our Indians were loaded; this will render them more insolent, and furnish them with means to carry on the war against us with greater vigor.

On the 29th June, the day succeeding the receipt of this intelligence, M. de Frontenac dispatched 130 men, including officers and soldiers, and 60 Indians under the command of Sieur de Vaudreuil, commander of the forces, to the place where the enemy struck the last blow, in order to observe their movements, whether they were preparing to make a descent on our settlements, and to collect our people who were dispersed in the woods by the late defeat.

This force repaired to the scene of the action but found no enemy, nor any of our people, A canoe belonging to this detachment on board of which were three soldiers, upset, and one of them was drowned.

In the beginning of July, our enemies took 2 farmers who were mowing near Fort Roland. four leagues above Montreal, and, some days after, captured nine at La Chenaie five leagues below. M. de Callières having been advised of this, sent a detachment of 80 men commanded by Captains Duplessis and Merville, but this did not prevent the enemy taking two settlers more on *L'île Jésus*, near La Chenaie, and burning a barn full of hay; Our detachment marched against them, and went as far as the woods which it was deemed imprudent to enter fearing to fall into some ambuscade. Meanwhile M. de Callières dispatched M. de Vaudreuil with 150 men, French and Indians, to join the detachment; but the enemy having discovered them, retreated forthwith. Sieur de Vildenay, an officer of the regular army, who had been three years a prisoner among the Iroquois, escaped, and informed M. de Vaudreuil that they numbered only 150; that it was the party which lay in wait for the Voyageurs from the Outaouacs, and that they had prepared two loads of beaver above the Long Sault.[1] On this report, M. de Vaudreuil and his party returned to Montreal where M. de Callières ordered 500 men, French and Indians, to go and await the enemy at the place where the beaver was concealed. This force, commanded by M. de Vaudreuil, hastened beyond the Long Sault, where having descried one of the enemy's canoes crossing the river, they thought themselves discovered. M. de Vaudreuil caused his party to land, left 100 men to guard the bateaux and canoes, and set out through the woods in search of the enemy's camp. Hearing at nightfall the noise of men chopping, he approached the spot and, being discovered by the wood cutters who raised a great cry, the enemy came out of their wigwams, and placed themselves on the defensive. Notwithstanding their fire, they were charged at once by the van of our party, but as soon as the enemy perceived the main body, they gave way and fled into the woods through a place which could not have, as yet, been guarded. The night favored their flight; they lost 20 men including killed and prisoners, and 9 women and five children, without counting the wounded. Their camp was plundered, and 12 of our French prisoners recovered. We lost, again, on this occasion three officers, the best qualified for war in this country; namely, Sieurs Labrosse, Montesson and Lapoterie; 3 soldiers, 4 farmers and 4 Indians, and had six wounded. On looking next day for the beaver none of it was found.

About the 28th of July, Sieur de Lusignan, a reduced Captain, two other officers and thirty men were attacked, on their way from Three Rivers to Montreal, by thirty-nine of the enemy,

[1] Of the Ottawa river.

called Mohawks and Mohegans *(Loups)*, neighbors of the English of Orange, who fired on them unexpectedly about nine o'clock in the morning, whilst passing along the shore of the Richelieu islands, above Lake S^{t} Peter; on this occasion Sieur de Lusignan and three soldiers were killed and two wounded.

After firing, the enemy withdrew and repaired to Saint Francis on the last mentioned Lake, where they carried off a little girl of 15 @ 16 years and broke her mother's arm, who would also have been captured had it not been for a soldier who wounded an Indian that was taking her away.

M. de Frontenac desiring to protect the farmers of the Upper country in their labors sent up, at the season of harvest, 200 Canadians from the environs of Quebec with 40 or 50 Indians, whom he accompanied to Montreal where the harvest was saved without any trouble.

On the way up, he met a canoe manned with 10 men who brought him intelligence of the arrival at Montreal of a party of 400 men, French and Indians, that had left Missilimakinac on the arrival of M^{r} de S^{t} Pierre, who had been sent thither overland. This party had set out without any peltries, intending only to attack the enemy who were waiting on the Grand river [1] for their coming down. But they were no longer visible, for they composed the same party that had been beaten and routed by Sieur de Vaudreuil, so that those from Missilimakinac found only their camp, and thus proceeded to Montreal without any interruption. M. de Frontenac, on arriving, had every reason to be pleased with the good dispositions in which he found these Indians. They consisted of Hurons, Outaouaes, Illinois, and other Upper Nations, allies of the French, and have, for a year past, afforded every manner of proof of their particular attachment for us, by the different parties they have sent out against the enemy, around whose villages some of them were continually prowling who have unceasingly arrested their progress, and always carried off some of their people. Sieur de Lovingny, commandant of Missilimakinac writes us, that as many as 800 of those Indians have been scattered, at one time, over all the adjacent country, and that they have defeated 42, including those taken prisoners and those killed whose scalps they have brought away.

Such are the fruits of the presents we have sent these Nations who permit themselves to be governed principally by such means, which possess the secret of putting them in motion and of endowing them with courage, and we may expect hereafter to witness similar, and even more progress, by continuing the presents the King has the goodness to bestow on them.

Whilst these tribes are thus performing their duty, the Canibas and Abenaquis of Acadia do not forget theirs; they make continual attacks on the English around Boston and Manate, where they ruin and devastate the country. The best proof that they have afforded thereof has been the great number of prisoners of all ages that they have brought in, and the scalps they have taken from those they killed. But such good fortune did not attend one of the parties in which the French accompanied them. Sieur Villebon, commanding in Acadia having sent his brother Portneuf, two other officers and divers Canadians with those Indians to capture a fort belonging to the English,[2] they were surprised, when on the point of carrying the place, by the appearance of two English sloops, which they resolved to attack, but not being sufficiently strong, were constrained to retire after having fought with great bravery. These Indians are very courageous and more reliance can be placed on them than on any other tribe. We lost, in this last affair, one officer,[3] one Frenchman and three Indians.

[1] or river Ottawa. [2] Wells, York county, Maine. *Williamson*, I., 631, 632, gives a full account of this affair. — Ed.
[3] M. de Labrocree. *Williamson*, I., 634.

Sieurs d'Iberville and Bonaventure who command *le Poly* and *l'Ennuyeux*, and sailed with the intention of making an attempt on New England, will report their proceedings, and the events in Acadia to the close of the Summer.

La Plaque, chief of our Indians at the Sault S^{t} Louis, had no sooner returned from France this year, than he raised a party of 160 Indians, which includes nearly their entire force, in order to signalize himself and give his Majesty proofs of his desire to render good service, in grateful return for the benefits he has received. If his plans be crowned with the success he anticipates, there is reason to believe that he will strike a severe blow on the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois, bordering on Orange, where he expects to sleep.

Quebec, 5th 8^{ber} 1692. (Signed) CHAMPIGNY.

M. de Frontenac to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

On receiving advice some days after the departure of the ship *le Pontchartrain*, that the enemy, numbering 800 men, had formed the design of coming to make an incursion on our settlements, I detained until now a small vessel which was lying in the harbor, in order to inform you of the result.

The precautions adopted and the force that was thrown into the forts, have prevented them daring to attack these posts. And what I have to advise you of, on this point, is important, inasmuch as 400 Onnontagues, Cayugas and Senecas, having descended the Grand river of the Iroquois, were contented with showing themselves at the palisades of the Indian fort of the Sault, three leagues above Montreal, without evincing any disposition to abandon the forest, (Indians as they are) and to come out into the open ground where they would not fail to have been attacked. In the course of two days there were merely some skirmishes and a few killed on both sides, after which the enemy retired perceiving we were on our guard and resolved to give them a warm reception.

The same number of Mohawks, Oneidas, Mohegans and English have likewise made a descent by Lake Champlain, but perceiving that some of the Mohegans *(Loups)* had come over to us, and learning the retreat of the party I have already mentioned to you, they also retired, with the exception of 40 @ 50 of the most hot-headed who separated in different parties and fell on two or three small settlements on the South shore, where they killed or took off five or six persons, settlers or soldiers, who had strayed out into the fields, in contravention of the orders they received to remain within the forts.

It is impossible to prevent these sorts of surprisals however prudent we be, or to overtake these people after they have struck a blow, because they disperse through the woods, and are no longer to be found in the places where they are expected to be; and herein consists the great difficulty in waging war in this country.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Your most humble, most obedient,
and most obliged servant

11 November, 1692. FRONTENAC.

Memoir on behalf of the Christian Iroquois in Canada.

Endorsed 11th Nov: 1692.

My Lord de Pontchartrain

Is most humbly supplicated to be pleased to remember the services which the Colonies of the Iroquois Christians established in New France, have rendered and still render the French in whose defence nearly the half of them have perished fighting, like brave men, against the English and against the Iroquois, their relatives, and other Indians, our enemies, many of whom they have slain or taken since the war. They descry them every where and advise us of their march, which the French cannot do as well as they in the woods, where, with their usual fleetness, they have frequently overtaken divers parties who were carrying away French and Indian captives in order to roast them before a slow fire; attacked them on land and water, into which they have thrown themselves during the fight; where they have defeated them whilst swimming and recovered their prisoners, whom they have brought back.

They are so strongly attached to us by Religion that they have despised the caresses, presents and menaces of the Iroquois, their countrymen, who were soliciting them to abandon us and to return with them for the purpose of making war against us. Like generous Christians, and firm friends of the French, they have endured cruel incisions on their bodies, mutilation of their fingers and the tortures of fire, in which many have expired, preserving unshaken the fidelity they swore to God and the King, to such a degree that all the men and women who, after having been taken prisoners, had their lives spared by the enemy, have always returned to us, in order to preserve the Christianity they embraced; to inform us, also, of the designs of the English and the Iroquois, and to furnish us with incontestible proofs of being in our interest.

The war occupying them too much to allow them to supply their wants by hunting, his Majesty had the goodness to grant them last year some gratuity, in virtue whereof clothes were furnished those who killed, or captured, any of the enemy.

But those who are disabled and invalided in defending the French Colony, suffer serious inconveniences from not being able any longer to relieve the misery to which, in consequence of the wounds they have received, they, their wives and children are reduced.

There are, in like manner, many poor widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have been killed in the war they have undertaken for us, and who, being destitute of the aid they received from their hunting, are in extreme need of every thing. If the King would be pleased to extend his charity to these faithful friends of the French, it would be of great merit for him in the sight of God, and for those good Christians a new and very powerful motive to continue their services, seeing that their wives, their children and their poor relations would not be friendless after their deaths.

Such liberality would undoubtedly be very advantageous to New France, which thereby would secure the aid of these brave Indians whom the enemy are endeavoring by all possible means to seduce away from us, because their mode of making war in the forests disconcerts them, and we, were we deprived of them, could be easier insulted.

Pending some attacks these Iroquois Christians vigorously sustained, last year, in their fort at the Sault, whatever artillery they had, burst. My Lord de Pontchartrain will be so good as to order, if he please, that two small cannon or culverins be given them.

Canada will be vigorously attacked this year, 1692.

This is proved First, by the return of Sir Phips to Boston of which place he has been appointed Governor by the Prince of Orange, who has given him two or three men of war and some soldiers to increase his fleet. He has asserted that he is desirous to repair the honor of the English and to carry off, at the peril of his life, the anchor and five cannon he left at Quebec, when he raised the siege of that place.

Secondly, because the best disciplined Indians of the Country have agreed with the English to make a diversion by attacking the French settlements by way of Montreal which is the frontier post, whilst Sir Phips will lay siege to Quebec. They have already partitioned the country between them.

Thirdly; A french pilot, whom Sir Phips sent back, after having employed him whilst leaving the Quebec river, and all the prisoners, both Indians and English, confirm the design of the latter against Quebec, in order to render themselves, by the capture of that place, masters of all North America, of the fisheries, of the fur trade, and of the interior of the country, as they have done of the sea coasts, from Florida to Acadia, which they have taken from us. This demonstrates that

Canada stands in need of considerable assistance which his Majesty is most humbly requested to vouchsafe. This need of aid arises

First, from the circumstance that but very few forces remain in the country. The Regulars and the militia are much diminished by sickness and the war; the country has two thousand men less than at the commencement of hostilities, and will apparently be attacked by sea and land.

Secondly, The élite of the surviving settlers in Canada are gone to a great distance in quest of Beaver and other peltries, and to meet some Iroquois who have already ruined the eighth part of the country. Our Indians who are daily perishing in our service on the frontier of the Colony, are weary of the war, perceiving that the enemy are continually attacking our settlements, without our daring to go, either in detachments or with an army, to their country for want of people; contenting ourselves with acting on the defensive. The enemy is, consequently, sapping and destroying us, little by little. Our Christian Iroquois have generally rejected the presents the hostile Iroquois made to induce them to abandon us; have given these presents to the Governor of Montreal; have pursued and killed the person who sent them and defeated his entire troop and two other parties who were carrying off some Frenchmen whom they brought back. They would wish that the French should, like them, go to war as far as the enemy's country. They offered twice to act as their guides, but their offers were rejected. This chagrins them because the enemy is becoming insolent and scatters terror through the people's minds.

Thirdly; Because our enemies are very numerous, whether English or Indians,—who amount to more than three thousand—or French Calvinists, who have taken refuge in New England, and who have already come to the siege of Quebec in aid of which they made considerable advances, and who flatter themselves that they will come again in order to indemnify themselves for the losses they allege they have sustained in quitting France.

Fourthly: Because Montreal, an important post around which the enemy is constantly hovering, is not fortified except by a wretched palisade of vast circumference, and is commanded by a hill which could be easily put in a condition to defend the town.

The preservation of New France is, likewise, a matter of considerable moment.

It concerns the King's glory to extend his protection to that Colony which has been for five years so courageously defending itself against the Iroquois and the English, who have killed its bravest settlers; by its means, his Majesty's name is spread throughout all the Nations as far as the gulf of Mexico; by its means also, the friendly Indians are armed against the English who are wishing to render themselves masters of the whole of this Continent. The French are contending with them for the interior of the country; for the fur trade and fisheries which are a source of great revenue to France, and of which they will not be the sole possessors if his Majesty vouchsafe to assist his subjects.

But what will still more feasibly touch the King's heart is, that the Religion, propagated more than seven hundred leagues from Quebec, is stretching out her arms to him in order that he may protect her from the fury of Heretics and Barbarians who have conspired for her destruction. Shall so many holy Priests, so many Friars and Nuns, so many Missionaries who have laid down their lives and poured out their blood for the propagation of the Faith which would so effectually establish itself were it not for the calamity of war; in fine, shall so many worthy Frenchmen who have so nobly despised the deceitful offers of the English in order to signalize the fidelity they owe to their King—shall they become a prey to their enemies who threaten them with a hundred cruel indignities? This Colony though distant and encircled on every side by enemies, will make the last efforts to second the assistance it expects from his Majesty, having been planted by the late King and Cardinal Richelieu only for the purpose of drawing down the blessings of Heaven on the Royal family, by communicating the Faith to so many thousands of Indians, more than forty thousand of whom owe their eternal salvation to the King and late Queen, the King's mother, who was so full of zeal for the conversion of the Indians. It is expected from his Majesty's beneficence that the Religion which he has caused to flourish throughout his entire Kingdom will not be destroyed by Heretics in New France, and that he will vouchsafe pity towards so many thousand poor Savages that remain still unconverted, and who will perish if the French do not prevent their enemies becoming masters of a Country which, up to the present time, has been maintained by the piety, the benevolence and the arms of the King. These, conjoined to his exceeding zeal for Religion, cannot fail to draw down the protection of God on his person and on all the Royal family, and finally, so many auspicious victories which render his name glorious throughout the whole world.

PETITION to My Lord de Pontchartrain to allow the Indians of Saut Saint Louis and two other Colonies adjoining Quebec, in New France, if he pleases, to participate in the gratuity the King granted last year to the Indians who are waging war against the Enemies of the French in that country.

My Lord de Pontchartrain

Is most humbly supplicated to consider that there is a frontier post in Canada, beyond Montreal, called the *Saut Saint Louis*. It is a colony of Christian Iroquois, established by order of the King, and the care of the late M[r] Colbert; they quitted their country and the vicinity of the English to avoid drunkenness and to seek an asylum among the French where they might make a true profession of Christianity.

They have always been very useful to the French both in peace by their hunting, and in war by the parties they continually sent out against our enemies as well Englishmen as Mohegans, *(Mahingans)* River Indians *(Loups)* and Heathen Iroquois.

The forts attacked and captured by these Neophytes of the Saut, and by those of the two Colonies of Loretto and Saint Francis de Sales, near Quebec, either alone or sometimes in company with Frenchmen—

The wounds by which they are disabled, the men they have lost, the great number of prisoners they have taken from those enemies they have fought with and killed in various encounters—

The rescuing of several Frenchmen from the hands of the enemy after having defeated them; the generosity with which they have despised the presents and threats of their Iroquois relatives who would force them to abandon the religion and the interests of the French; The bravery with which they have repaid their threats, and the firmness with which they endured the fires of the Iroquois rather than renounce Christianity and their sworn fealty to the King, although the war they are engaged in, had reduced them to extreme want for every thing they had in abundance at home,—are convincing proofs of their attachment to the French Colony, as can be seen by the Memoir annexed to the certificate of M^{r} de Champigny Intendant in Canada. It seems that it concerns the justice and even the glory of the King, that these worthy Indians be not deprived of the share which his Majesty has apparently intended they should have in the gratuity he sent last year to Canada for the Indians who are attached to our interests.

This is the favor, My Lord, they hope to obtain from your Lordship for whom they will be bound to pray God, satisfied that you will cause some marks of the King's bounty to be conferred on them, whereby they will be under still greater obligations to perform more signal services.

CERTIFICATE granted by the Intendant of Canada to the Christian Iroquois Indians of the Saut Saint Louis of their fidelity to the French Colony of New France, and of their bravery in defending it against the Heathen Iroquois and other enemies.

The Reverend Jesuit Fathers, missionaries to the Christian Iroquois of the Saut Saint Louis near Montreal, demanding of Us testimonies of the fidelity, bravery and attachment of said Indians to the French Colony, We certify and attest for the purpose of rendering justice to the truth of which we have a perfect knowledge, that the said Christian Indians of the Mission of the Saut have, since the commencement of the war in 1684 by M^{r} de la Barre, continually been employed against the enemy and have been present in all engagements, on which occasions they have given proofs of their fidelity and bravery, as well by themselves as in company with the French, having killed and captured a number of hostile Iroquois and English, and rescued at various times several Frenchmen whom the hostile Iroquois were carrying away prisoners; when they have even killed some of their relatives; And finally that they themselves have lost more than sixty of their warriors who have been slain or burnt alive by the hostile Iroquois. We are likewise informed of the sincerity with which they embrace and profess the Christian Religion which has induced them to reject and despise the presents their Iroquois relatives, have in the name of the entire nation, repeatedly made them, in order to detach

them from the French, to get them to abandon the Religion, and to return to their country; and finally, it is our duty to make known that, without them, the enemy would have spread themselves along the settlements of the Colony and constrained [the settlers] to abandon all the Upper country above Three Rivers.

In testimony whereof We have signed this present Certificate at Quebec, the 11th November, 1691.

CHAMPIGNY.

Since the above date, he writes on the thirtieth of September, 1692, that they have given marks quite recently of their fidelity and attachment to the French Colony, and that they had just seized a large body of Lower Iroquois on lake Champlain. Every where they have been, they have beaten the enemy and there was but one occasion on which they were not victorious, and that occurred where we have been utterly routed on the river leading to the Outaouacs.

(signed) CHAMPIGNY.

Memoir on the Projected attack on Canada. 1692.

Of the projected Attack on us by all the New England Colonies; and Of the means of preventing or opposing them.

The officers who arrive from Acadia uniformly represent that those of New England and New-York were laboring since this summer at preparations necessary for the attack on Canada on the plan of 1690, with this difference however, that of the seven governments of which New England is composed, that Boston only had entered on the execution of that design, whilst the present project is to be supported next year by the entire of New England which is very populous.

The expenses of this expedition being defrayed by a poll tax, are not at all burdensome to individuals. They possess such a great number of Ketches that they will experience no difficulty on this point in transporting forces. They have three men of war; two at Boston of 48 and 36 guns, and one at Manatte. There are besides at Boston three ships on the stocks from 24 to 40 guns which it is asserted are to serve in this expedition. It is not known whether Old England is to furnish any additional aid.

Letters state that New-York is to attack the Upper part of the Colony near Montreal, and that those of New England will come to Quebec by way of the river; that the former can furnish 3000 men including the Iroquois, and the latter at least as many by Sea.

Those who have returned from those parts, particularly from Acadia will have to be heard, especially Chevalier d'O, who escaped last August after more than two years imprisonment; and Sieur de la Motte Cadillac. The interest of the English leads us to conclude that they will not fail this time. Their colonies which constitute the capital of England are considerable, and those of North America cannot well subsist but by the destruction of Canada. They are as well informed as ourselves of the state of our Colony, and quite lately by Nelson,[1] the most audacious of the English and most determined in this design.

[1] For some account of this gentleman, see IV., 211.

This same Nelson, on learning whilst at Quebec, of the order issued to the ships *le Poli* and *l'Envieux* to attack Pemkuit and ravage the Coast debauched two French soldiers by whom he sent intelligence thereof to Boston.

Those two ships, which were detained at Quebec until the 23d September, had orders to touch at Baie Verte, and thought proper to go to Spaniard's Bay[1] in search of Monsieur du Palais, and thereby to waste more than three weeks, which consumed all the time that remained for the expeditions, for which they were already greatly in arrear.

The allied Indians as well from the vicinity of New England as from more distant parts, as far as the mouth of the river Saint Lawrence, who had been notified, came to Mount Desert to serve in the expedition against Pemkuit. The men of war made the bad weather an excuse to return to France without being able to effect anything, after having given the Indians the presents the King had sent out.

The English of Boston, already advised, made every effort that time admitted to secure the post of Pemskuit. They dispatched the two deserters, who had been sent by Nelson, with two other Frenchmen to carry off or kill Sieur de Saint Castin, a french gentleman of Acadia, much esteemed by, and domiciled among the neighboring Indians and who had married the daughter of one of their Chiefs. These two Frenchmen delivered up the two soldiers who, before the King's ships had sailed, have had their skulls broken on the spot.

The post of Pemskuit being in a state of security, the neighboring Indians will experience great embarrassment and difficulty in resisting the attempts the English have been making for three years to seduce them from our alliance. Sieur de Villebon writes, that they have been disgusted at the refusal to attack Pemskuit, notwithstanding the reasons of those on board the men of war. They were desirous to make the attack on the land side, and those who had come from a distance, by sea with a detachment from the ships; Moreover, those from the river Saint John who had formed, in the course of the summer, a design against some of the English posts, have said that they throw the blame on the French who were with them.

There is no doubt but these Indians will remain faithful. They have been led to expect assistance in the Spring, and the two principal Chiefs have each sent one of their children to see the King and to return with the reinforcement.

It is, also, to be observed that Sieur de Villebon, commandant of Acadia, who has fortified a post on the river Saint John, had been ordered to repair to Mount Desert with the Indians of his vicinity, and has returned with only six men, Monsieur de Frontenac having given leave to the Canadians he had previously sent there to return to Quebec, as they had no more clothes.

It may be hoped, then, that Sieur de Villebon will be able to maintain the Indians during the winter, but the English, who have threatened the few French inhabitants remaining on the River Saint John that they will come and burn them out, would not fail, apparently, to effect their purpose, knowing that Sieur de Villebon is abandoned.

It is of importance to prevent the desertion of these Indians who, alone, can make a diversion of any consequence against the English. Wherefore it would be considered expedient to

[1] Now Sydney Harbor, Cape Breton. — Ed.

[These Canadians number sixty; a few of them have been allowed wages at the expense of the King; the others are only passengers who have been allowed their passage and board, on the ground of the service they could render on the coast, on their way to France. They must be looked up in order that they be sent back.]

dispatch, in February, a vessel of about 150 tons to the river Saint John with some supplies, together with the Canadians who have returned in the men of war; and some twenty soldiers and six cannon for the fort which Sieur de Villebon has constructed.

This vessel, it is expected, will be able to reach the River Saint John before the English move or take precautions in this regard. It will arrive in season to advise the Indians of the aid now sent and of that they may expect in future. These Indians being maintained in the alliance with the French, will be able to take advantage of the absence of the English to inflict some serious damage on them if they prosecute the Canada expedition; if not, a powerful diversion will be effected and the invasion of the whole of Acadia at least, rendered more difficult, the English not having, up to the present time, turned the capture of Port Royal to any account.

This vessel will obtain, at the river Saint John, precise information of the preparations and dispositions of the English, so as to send word thereof to Monsieur de Frontenac overland. She will be able to notify the inhabitants of Minas to pass to Port Royal and convey some articles of provisions and ammunition, which the Company is to send thither.

Nelson has stated that the English admitted having mismanaged matters when they attacked Quebec in 1690, and that they ought to have previously destroyed the adjacent settlements of the Colony, on both sides of the river, and they will apparently adopt that course. The mistake of the English in that first expedition might have arisen from necessity, from the lateness of the season and from the delays they had experienced. They will endeavor, hereafter, by bribes or threats to seduce the inhabitants of those settlements. However that may be, the project of this expedition being deemed certain, the reinforcements intended to be furnished to M. de Frontenac ought to be sent early in order that he may have time to adopt proper measures to prepare the settlers, and provide, also, for the Upper part of the River and the preservation of Montreal.

If the King's affairs were in a state to admit of sending some men of war, not only the overthrow of the English designs and the destruction of this armament, but even the ruin of New England, appear certain.

But should his Majesty not wish to make this diversion with his naval forces, nothing remains but to use diligence in forwarding to Quebec the subsistence of the troops and the articles that are most required particularly for the war, with 400 soldiers at least. These could be conveyed by two good, commodious fly boats *(flutes)*, and one or two men of war, to sail at latest on the 20th of March.

If the merchants could not be got to leave with the King's fly boats, the second man of war might be retained to convoy them, and the first would arrive in season to proceed on the expedition against Hudson's bay with the two ships belonging to the Northern Company, which has greatly suffered from the fruitless preparations of the last two years, into which it has been led. They have one vessel in Canada which will be found ready, but the other, which has been sent to the Islands in order to return to France to take in the articles required for the Hudson's bay expedition, cannot be back in season, and it will be necessary to assist that Company.

In regard to Trade, as the plans presuppose an attack on Canada by the English, there is less inconvenience in suspending a more extensive commerce, and it is thought possible to manage with the preparation of only two or three of the largest merchantmen of Rochelle among

those which are eagerly offering themselves, so as to be ready to accompany the men of war. The delays of the merchants arise simply from the time they require for collecting the Bourdeaux wines and the dry goods, which they procure in other places than Rochelle. These might be omitted this year, and the attention of the merchants directed solely to the articles necessary for the support of the settlers, which may be procured in Rochelle.

In all cases, should it be deemed proper to extend greater assistance to the Colony, the second vessel of war may be detained until the tenth of April in order to be dispatched with the merchants destined thither.

In the present circumstances of that country, rendered important by an Establishment that has cost more than a century of care and expense; which prevents the English becoming masters of North America, and which will cause them a very serious diversion pending the war, and in trade during peace; many expenses can be curtailed and others suspended this year, and these only incurred which regard the war.

Here it will be observed, that the sojourn the men of war under M. du Palais' command were obliged to make at Spaniards' Bay,[1] having consumed the time of the expedition fixed for the reduction of the English posts at Newfoundland, contributed, also, to the loss of the ship *le Bon* which had not any one on board acquainted with the Bay of Placentia, at the head whereof lies the best harbor in the world.

That expedition can be refitted agreeably to the proposal of Sieur de Le Lande Magon for the invasion and destruction of the English posts in said Island. The Governor of Placentia can coöperate therein, and said Sieur de Magon will afford the necessary aid for the subsistence and fishery of the settlers of the islands of Saint Peter.

Provision will be made for the preservation of the people of Placentia, for their support, their fishery, and for strengthening the fortifications and garrison, by the contract to be made for obvious reasons with those of Nantes in preference to others, and on condition of furnishing the supplies of said garrison, and whatever is necessary for the King's service.

Note. When Phips was to attack Quebec in 1690, at the sole expense of the government of Boston, the contribution of M[r] Nelson, the chief man of the country was only 87[lb].

Memoir on Acadia, New England, New-York and Virginia. 1692.

Extracts from the Memoirs of M. Lamothe-Cadillac respecting Acadia, New England, New Netherland and Virginia.

I. Indians of Acadia.

In regard to the Indians in general, they are, also, of a good figure, active, strong, with black eyes and hair, without beards or hair on the body, expert hunters, swift of foot, good marksmen with the gun, gluttonous, proud, haughty, cruel, charitable to their friends, vindictive and unforgiving. They are divided into various tribes, or by provinces, and their language is entirely dissimilar. In some places they are better made, more warlike, and more

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 544.

civilized than in others; they have more love and regard for their offspring than for their fathers, mothers and wives. They have chiefs whom they call *Sagomos*, that is to say Their Lords, for whom they entertain consideration and some respect. He is generally the one among them who is the best warrior or the best hunter. They do not admit women or girls, whilst menstruating, into their wigwams; they construct one apart for them at the door of which they set their food. After a woman is confined, the husband does not approach her for forty days. They like poligamy; marry when they please and unmarry in like manner. The women have the same privilege with this exception, that they have only one husband at a time. When a man dies, they inter with him his arms and every thing he possessed during his life, which is not much; they fire, on the same day, several shots around their cabins to drive away, say they, the ghost of the deceased. They acknowledge a master on High, and a master below; they will not pray to Him on high, because, say they, he does them no harm, and they pray to him below that he may not ill-treat them. This is in brief the account of this province.

II. River Saint John.

Schiginnigtou[1] is twenty-three leagues by sea from the river Saint John, whose mouth is twelve leagues from Port Royal across the bay.[2] There are several harbors for vessels of thirty to thirty-five tons, but they are not worth stopping at and describing. The mouth of this river is very wide; two islands are visible at its larboard side on going in, and a cape on its starboard the soil of which is red, like blood. The harbor is very commodious and free from rocks. Large vessels can enter and anchor there, especially with a south, or south west wind. It possesses an earthen fort of four bastions which could be placed in its original condition at a trifling expense. About a third of a mile above the harbor are two large perpendicular rocks so close to each other as not to admit the passage of more than one vessel at a time. At that point precisely are Falls which are impassable either by ship or canoe without being wrecked. We must wait for half flood and then they are passable either at the flow or ebb of the tide, without any danger. These Falls, which are only from seven to eight hundred paces in length, being once surmounted, the river becomes all at once half a league wide; also very deep and a vessel of 50 tons can without danger sail up 35 leagues. It must be allowed that this is the finest and richest river in Acadia and New England, and the most convenient for navigation. The greatest variety of timber is to be found on its banks; hazel, walnut, cherry, vines, all bearing fruit which is not bad, and indicating that if care were taken in its cultivation it would succeed much better. In a word, there is no sort of timber but can be had there. Around a lake near Gemseq[3] is a pinery in which material for very fine masts could be found; in the environs of the same lake, is a tin mine. I have seen some of the ore that the Indians were smelting, which they used for casting bullets for their hunting excursion. It is the most navigable on account of its width and depth, and this arises from the great number of lakes and rivers that empty into it; the richest, because of the superior quality of its soil, and the salmon fishery there is incomparable, extending eighty leagues into the interior; trout, shad, *gasparot*, sturgeon, turbot and a hundred other species of fish abound there; the richest, because it furnishes much the greatest quantity of furs. I ascended this river in a bark canoe 150 leagues. To avoid prolixity I pass over in silence the visible beauties of that

[1] Chiegnecto. [2] of Fundy.

[3] *Jemsec*, as it is written in the maps, lay on the east bank of the river St. John, opposite what is now Gagetown, having Grand Lake, anciently called Lake Freneuse, on its North. — Ed.

country. One thing to be regretted is, that the finest parts, or the low lands, are overflown every spring at the breaking up of the ice, and this inundation continues a long time, as the rivers cannot empty themselves on account of those two rocks I have already spoken of, which contract the mouth of this river. Marble exists there. Thirty leagues up the river is a Micmac fort at a place called Naxehouac,[1] and thirty leagues farther up is one of the Marisizis.[2] This tribe is pretty warlike. They are well built and good hunters; clear the land and every year make fine fields of Indian corn, beans, kidney beans and pumpkins *(citrouilles)*. Forty-four leagues further, is another fort where the Canibas ordinarily retreat to when they fear any thing in their country.[3] It is on the bank of a small stream which discharges into this river and rises in a lake called Madagouasca which is 12 leagues long and one wide; very deep and abounding in trout, carp and pike. It is a very fine Moose hunting country.

III. Of New-York and Manatte.

From Rhode Island to New-York is 55 leagues. There is a good passage between Long Island and the Main land but it is necessary to be acquainted with the Channel, there being, besides, one place where the river is very narrow, which cannot be passed, except at half flood *(étale)*; because of a rapid they call Hellgate — that is to say, *Porte d'Enfer*. The safest course is to steer South, and wide, of Long Island; this is fifty leagues long and inhabited from one end to the other and produces a prodigious quantity of wheat, which makes as good bread as the finest grain in France; they also carry on whale fishing and sell their produce at New-York. Long island seems joined on its west side to another called Staten island. It forms a hook which juts out into the sea. It will be necessary to make the Cape and steer for this hook; when near it a passage and the opening between the two islands become visible; this is precisely the mouth of the New-York river. It is well to keep the lead going, in consequence of the sand banks at the entrance.

Manatte, so called when in the possession of the Dutch, is properly speaking an island, three leagues long and one wide. The fort is situate on a triangular point of land, and on the banks of two rivers, one called the South River and the other the North River. It has four Bastions, and is faced with stone and terraced on three sides; on the North, South and East. Some barracks and the gate are on the west side; the ditch is but a miserable affair, and is almost filled up on the East and North. There is a very fine armory which is in good order; good muskets, fusils, pistols, halberts, pikes, swords, cuirasses. There are 27 pieces of iron cannon around the fort, and four small brass pieces at its gate. It is surrounded by houses on all sides except the South. The roadstead cannot be cannonaded without razing and throwing down almost one entire street. The same is the case on the side of the town which is built of brick and stands on the banks of the two rivers. It is not inclosed either by walls or palisades. There is one wooden wharf but smaller than that at Boston. The Vessels enter the port and are aground at low water. There may be in the town five hundred men capable of bearing arms, but they could [muster] 3,000 men in a short time. Here it must be remarked that there are a great many Quakers or Tremblers who are non-combatants. The Dutch church is in the fort. The garrison consists of 60 men. The population is composed of

[1] Naxoat. *Charlevoix.* On the river Nashwaak, opposite Frederickton, N. B. — Ed.

[2] Marechites or Etchemins. The locality in the text is presumed to be Meductic point, just above the confluence of the river St. John and Eel stream, where stood according to Williamson (I., 477,) a Marechite Village.

[3] The other called "Indian Village" is on the east side of the river near the Little Falls, and opposite to the mouth of the Madawaska. It is wholly within the State of Maine. — *Ibid.*

Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Jews, Quakers, *Abadiens*, French Protestants and some Catholics. Each sect has its Church and freedom of religion. Their trade is made up of beaver and peltries which they buy from the Iroquois; whale oil, pork, staves, horses and tobacco. The people are almost all Dutch; there are about forty English families, and a great many French. This Island is almost entirely cleared. They have Negroes as in Boston. East Northeast, within 120 rods of the fort, lies an Island, on which cannon can be planted to batter the fort or the town. It is clear of wood, and easy of access. This town is much richer in money than Boston. Its principal currency consists of Spanish coin. They have considerable merchandise there also.

On the other side of the South river is a small town called Newiazze.[1] People pass there to go to Albany. It is no great things. Orange is thirty-five leagues from New-York. It is a little fort, utterly defenceless. It has a few guns in very bad order and perhaps sixty men bearing arms.

Note at the end of the Memoir.

The preceding Memoirs are drawn up only on the idea Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac has of the Country. There are some more extended ones of Acadia, in which are noted down even all the Winds necessary to enter each river, and particularly to which point of the compass the current sets, either at flow or ebb, and several other particulars.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Memoir of the King to Count de Frontenac, Lieutenant-General, and Sieur de Champigny, Intendant, of New France. (28th March, 1693)

The report made by those who have returned from Boston, of preparations which were making there for a new expedition against Quebec, and the information they have also given that the English of New York on their side were, with the Iroquois, to attack the Colony by the upper part of the river, have induced the King to adopt the resolution to send thither a powerful reinforcement of men, ammunition, arms, provisions, money and other articles, and to dispatch shortly the vessels intended to carry and convoy them, in order that Count de Frontenac may be in a condition to prepare for repelling the enemy, should they come to attack him; or to make a vigorous war on them in case they confine themselves to menaces.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Sieur de Frontenac's capability and experience prevent his Majesty giving him any particular instructions as to what he has to do for the defence of the Colony against the threats of the enemy, and assaulting them when able. His Majesty is entirely disposed to refer herein to what he shall deem proper, and to say to him only, that after having caused to be examined Sieur de la Motte Cadillac's proposal to have vessels of war of light draft, and adapted to the defence of the narrow defiles of the rivers and lakes on the usual route of the English and Indians coming from Orange, He has issued orders at Rochefort that the plans for their

[1] New Jersey.

construction be sent to Canada with all that is necessary for procuring timber for that purpose. His Majesty's intention is that they cause these bateaux to be built as soon as they will have received these plans and specifications, in order that they may be able to make use of them this year for the defence of the country. Sieur de Frontenac can confer the command of these bateaux on said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, but that must be done very secretly and in such a manner that intelligence of these armaments be not conveyed to the enemy previous to their descent.

Narrative of the Military Operations in Canada. 1692, 1693.

An account of the Military operations in Canada against the English and the Iroquois, since the month of November 1692. By M. de Champigny.

The Iroquois not liking to wage war except secretly, ordinarily select the season when the trees are full of leaves, to approach the French settlements on the frontier of the Colony. When they see the leaves fall and the ground covered with snow, they retire home and do not appear any more, or at least very rarely, during winter.

Count de Frontenac being desirous to take advantage of the season of their retreat in order to strike a heavy blow on them, dispatched from Montreal in the month of January a force of six hundred and twenty-five men, consisting of one hundred soldiers, two hundred Indians, and the remainder the most active young men of the country, under the command of Sieurs de Mantet, Courtemanche and de Lanoue, Canadian officers, accompanied by Sieur de L'Invilliers and twenty other officers, with orders to proceed against and destroy the Mohawks, and afterwards to commit as great ravages as possible around Orange. This party provided with every thing necessary for so long and fatiguing a march on snow shoes through woods and over frozen rivers, dragging their provisions after them, were guided so correctly by our Indians that they arrived near the three Mohawk villages, within fifteen leagues of Orange without being discovered. At nightfall, on arriving, our Indians in company with some Frenchmen went to reconnoitre two of the Villages, situate a quarter of a league the one from the other. On approaching these, they heard the enemy sing which obliged them to wait until the Indians should retire in order to surprise them whilst sleeping. The main body, in the meantime, advanced in two divisions, so as to be able to make a simultaneous attack on both Villages. Our scouts did not delay reporting that the enemy made no more noise. The Villages, which were surrounded by strong pallisades and closed with gates, were approached; our Indians scaled the inclosure in order to open the gates. A crowd entered and became masters of all the cabins without resistance. The small Village, after having been burnt with all its contents, was abandoned at day break, and the Indians and their families brought prisoners to the large Village where the commanders left a portion of their force to guard them. Early next morning our party set off for the third Village, distant seven or eight leagues, where they arrived in the evening, and surprised it on the following night in the same manner as they had the others; set it on fire and brought the prisoners to the principal Village.

The Count's orders were not to give any quarter to the men who would be found under arms, and to bring away the Women and Children for the purpose of augmenting our Indian villages. But this order was not strictly executed, because they surrendered at discretion and expressed themselves pleased at having this opportunity to come and live with our Indians, to whom they were closely related; so that, of about eighty fighting men found in those three villages, only eighteen or twenty were killed, and the others, with the women and children, were made prisoners to the number of two hundred and eighty persons.

This expedition having succeeded as much as could possibly be desired, and our Frenchmen having perceived that a young Englishman,[1] a prisoner of our Indians whom they brought with them on this march, had made his escape during the night on which the two Villages were taken, and that he would undoubtedly notify the English of their design, judged it unsafe to remain any longer in the enemy's country, as the smallest delay might prevent their retreat, having to travel over the lakes and rivers on which the ice was beginning to rot. Therefore, after they had sojourned only one day at the principal Village, they burnt it, and set out with all the prisoners. On the first and second days of their homeward march, several Mohawks, who, whilst hunting in the neighborhood, had learned the destruction of their Villages, came to join them, expressing their desire to follow their wives and children. They reported that the English and Iroquois had received intelligence, the former by the young Englishman who had escaped, and the latter by four Iroquois who on their way to Orange discovered the trail of our party and then returned to their village to notify the warriors, who were then assembled there to the number of seven hundred, deliberating on the expeditions they were to organize in the spring, and who they believed were on their march to attack our party. On the third day the avant-couriers of the Iroquois did, in fact, overtake our Indians, and submit several propositions to them from their people and the English, to induce our people to wait for them on pretext of having a talk about peace which they represented, on the part of the English, was already concluded in Europe. The Commanders correctly judging it a feint to enable the English and Iroquois to overtake them, for the purpose of attacking them, resolved not to wait; but our Indians having received new assurances of good faith from the enemy who asserted that the Iroquois were in great consternation at the destruction of the three Mohawk Villages; that they were almost certain of their being inclined for peace in order to avoid similar treatment with which our Indians were threatening them; and that, moreover, our party being come to wage war, it must oppose the enemy in case they should dare attack it, so that the resolution was adopted to wait for them and to construct a fort of stockades, for the purpose of security and the confinement of the prisoners.

Two days afterwards, the Iroquois to the number of three or four hundred men arrived, in company with some Englishmen, within musket shot of the fort, where they at once entrenched themselves behind a large abatis of trees. Our Frenchmen and Indians judging correctly thereby, that their design was not to talk of peace resolved on immediately attacking them. They sallied from the fort and advanced towards the enemy and some shots were exchanged on both sides and the foe repulsed within their retrenchments which it was not deemed expedient to force, for fear of falling into some ambush. We lost on this occasion [eight men[2]] and the enemy as many according to their report.

Our Frenchmen having learned from some Mohawks who came over to them, that the English were coming with a large body to reinforce the Iroquois and attack our people,

[1] John Baptist Van Eps., IV., 616.

[2] De la Potherie, III., 173.

abandoned the fort an hour after the last action, and continued their march the remainder of the day, conveying the wounded on litters. The enemy pursued and encamped within half a league. Some Iroquois came again to assure our Indians that the English Commander was approaching to make peace, and pressed them to wait for him; but our officers aware that this was merely to amuse them, made answer that they had been waiting too long for them, and if they wished to come, let them repair to the centre of Lake Champlain, where they would again wait for them, either to receive their propositions or to fight them. Our party marched the whole of next day, followed by the enemy, and reached the lake on the day following; the ice on it was found all rotten, and the men sunk in some places up to the waist. The greater number of our Indians separated from our Frenchmen with intention of striking across the woods, and the prisoners being too much embarrassed by their baggage *(equipages)* and the women by their children, were almost all forced to remain on the lake-shore. Only fifty of them followed, and the other prisoners promised to come in the spring. Our Frenchmen having arrived at a place where they had secreted, when on their way up to the Mohawk country, a portion of their provisions to serve them on their return, discovered these entirely spoiled by the rain; so that they found themselves entirely destitute at a distance of nearly fifty leagues from our nearest settlements, having to carry the wounded also, under these unfavorable circumstances. They dispatched four Indians and one Frenchman to advise us of the circumstances, that assistance may be promptly sent them; and those messengers reached Montreal in five days. M. de Callières immediately dispatched one hundred and fifty men to them with provisions on their backs. Never was there such distress. They were four or five days without food. About one hundred and twenty, overpowered by fatigue, remained behind until they should be somewhat restored by the supplies that we forwarded to them. Two or three died of hunger; many threw down their arms, and almost all arrived without blankets *(couvertes)* and half naked, scarcely able to drag their heels after them. What was surprising under such untoward circumstances was, that the enemy did not pursue them; they did not dare to follow over the lakes, as the ice melted under their feet. Certain it is, had it not been for this special interposition of Providence, not a solitary Frenchman would have returned.

Whilst this party was out, letters from Acadia and from Sieur d'Iberville commander of *le Poly*, were received at Quebec, stating that two Frenchmen who had deserted from that place last summer with some English prisoners, had repaired to Boston whence they had been sent to Acadia by Governor Phips to carry off or assassinate Sieur S^{t} Castin, a gentleman esteemed among our Indians—and that these two Frenchmen having been arrested, had confessed every thing, and reported that warlike preparations were in progress on a large scale at Boston preliminary to coming next spring to attack Quebec by sea with ten thousand, and Montreal by land with two thousand, men. This led Mess^{rs} de Frontenac and de Champigny to make the necessary preparations for the extensive fortification of these two posts, and to put them in a complete state of defence.

At the opening of spring, M. de Callieres sent out a detachment of nine Indians in the direction of the English to procure some prisoners, in order to ascertain the designs of the enemy. They went within two leagues of Orange where they discovered five or six men at work in the bush. They killed all except one whom they brought off a prisoner. He was a Frenchman who had been taken at Placentia four years ago; he assured us that the English had issued a proclamation calling on the people to prepare to attack Quebec; that orders had been sent

throughout the entire country to muster the settlers; that the rendezvous was fixed at Boston; that they were to leave on the 10th of May and that there were to be ten thousand men exclusive of the crews. This news confirming what had been brought by the French who attempted the murder or seizure of Sieur Saint Castin at Acadia, obliged Messrs de Frontenac and de Champigny to urge on the fortifications of Montreal and Quebec, so as not to be surprised, and to notify the Acadian Indians to hold themselves in readiness to march to the assistance of Quebec at the first notice they should receive of the sailing of the fleet.

And in order to have some reliable news of the enemy's departure and movements, M. de Callières dispatched from Montreal different parties of Christian Indians in the direction of Boston and of the Iroquois Villages. Those who proceeded towards Boston took some English prisoners whose heads they were obliged to break, being unwilling to accompany them; the others did not find an opportunity to strike a blow, so that nothing could be ascertained through them.

In the month of May, M. de Frontenac dispatched four canoes with twenty-three men, escorted by twenty-seven others, to convey his orders to Missilimakinac and to adopt measures for bringing down the peltries. They went through in safety, but the escort, in returning, was attacked above the Island of Montreal by a party of the enemy in ambush on the margin of the River, who fired a volley on the canoes, killed men and took prisoners; Among the number of those was Sieur de la Valterie, a Canadian officer, who commanded the party.[1]

Three or four parties of Abenakis and Canibas arrived at Quebec from Acadia in the course of the same month and in June, bringing some English children whom they had captured, and the scalps of several men whom they had killed in the neighborhood of Boston. Those who arrived last have informed us that the English had sailed from Boston and that an English lady, whom they had taken and left in Acadia, had assured them that several of her relatives were gone on board the fleet.

This intelligence caused the works at Quebec to be hastened. The settlers within twenty-five leagues were commanded to repair thither, and in less than a month the town was inclosed by pallisades fraised after the new fashion, and having a sodded parapet from fifteen to eighteen feet in thickness; the platforms were placed within the bastions, on terre-plains of eighty feet from the parapet; two extensive pieces of Masonry were constructed, one on Cape Diamond, which commands the entire town, for sixteen pieces of cannon, and the other on a height which defends the Cape. M. de Frontenac visited the settlements below Quebec in order to dispose the people to retire into the woods with their movables, cattle and provisions, on the first news of the enemy, so that the latter may not find any thing—not even a blade of grass or any refreshment.

In the latter end of June, an Iroquois Indian belonging to a Village called Oneida, arrived at Quebec with a Frenchman who was a prisoner there.[2] This Indian said that he came on behalf of his family and a portion of his Village, to ascertain whether there were not some means to negotiate a peace, and that he was disposed to mediate with the other Iroquois to

[1] "tuerent.....hommes et en prirent , du nombre desquels etait le Sieur de la Valterie." It is not clear from these words, whether Mr. de la Valterie was killed or taken prisoner. La Potherie and Charlevoix say he was killed. The latter adds—with three Frenchmen; one Iroquois of the Mountain was taken prisoner. *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, II., 129, 130. The next Document is more explicit on this head. — Ed.

[2] The Indian was Tareha, an Oneida Chief; the Frenchman's name was D'Amour.

induce them to agree thereto in case the Governor should consent on his part to lend a hand to it. M. de Frontenac told him that, before listening to any proposals, the Chiefs of the Tribes must come and wait on him to assure him of their good dispositions, and that their persons would be entirely safe.

Seven or eight days after this Indian had taken his departure, there arrived at Quebec a Frenchman named Saint Michel who had been two years a prisoner among the Iroquois. Having been condemned by them to the stake, he preferred to expose himself to perish in the woods. He slipped out at one of the Village gates, which he fortunately found open some hours before the time fixed for his being burnt and, nearly naked, without food, arms or any thing else, he traveled more than two hundred leagues through the forest in twenty-five days, living on grass and roots. He informed us that eight hundred Iroquois were preparing to come and attack us, and that the Indian who had come to speak to M. de Frontenac was acting in good faith, but his adherents were not considerable. He reported also, that the Outawas and other Nations at a distance from the French, had been harrassing the Iroquois around their Villages, and had killed some of them; that a Frenchman, a prisoner among the Iroquois, being out hunting with seven men and two women, had with an axe killed the seven men whilst sleeping, and conveyed the two women to the Outawas.

News was brought at the same time to Quebec by a canoe from Hudson's bay, that the posts there in the occupation of the French, were guarded by only four men, and that the rest had left for want of provisions; that one Guillory, the Company's armorer, had assassinated the Surgeon and Father Dalmas, the Jesuit; the first by a shot of a gun outside the fort in consequence of a slight difference that had arisen between them whilst the garrison was engaged hunting; and the Father with a blow of an axe, being apprehensive, on confiding the crime to him after serving his mass, they two only being in the fort, that the Father would denounce him to the Commandant. This post will be victualled by some canoes that the Proprietors sent thither in the Spring, and by the Company's ship which sailed from Quebec in the beginning of June, with a full supply of necessaries.

At the close of July, two of our Indians having escaped from the enemy by whom they had taken them prisoners, notified M. de Callières that eight hundred Iroquois were coming down to cut off the harvest; this intelligence caused him to determine on mustering all the forces in his government, so as to form an expedition eight hundred strong, at the head of which he placed himself, to go and meet them.

M. de Frontenac, on learning this movement sent him three hundred Regulars, under the command of Sieur de Vaudreuil, who started from Quebec eight days after his arrival from France, and took up, at Three Rivers in passing, forty-five settlers and 63 Indians. On arriving at Montreal they found M. de Callières returned with his party, without having encountered the enemy. He had taken the precaution to station French Scouts at the passes so as to prevent surprisals, and sent two detachments of Indians to Lakes Champlain and Saint Francis, on the route to Orange and the Iroquois, in order that no party might pass unnoticed, and that the harvest may be gathered in security. He sent at the same time, under the command of Sieur Hertel, who was ennobled by the King in 1691, a detachment of seventy Indians and some Frenchmen to the Grand River of the Outawas to facilitate the passage of the Indians of that name, and of the French who were bringing down the Peltries.

In the beginning of August a party of the enemy made its appearance at the place called Saint Francis, ten leagues above Three Rivers; surprised a gentleman named Crevier, the

Seigneur of that quarter, and fifteen or sixteen men who were cutting their grain. They carried off Sieur Crevier and a soldier, and killed a farmer; the others fled into the fort from which they were distant only about a musket shot.

Done at Quebec the 17th of August 1693. CHAMPIGNY.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1692, 1693.

An Account of what occurred in Canada from the month of September one thousand six hundred and ninety-two to the departure of the ships in 1693.[1]

It has been seen by the Narrative of last year that the want of troops necessitated the abandonment of the expedition against one of the Iroquois Villages, which had been agreed upon in the Council held at Montreal with the greater part of the Indian Nations, our allies, in the month of August.

That plan had been projected only in the expectation that the reinforcements which were coming from France could make good our losses. Assistance having failed, it was found necessary to confine operations to the sending out small detachments of Indians who would keep the enemy constantly in check. One, composed of Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain, was organized to proceed against the Mohawks.

At the same time, that is in the middle of September, two Soldiers who had escaped from New-York, deserted from Quebec with three Dutchmen, and some other Dutchmen deserted also from Montreal. The matter appeared of grave consequence. It was probable — as has since been found to be the case — that Mr Nelson had a considerable hand in this evasion; and that, being perfectly acquainted, since he became a prisoner, with the state of Canada, with which the two Soldiers were equally conversant, and as the latter could also state that we had not received any reinforcements, it was thought advisable not to leave anything untried to arrest these deserters.

The Count dispatched a canoe with some Abenakis and Frenchmen in pursuit of them; sent orders to Mr de Callière to intercept them on Lake Champlain; and offered a reward of thirty pistoles[2] to whomsoever should bring them back. But it was impossible to overtake them, and we learned in a few days after, that they met within three days' march of Orange, a large party of the enemy coming towards our settlements.

This news was first communicated to us by a Squaw belonging to the Mountain, who had been taken prisoner two years previously. She had made her escape from the principal village of the Mohawks, and reported that the Iroquois, numbering eight hundred, were divided into equal parties, one of which was coming by way of Lake Champlain and the other by Lake Saint Francis, or the river *des Iroquois*,[3] that their plan was, to come and encamp near the Sault, and to draw out the greatest number of the Indians possible under plea of a negotiation, and to bind them or knock them on the head.

This was confirmed by an Indian that left the enemy, who were coming by Lake Champlain, only five or six days' march from Montreal.

[1] Embodied in Letter V. of the 3d volume of La Potherie. — Ed. [2] A pistole is 10 francs—$1.87½. [3] St. Lawrence.

The smallness of the force in that government did not permit marching openly against the enemy, in the uncertainty which prevailed as to what quarter they would attack.

M^r de Callière merely ordered every one to retire into the forts, and sent as large a reinforcement as he could to the Sault which was threatened the most. The Indians, on their side, promised to meet the artifices of the enemy in their own style; to allow as many of them as pleased to enter their fort, and then to seize them, knock them on the head, or send them to M^r de Callière. The Marquis de Crisafy commanded all the French who were at the Sault; a garrison was sent to the fort at Sorel which had been abandoned, and all the officers whom business had called to Quebec, on the arrival of the ships, returned to their posts.

Finally, the party coming by Lake Saint Francis appeared first in sight of the Sault at noon. On our appearing to be expecting them, the enemy contented themselves with firing several volleys which were answered by a like fire. There was no great loss on either side; the enemy withdrew in the evening and our scouts reported that they were turning towards Lake Saint Francis, doubtless with a design to hunt there, and to send out small parties. They surprised some farmers who after the main alarm had passed away were unable to abstain from visiting their farms. It was, however, not deemed expedient to pursue the enemy, the number of persons that could be mustered, after all the posts were garrisoned, not equalling half their force although the party from the Sault and Mountain, which had been recalled, had returned. Thus, the expense incurred to fit them out, and which always amounts to a considerable sum, was found to have been thrown away.

The wife of Chaudière Noire[1] one of the principal Iroquois chiefs, who had been taken some months ago on the defeat of the party commanded by her husband, and who was a prisoner at the Sault, had a desire, it was discovered, to run away. Tataconicere an Oneida Chief belonging to that Mission, on such suspicion, dragged her without the fort and knocked her on the skull. He then struck his hatchet into the gate as a sign that he would not grant pardon to any one, inviting his brethren to do likewise.

No news, however, were received of the Lake Champlain party, and when the time for their attack was supposed to be near, a young lad and two squaws deserted from them and reported that, after the escape of the Indian already mentioned, they had held a Council during two whole days; that a part, seeing their project was discovered, had advised a retreat, and that one hundred did, in fact, retire; that the remaining three hundred were intending to come when we should have withdrawn.

Our scouts now discovered them encamped on a desert island in lake Champlain, but as the season was pretty well advanced no great harm was anticipated from them.

M^r de Callière, thereupon resolved to send, agreeably to the Count's orders, to revictual Chambly, and dispatched a canoe to examine the passes of the river Richelieu where it was feared loaded bateaux would, apparently, not find sufficient water. This canoe in returning learned that the enemy had killed some persons and taken others prisoner at Verchères, drove the cattle into the woods, and scalped a soldier at Saint Ours. This, it was supposed, was a small detachment from the main body.

The convoy for Chambly set off. It was composed of six Companies that were to winter in the government of Quebec, and some fifty Indian scouts. All the wood necessary for fuel for the garrison was cut and hauled.

[1] Black Kettle. — Ed.

Several Indians joined those at Chambly and went to the borders of Lake Champlain, to endeavor to surprise some of the enemy who were there. They succeeded in overtaking only one Seneca whose head they broke; two others, who were accompanying him, escaped, in whose wallets were found the scalps of two farmers of Sorel, a father and son, who had been killed whilst hunting in the islands of Lake Saint Peter.

The ice beginning to form, every one retired to his post, and attention was directed to preparations for a winter expedition, whereof we shall presently speak, and which made a great sensation among the enemy.

Though the Mohawk be not the most numerous of those composing at present the Five Iroquois Nations, its humiliation has always appeared a matter of importance. The most of the Indians of the Sault belong to that tribe, many of whom are actually their brethren and relatives, whom they have endeavored by all acts of kindness to persuade to come and join them and to unite with them in prayer.

The Mohawks on their side omitted no effort to seduce the greatest number possible of our Indians; and frequent negotiations, secret communications, messages of which it was impossible for us to have any knowledge, and which were very much to our prejudice, engaged us to omit nothing to obtain by force what our Indians could not effect by their negotiations.

Moreover, this tribe being the nearest to the English is, also, that in which most of the parties are organized against us, and our Southern settlements have often unfortunately experienced the prowess of these Indians, who the first waged war with the French, and who would never have concluded a hearty peace had not M^{r} de Tracy humbled them by three consecutive expeditions within the space of eighteen months.

These motives, and the concurrence in sentiment of the oldest and best heads of the Sault and of the Mountain, obliged the Count to direct his attention thereto.

The expedition was less difficult than that of Onontagué which had aborted the preceding fall, and the great desire our Indians felt to undertake it actuated as an inducement not to allow them to become cool. Accordingly, at their request Lieutenants de Manteth, Courtemanche and Lanoue were detached to command the French, who, they said, were necessary for that expedition.

The Count promised to join thereto, in addition to these three Commanders, a number of other officers, and the greatest possible number of Regulars and Militia.

From the first setting in of the winter, then, attention was turned to the preparation of whatever was necessary for this undertaking. The Intendant dispatched orders in season to Montreal, to put in readiness provisions, ammunition, snow shoes, trains and other articles sufficient for six hundred men.

The Hurons of Loretto, the Abenakis of the falls of the Chaudière were invited to attend, and furnished, each, thirty to forty men; some Algonquins and Soccoquis of Three Rivers joined them.

The smartest soldiers of each Company, (all not being adapted for these expeditions), and such of the Militia of each settlement as were considered qualified, were detailed for the occasion. The whole numbered more than six hundred men, both French and Indian, exclusive of the officers. Sieur de Manteth led the van and commanded those belonging to the government of Three Rivers.

Sieur de Courtemanche followed him with those of the government of Quebec, many of whom had come from almost opposite Tadoussac, a distance of more than thirty leagues from

that city. To the credit of the Militia of Canada it can be said, that they went on this expedition with a right good will, such as is difficult to be met with among people who cannot abandon their property and settlements whatever the season may be, without doing themselves essential injury. It would, then, be the height of cruelty to oblige them to go on these expeditions at their own expense, inasmuch as, independent of the danger to life inseparable from war, those who have been any length of time engaged in it are, by the fatigue attendant thereupon, rendered incapable of labor for a long while after their return. Moreover, the misery which has prevailed for several years in this country, exempts them sufficiently from the expenses they should incur. Therefore, the large sums such movements necessitate, must not excite surprise. Those acquainted with this country are absolutely ignorant on that head, and many others who are here do not comprehend one-half the expense. Those who enter into the details have, alone, a perfect knowledge of the subject.

January 20th. All the forces from the lower part of the Colony arrived at Montreal.

25th Started from La Prairie de la Madelaine, and went to encamp at Chambly, where they tarried on the twenty-sixth.

27th All the Frenchmen marched thence, and on the

30th The Indians who had been hunting joined them.

The number of officers amounted to some twenty-five or thirty, many of whom, finding themselves the Seniors or superiors of those in command, went as volunteers.

February 16th Arrived in the evening within sight of one of the little Mohawk forts. Formed two divisions, for the purpose of proceeding against another only a quarter of a league off. Sieurs de Manteth and Courtemanche marched against it.

Sieur de Lanoue remained to seize the first, in which he found only five men, several women and children whom he experienced no difficulty in overpowering. One man, however, escaped, notwithstanding his vigilance.

Sieur de Manteth found still fewer people in the second fort. They burnt that taken by Sieur de Lanoue, and repaired together to the other, where Sieur de Courtemanche remained with a detachment to guard the prisoners they had captured and some others whom they caught hunting in the woods.

Sieurs de Manteth and De Lanoue marched with all the rest, towards the principal fort where they arrived on the night of the Eighteenth.

They were surprised to hear great uproar and war songs, which made them apprehensive, at first, that they were discovered; but it turned out to be some forty warriors who were about to join a large party that was organizing at Oneida.

The noise having terminated, means were found to open the gates of the fort into which an entrance was easily effected, and it was captured without any loss but that of one Frenchman, and one Indian wounded, though several muskets were fired. Some twenty or thirty men, and several women were killed as well in the first assault, as in the subsequent intoxication of our Indians; and the cabins, the pallisades of the fort, the provisions, and whatever clothing could not be removed, were set on fire. Finally, on the Twentieth, the drunkenness of the Indians having passed off, a junction was formed with Sieur de Courtemanche at the little fort where he had been left.

The number of prisoners amounted to more than three hundred, one-third of whom were capable of bearing arms; the remainder were women, little children or old men; the plunder such as is to be found in Indian wigwams.

It is to be remarked that two young Dutchmen, a long time prisoners at the Sault, and whom our Indians were carrying along with them, escaped in the course of the night of the first attack, in addition to the Indian already mentioned and some others who might have had cognizance of this expedition. This proved, eventually, of dangerous consequence.

21st Passed in taking rest and in deliberating whether Orange should be attacked, or the march homeward commenced. The Indians represented that they were loaded with prisoners whom they could not in any way be persuaded to kill, though they had on setting out from Montreal, promised to do so, both to the Count when they demanded permission to organize this expedition, and to Mr de Callière.

This was one of the points on which the latter had the most insisted, and it formed part of his instructions to the Commanders. The Count enjoined this on him, and he did all in his power to impress it on the minds of the principal Indian chiefs whom he had caused to be expressly assembled at his house.

But these sort of people do not act like others; they willingly promise what is asked of them, reserving to themselves to perform what they have promised, according as their interests, which they do not always clearly understand, or their caprice may suggest.

The French, therefore, found it impossible to make them listen to reason on this head; and this obstinacy, as well as that evinced by them on another occasion, (as will be seen by and by) was the cause that this expedition was not accompanied by all the success that was anticipated.

22nd The last of the enemy's forts, where the troops had 'camped, having been burnt, like the others, with all the provisions and clothing found in it, marched thence in very good order, the prisoners in the centre of the main body, and the most active of the French forming the rear guard. On halting at night, a Mohawk cried out, in front of the camp, that we should soon see the enemy, who were in pursuit of us.

23d Marched until noon in the same order as the day before, and on halting, the same Indian that had spoken the previous night, came to notify us that the enemy were pursuing us in great numbers, and would soon overtake us.

The French Commanders wished to push further on, but the Indians asked to construct a fort in order to be able to resist the enemy in it. It was vain to remonstrate with them how serious this delay would be; that during this time, uselessly wasted, the enemy would come up to us, and starve us out; that marching in good order, there could be no fear of being forced; and that there would always be means to construct retrenchments of fallen trees in the woods, in which our prisoners would be safely secured, and ourselves placed beyond insult.

They did not appreciate any of these reasons, and, however pernicious was their advice, a desire to manage them led to a compliance with it.

The fort was built in a short time after the Indian fashion, and was found to be in a tolerably good state of defence. Scouts were sent out on all sides, and as the enemy did not make their appearance next day, every effort was tried to induce the Indians to decamp. It was impossible to persuade them to comply, so that two days were spent there doing nothing.

26th At night our scouts reported that the enemy were bivouacking at our last camping ground, and that they must be in great force, as their fires were as numerous as ours.

27th A Frenchmen and some Indians who had been on the scout, reported that the enemy were approaching in full line of battle, and that they were very near. Preparations were made by every one to give them a warm reception, not doubting but that they were coming to attack the fort; but they, too, halted to fortify themselves behind some fallen trees. A few

Indians went out, at first, to prevent them; the greater portion of the French quickly followed and there remained in the fort only sufficient to guard it and the prisoners.

The attack on the enemy's retrenchments was very vigorous; they were driven from their first ambuscade as many as three times, and we were forced as often from it; we should, apparently, have succeeded in driving them altogether from their position had not many of the French been occupied in removing the dead and the wounded, and had not several Indians remained in the fort, doing nothing. Some of them, however, were killed in these skirmishes, and including four soldiers and three settlers, we had about fifteen wounded; among these was Sieur de Lanoue.

Means were finally found to induce the Indians to understand the necessity of decamping, by representing to them that it was of the greatest importance to secure the passage across the Orange river which might be preoccupied; that the provisions were beginning to fail, and that we might be starved in our fort, a danger the enemy was not exposed to, having in their rear, and within a few days' journey, places from which they could draw a supply of men and all sorts of provisions, and that if we delayed longer, they would be able to force our position by their superior numbers, though they had not dared to attempt it being nearly eight hundred, two thirds of whom were English, or Dutch men. It was resolved, then, to break up the camp next morning, the 28th, and by day in preference to night, in order to avoid the disorder attendant on those kinds of retreats, which are often converted into a flight.

The march from the fort was commenced at ten o'clock in the morning, and continued in good order until evening. Next day,

1st March, crossed the Orange river at a place which was found still frozen, and in the evening learned that the enemy continued in pursuit of us. The greatest difficulty was experienced in conveying the wounded on litters, one man alone sometimes requiring as many as twenty persons.

The certainty that the enemy were in close pursuit, and the apprehension of being momently attacked, made the commanders particularly attentive in obliging every one to march in good order, the wounded and the prisoners in the centre. The Indians even gave some alarms, and the manner in which all our soldiers and militia made their preparations, shewed that it would be very difficult to surprise, and still more so to vanquish them. The scouts who had been sent out, and who for the most part caused these alarms, reported that the enemy were following slowly. Some Mohawks, who had come in, said we had fought seven hundred men; that many of them remained on the field, and that a great number had been wounded, all in the body.

2nd Came to sleep at Lake Saint Sacrament; several of our Indians left us to hunt, and as they alone were masters of the prisoners whom they did not guard very strictly, many of these escaped.

4th Arrived at the place where we had concealed a quantity of provisions which were found entirely spoiled. This eventually caused a universal, and most rigid fast.

11th Arrived, after inconceivable difficulties at the river Hazy;[1] two Frenchmen were detached to Montreal for provisions, and those who remained, considered themselves very fortunate when they would discover a few potatoes, or have a few pairs of moccassins to put in the pot.

[1] Chazy. *La Potherie.*

Remained three days encamped on this river. A soldier died there of hunger and fatigue, and several others appeared ready to follow him. Finally,

15th The provisions sent by Mr de Callière arrived when the most of those who could march had already begun pushing along towards our settlements; the wounded, whom it was impossible to carry any further, remaining under the guard of a few brave volunteers commanded by Sieurs de Courtemanche and de Villedonné, in a small redoubt that had been constructed.

16th and 17th Every one repaired to Montreal so wasted by the fatigue of the march and by hunger, that those alone who saw them could conceive their condition.

Of this expedition it may be said, that it was happy and glorious in its inception, and that the sequel would have been equally so, had not its complete success been marred by the false pity of the Indians for their prisoners, and by their obstinacy in building a fort and unwisely remaining in it.

This stroke did not fail, however, to cast a general consternation among the Iroquois Nations and the Dutch, each village now apprehending for itself the same disaster that befell the Mohawks.

A month before the return of this party, Sieur de Perigny, a reduced lieutenant, detached at the time to Acadia, brought back letters from Sieur de Villebon; from the Captains of the Men of war who had left our harbor last fall, and from several officers who had embarked with them.

We learned by him that the fleet commanded by Monsieur Dupalais, of whom we had received news in the beginning of the winter, had hauled off the Coast of Newfoundland, and that after he was joined by our two ships in Spaniards' bay[1] in the Island of Cape Breton, they had sailed to Pantagouët, as had been agreed upon.

All that occurred there is well known in France, and at Court; but the arrest of the two Soldiers who had deserted from Quebec in the month of September of last year, and of whom we spoke in the preceding Relation, was to us a source of grave reflection.

It appeared by their trial that Mr de Nelson had furnished the enemy full information as to the condition of Quebec, and of the means to be employed to get possession of it. The preparations which, they assured us, all the New England Governors were making for an extensive armament; the advices received from our Indian allies on the sea board, left us no reason to doubt of our being threatened with a serious attack. Our city which, without difficulty, had sustained the attack of thirty miserable craft, was not in a condition to resist a more considerable force acquainted with our weakness, and ashamed, in consequence of the information they had received, of not having come directly up to our pallisades.

Defences of a more respectable character then became necessary, and this is what induced the Count and Intendant not to lose a moment in putting themselves in a good posture of defence.

They confided the superintendence of their fortifications to Chevalier Dubois-Bertelot de Beaucours, a reduced Captain of our troops, and *Enseigne de Vaisseau.*[2]

The selection of this Engineer is not to be regretted. With a profound knowledge of all that appertains to that science, he combines, in the facility with which he executes the works he undertakes, so much clearness of conception and so close an application to the smallest details, that it can be said, we should not have completed in six months without him, what we have effected in three.

[1] Now Sidney Harbor, N. S. — Ed.

[2] The lowest Commissioned officer on board a French Man of War. — James.

Immediately on the close of the winter, he commenced drawing plans of his fortification; according as the ground became bare, he staked out its principal parts and on the first of April, we were in a condition to set the troops to work who had wintered in the government of Quebec.

The Court will see by the plans transmitted, on which the old inclosure *(enceinte)* is laid down, what are the works we have constructed; and it is true that, including masonry, terraces and carpentry work, five hundred men have not been employed over fifty or sixty days; the whole at a very reasonable rate for Canada.

Though the defence of Quebec appeared the most urgent affair, and what had to be principally attended to, the necessities of other places were in no wise overlooked.

The return of that prodigious quantity of peltry which was known to be at Missilimakinac was of considerable importance; the fear of an irruption of the enemy above and below, excluded all idea of being able to send thither the number of Frenchmen considered sufficient to transport them.

It was necessary, however, to make every effort to obtain them; as the favor which the Court confers on the inhabitants of Canada, by annual licenses, was not productive of any benefit so long as such a vast number of Beavers remained at the place where the ordinary trade is carried on.

This motive, conjoined to that of recovering nearly two hundred Frenchmen who were dispersed among the Upper Tribes, and who could be usefully employed against the enemy that was threatening us, induced the Count to dispatch Sieur D'argenteuil, a reduced Lieutenant of troops, with eighteen Canadians to convey his orders to Sieur de Louvigny. It was impossible to engage them for this voyage except by the hope of a handsome reward, the danger being imminent for a party so small as theirs.

He was expressly commanded to send down the greatest number of Frenchmen possible, and to retain only as many as were necessary for the security of the posts he was occupying; to engage the Indians to assist them in bringing down their peltries, and especially to hasten their departure, in order to anticipate the designs of the Iroquois, who might, as in other years, render themselves masters of the passes.

Sieur D'argenteuil was escorted by several Indians of the Sault and Mountain, and by some twenty French Volunteers, who, as well as the Indians, had to be allowed a large daily pay during their voyage, the soldiers being busy elsewhere. The whole was commanded by Sieur de la Valterie Jun^{r}., Ensign of the troops.

This escort was attacked on its return by a large body of Iroquois who threw themselves on both sides of a rapid at the head of the island of Montreal.

They fired so suddenly on our canoes that it was impossible to avoid them; that which Sieur de la Valterie was aboard of, was the most severely handled, and having been forced to run ashore in consequence of the multitude of balls it received, and through fear of foundering, the enemy, in whose vicinity M. de la Valterie, already severely wounded, disembarked, overtook him as he was retreating with another Frenchman, and slew them both.

We lost, on this occasion, two other Frenchmen, and the enemy, an Indian belonging to the Mountain who was taken prisoner, and who has since been recognized, as will be seen hereafter. At the same time that Sieur D'argenteuil started for the Outaouacs, several parties were formed of Indians of the Sault and Mountain whom M^{r} de Callière sent out expressly to obtain prisoners and learn some news.

Though the Indian disposition be naturally prone to war, and though an attempt was made to persuade them that they are carrying on hostilities as much for their own, as for our interest, yet they fail not to demand, every time they set out, a quantity of provisions and ammunition which costs a considerable sum, and to refuse, would be to utterly disgust, them.

Surprise, then, must not be felt at the vast expenditure in Canada, and the little utility we are reproached with deriving from it. It is true that out of twenty parties these Indians organize, one-third of them sometimes do not strike a blow; but it is, also, very certain that, so far from rejecting any who offer, they must be encouraged as much as possible to form them, whatever be the cost, owing to the necessity we are under of hearing news of the enemy, which we cannot obtain except from prisoners, and of harrassing and keeping them in a continual state of alarm. Small parties effect this object as well as large expeditions, and at a smaller expense.

It can be asserted with truth, that for four years, no part of the season of navigation has passed without somebody being always in the field; and if these minutiæ have not been mentioned, it was considered sufficient to state them all at once *(en gros)* and that their details would be irksome.

The Indians, some settlers and active soldiers have formed small parties; and whatever troops we have been at liberty hitherto, pending our scarcity of provisions, to detach from our garrisons, have been employed under the command of the Captains in protecting our sowing and harvests, or in pursuing the enemy when he made his appearance. Therefore, with the extensive works we have constructed, it may be said that no person has been unoccupied.

It was not at Quebec alone that fortifications had to be thought of. The information received from the prisoners taken at the Mohawk, that the Iroquois and Dutch were making preparations to attack the neighborhood of Montreal, rendered it necessary to think of the preservation of the principal posts that cover that place. Those of Sorel and Chambly appeared the most important, and were not in a satisfactory condition.

Chevalier de Saint Jean commanded the former, and M^{r} de Callière sent him a reinforcement of twenty men under the orders of Lieutenant de Beauvais, who, with his company, put that fort into thorough repair.

That of Chambly has been refitted by Sieur Desbergères who has been in command there for the last four years; and it is in the best state of defence that it is possible to put a stockaded fort in.

The exactitude with which this officer performs his duty; the thorough discipline he enforces in guarding that post which is, at present, on the frontier of the country, places us entirely under cover on that side. He has not contented himself with making use of everything there that could contribute to his safety; he also went at the commencement of the spring with twenty men of his garrison, two leagues from his fort, and rendered entirely impracticable the portages by which the enemy are obliged to pass, when coming down in considerable numbers; so that they cannot approach Montreal by water without being seen from Chambly nor without being exposed to his cannon, or running through the rapids in which it is impossible for canoes to save themselves.

After having attended to the frontier posts of his government, M^{r} de Callière applied himself to the construction of works at Montreal whereby he could be placed in security. The entire town could not be inclosed anew in sufficient time, and it became necessary to secure in the first place, a hill *(côteau)* which commands it on all sides.

At this point he caused a small oblong fort to be built with four bastions; terraced, fraised and pallisaded and provided with a small ditch at its two narrowest sides; the other two being extremely steep.

This work may be considered impregnable to the forces the enemy can lead against it from above, it being impossible for them to bring cannon against it capable of destroying its defences.

It has at present eight guns on its bastions, in form of batteries, and though the enemy were to render themselves masters of the town, which there is no reason to apprehend, they could not hold all the streets, these being almost enfiladed, as well as the two sides of the town fronting the river and the mountain.

Of the parties which as we stated, the Indians had formed, that commanded by La Plaque which had gone towards Orange, was the first to meet with any success; the others were out some time without any great effect.

Some of them had gone towards Onondaga; others to the Mohawk country, and to several English towns, even as far as Boston.

That of Laplaque, which had directed its course towards Orange, surprised fourteen persons in the woods, two of whom he killed and took one prisoner; the latter turned out to be a Frenchmen who had been captured four years ago by an English vessel at the island of Saint Peter.[1]

He was brought to Quebec and his report was found to agree tolerably with that of the two deserters taken last fall on the coast of Acadia.

He assured that the enemy were to be ready to embark on the twentieth of April at Boston, where the rendezvous for all the English Colonies was fixed; and that this arrangement had been entered into in the course of the winter by all the governors in command there; that each was to furnish a stated number of men and vessels which were preparing for a long time; that the expedition was to consist at least of ten thousand men, more than six thousand of whom would land.

He added, that the Commandant at Orange was to come by lake Champlain with six hundred Englishmen, without Iroquois, in order to create a diversion for the troops that were above, and to facilitate the attack on Quebec.

This information from a man who ought to have been instructed by a long sojourn among the enemy, confirmed us in the resolution of hastening as much as possible, the inclosure of the town. I shall not enter into the details of the fortifications that have been erected there.

The plans and reports thereof will be seen, and I shall content myself with stating that the greatest number of men, and the smallest amount of expenditure possible have been employed on the works. Fortunately these are found to consist of such as the Court had thought proper to direct; either of earth, of which we have constructed the walls, or of the advantageous post of Cape Diamond, which we have fortified by a strong redoubt and included within the ramparts, recovering, on that side, the ground we lost on the other, so as to try and render it as regular as it could be. All the farmers within twenty leagues of Quebec furnished their *corvées*[2] for their board merely, and when they had been sent for a second time were paid at a

[1] Of the South Coast of Newfoundland. — Ed.

[2] Personal obligation of the tenantry under the Feudal system, to furnish a certain amount of service and time without compensation. It amounted, by law, to twelve days' work a year, whilst in other instances it is said to have been unlimited. Gentlemen and Nobles were exempted from it. In Canada the Militia, it is alleged, were ruined by these Corvées. *Smith's History of Canada*, I., 110.

very moderate rate. In order to engage them more readily in this work and to adopt necessary measures to save the Country, especially the cattle, from pillage, the Count deemed it expedient to visit these places.

He, accordingly, made a short voyage to the Island of Orleans and to the Côte de Beaupré; had the people assembled, and arrangements made respecting the manner of proceeding in case of certain news of the approach of the enemy, and the places of retreat for the old men, the women and children, where the cattle could be guarded by a small force. He had no difficulty in getting them to agree to his wishes the moment he made known to them what these were, although many persons had anticipated difficulty.

The earthen works, the pallisades, and fascines have been constructed by the job, *(à l'entreprise)*; the soldiers were superintended by their officers according to their turn of duty, and the farmers were under the direction of the principal citizens.

The masonry was divided among the best builders; the excavation of the ditch was found to be the most difficult and tedious, owing to the hardness of the rock on which we are located.

It was cut only at places where it was absolutely necessary, and which were found incapable of deriving any protection from our flanks. This work is not yet completed, but we hope to have it in good condition next spring, expecting as we do, that the Court will approve the fortifications we have constructed this year, and furnish us with means to complete them; the rather, as the English continue to threaten us more than ever, and as it is probable, from what they have done in the Islands,[1] that Canada will have her turn.

Our Indians, who had been out, have again taken several prisoners, women and children, who all said that the English did not cease menacing us, and that their expedition was nearly ready.

There arrived at Quebec in the month of June, a man named Lafaurie, who had been taken a year ago at Acadia and conveyed to Boston where he has been exchanged for an Englishman. His confinement doubtless prevented him learning any news, and he did not tell us much.

The Abenakis presented the Count some English scalps, and a prisoner who although pretty young, assured us, that he had heard it said that those of his Nation were preparing to come hither. At the close of the same month of June, Tareha, an Oneida Chief, repaired to Montreal and was conducted to Quebec with Saint Amour, an inhabitant of Point aux Trembles, who had been taken prisoner in a fight which occurred at that place four years ago, and whom he was bringing back in good faith.

The pretext for this Indian's visit appeared, at first, to be nothing more than the wish to recover one of his nephews who was a prisoner at the Sault. But he presented to the Count some belts relating to affairs worthy of attention. He said that the most influential of the Oneida cabins were extremely desirous of peace, and that if they had not previously demanded it, they were prevented merely by the fear of appearing in the presence of a justly irritated father; that he alone was disposed to encounter the blow, and whatever treacheries the Iroquois might have committed against us, he hoped, that, coming as he did in good faith to give expression to his thoughts, he should experience no ill-treatment; he added, that the entire Village would willingly follow the example of the cabins, for which he spoke, and that he had caused notice to be given to all the Nations that he was coming to Canada, to see his father, and to endeavor to accommodate what their bad faith had spoiled.

[1] A fleet had been sent under Sir Francis Wheeler against Martinico in 1693, but sickness had so weakened them that the design aborted. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II., 71. — Ed.

He, likewise, brought letters from Father Millet, the Jesuit, who has been more than five years a prisoner among them, confirming all Tahera expressed by his belts, and certifying the favorable disposition of the Oneidas, without however presuming to answer for that of the other Nations.

The Count spoke to him by one Belt only, which speech we now report word for word:—

The Belt that Onontio gives Tareha is to say, that the just resentment he feels at the horrible perfidy the Onondagas perpetrated on the French, whom he permitted to accompany the Iroquois he had brought from France and whom Oreaouë had sent back to them, combined with the unheard of cruelties they, as well as all the other Nations, have since committed on those of his Children who have fallen into their hands, would have obliged him to have recourse to reprisals against Tareha, and to reject the Belts he had presented him on behalf of the three principal families of Oneida, without listening to any of those things he had submitted to him, did not the yet remaining tenderness for Children whom he has always loved, and whom he never treated otherwise than well, induce him to endeavor once more to leave them some means to enable them, by recovering their senses and returning to their duty, to eject the poison they have swallowed, and to shake off the drunkenness in which they have been so long lying.

This is the sole motive which induces him to declare by this Belt, that if the Onondagas, Senecas and Cayugas wish to participate in the dispositions the Oneidas seem to entertain, they have to send him immediately two of the principal and most influential chiefs of each Nation — of whom he wishes Teganissorens to be one because he is his oldest acquaintance — to express the hearty sorrow and sincere regret they feel for all their past faults, and he will listen to what they will desire to say on the subject; giving them full assurance that they shall be at liberty to come and return in all safety, whatever may happen; they must entertain the less doubt on this subject inasmuch as they are aware that Onontio has never broken, and is incapable of violating, his word.

It is for them to consider the resolution they are to adopt, because if they refuse to enter promptly at the door the Oneidas have begun to open for them, Onontio is determined to close his ears, to listen no longer to any proposition of arrangement, and to pursue them until they be wholly exterminated.

Tahera was dismissed with this answer, and promised to return in September.

On the twenty-fifth of June sixty Amicois Indians[1] arrived at Montreal from Fort Frontenac where they had been lying in ambush with a view to surprise some of the enemy. They reported that the Nipissiriniens, their allies, whom they had accompanied on the war path, had encountered three Iroquois Canoes, one of which they had utterly defeated; that they had taken one prisoner on that occasion who told them that they had killed two Frenchmen; probably Sieur de Lavalterie and the man named Lac, a farmer, who had been taken with him; that they had also recovered Orany, an influential Indian of the Mountain, who had been wounded and captured on the same occasion, and whom those Nepissiriniens ought since to have brought down to Montreal.

The Amicois went back after stating that nothing had happened in the direction of the River *des Iroquois*.[2]

[1] See note 4, *supra*, p. 160. — Ed.

[2] The St. Lawrence.

In the beginning of July letters were received from Father Binetaut, a Jesuit missionary at Acadia[1] who informed us that the Abenakis had taken, near fort Pemkuit, an English woman prisoner who appeared to be respectable; she stated that the enemy's fleet had set sail for Quebec long since. This agreed with what we had been told by the Frenchman whom Laplaque captured in the direction of Orange.

The day succeeding the receipt of these letters, arrived here Sieur de Saint Michel who, as was stated last year, had been taken at the Long Sault of the river of the Outaouacs in an engagement in which Sieur de Laganerays commanded and who had been conveyed to Omatés[2] with Sieur de Lafresnière-Hertel, Ensign in the Regulars, whence he escaped. He got away in the most fortunate manner possible, which, at his advanced time of life, seems somewhat miraculous.

His adventures are most extraordinary, and would merit a particular detail. He made his escape on learning that the Iroquois had just decreed in council that it was necessary for the good of the Nation that he be burnt. He has been twenty-five days coming to Montreal, and may be relied on as to what he has reported to us respecting the condition of the enemy, of whom he has long had considerable knowledge, confirmed now by the sojourn of more than a year in their principal village.

He represents that the fort of Onontaé which has been built by the English, has eight bastions and three rows of stockades; and that in case we invade the enemy's territory, the Iroquois are resolved to muster there and maintain their ground.

That they had determined to come down, this summer, to the number of Eight hundred to impede our harvests, and his opinion, from the preparations he had witnessed, was that they would put that project into execution; that Tareha's representations on the part of the Oneidas might have been in good faith, but assuredly the other Nations would not listen to peace unless forced, which they must be, the very moment circumstances admit.

On the thirteenth of the same month a canoe arrived from Hudson's bay and reported that the scarcity of provisions had obliged them to leave at Fort Saint Anne only five men of the number of whom was a wretch who, without any provocation and in a paroxysm of despair bordering on lunacy, had killed the Surgeon of the Fort and afterwards Father Dalmas, the Jesuit missionary who had a knowledge of his first crime; that they had left him in irons, and had come to ascertain what should be done with him.

About six o'clock in the evening of the same day, the tide ebbing and the wind blowing strong from the North, a vessel hove in sight of Quebec. At first she was thought to be a ship and did eventually turn out to be one called *la Sainte Anne* of Bourdeaux, which the fog and bad weather had separated from the rest of the fleet. Two days afterwards she was followed by fly boat *le Saint Joseph* and *le Pontchartrain*.

Sieur d'Iberville, the Commander, arrived eight days afterwards, and all the other vessels about the end of the month.

[1] Rev. JULIEN BINETEAU did not remain long in Maine; he was on the Saint Lawrence in 1694, and about 1695 was sent to labor among the Illinois. He followed these Indians during the most oppressive heats of July on their summer hunt, in order to administer to them in case of necessity. Sometimes he was in danger of being stifled in the midst of the tall grass, and then suffered cruelly from thirst, not finding a drop of water any where in the parched prairies. During the day he was drenched in perspiration, and at night obliged to take his rest on the bare earth, exposed to the dews, to the injurious effects of the atmosphere and to many other miseries. These fatigues brought on a deadly fever which soon put an end to his life. *Kip's Jesuit Missions*, 209. — ED.

[2] *Sic.* Onontaé — Onondaga.

The reinforcements sent by the Count were disembarked as soon as possible. Some of them were found to be sick, and many others became ill since they landed; about forty died on the passage. But we hope that, with time and the attentions already begun to be afforded them, they will be fitted for the mode of warfare peculiar to this country, as they are for the most part young men, who adapt themselves to it with the greatest facility.

The three ships *l'Impertinent*, *la Perle* and *la Fille bien-aimée* arrived in the end of July.

Sieur D'Iberville had captured on the way a small English vessel coming from Virginia with a cargo of Tobacco; and Sieur Robert took another craft of fifteen to eighteen tons going from Boston to the island of Newfoundland, the crew of which assured us that the English were again threatening Canada after their expedition against the West Indies.

On the twenty-first of the month of July we were informed by letters from M^r^ de Callière that our Indians had discovered a body of Seven @ Eight hundred of the enemy at the Cascades of the River *des Iroquois*, on their way down to Montreal.

Some soldiers belonging to Sieur de Lorrimier's Company, who had been sent expressly on the scout, thought they had seen their camp, within six leagues of Montreal, on the island itself, opposite that of La Presentation.

The apparent certainty of these news, obliged the Count to dispatch M. de Vaudreuil immediately with five Companies that were at work at Quebec, and one hundred and fifty of such newly arrived forces as were found to be in the best state of health.

This greatly interrupted our fortifications, which it was hoped might be completed during the remainder of the season, and did not result in any great things, no more than did the levy of eight hundred men raised by M^r^ de Callière in his government with very great diligence.

He marched with this force in the resolution to fight the enemy before they separated, which would have been of the greatest importance, as small parties are more to be feared during harvest than a large troop, which ordinarily retires on the slightest check.

He went as far as the Cascades without meeting either the enemy or any sign of their having passed. M^r^ de Vaudreuil arrived at Montreal a few days after M. de Callière's return, and the troops were distributed throughout the settlements to gather the harvest which had been, this year, more abundant than heretofore.

The movement was productive, at least, of one good effect. A Mohawk Indian, a prisoner at the Sault, made his escape after M^r^ de Vaudreuil's arrival, and saw that the reinforcements so long expected had, in fact, arrived from France, and that, on the slightest alarm, we could put ourselves in a condition to return the enemy the blows they were coming to inflict on us. His report cannot but have a good effect, from the change that has taken place in the disposition of the Iroquois.

The Count, who was preparing to go up to Montreal, received, on the seventeenth of August, a piece of the most agreeable news he could expect. This was the arrival of more than two hundred canoes, both of Frenchmen and Outaouacs, which had come from their country freighted with a prodigious quantity of peltries.

His orders had been most punctually executed in those parts, and whatever Indians were met unprovided with any means of transportation of their own, were accommodated by the French to enable them to get their effects down. It is impossible to conceive the joy of the public on beholding such a vast quantity of riches. For several years Canada had been impatiently waiting for this prodigious heap of Beaver, which was reported to be at Missilimakinac. The merchant, the farmer and other individuals who might have some

peltries there, were dying of hunger with property which they did not enjoy. Credit was exhausted and the apprehension universal, that the enemy would become masters, on the way, of the last resource of the country. Therefore, terms sufficiently strong were not to be found to praise and bless him by whose care so much property had arrived. Father of the People, and Preserver of the Country—titles so much in vogue since four years—seemed not sufficiently expressive; and those who were at a loss for terms, contented themselves with demonstrating, by the joy depicted on their countenances and the gaiety of their hearts, the gratefulness of their feelings.

On this intelligence he set out, on the twentieth, from Quebec, and the principal Chiefs of each Nation came as far as Three Rivers to meet him. He arrived at Montreal on the twenty-eighth, and on the following day, the Indians of the various Tribes delivered their Speeches, the burthen of which was, for the most part, to inform him that they had come down in obedience to the order he had transmitted them by Sieur D'argenteuil, to hear his voice and to demand a favorable trade.

The Hurons dilated a little more, and enumerated pretty fully all the parties they had organized against the Iroquois, pursuant to Onontio's commands.

Trade was opened on Monday, and the answer to the one and the other was postponed until after its close. This interval was employed in reading Sieur de Louvigny's letters, and in hearing whatever matters of importance the most influential of those who came down, had to communicate; from whom an account was received of what had occurred in the Upper Country; of the good or evil dispositions of the Tribes, and of the merit of each particular Indian who possessed any degree of consideration. This was absolutely necessary to be ascertained, in order to treat each as he deserved.

The only disagreeable intelligence we got was, that the Miamis had received some presents from the English through the medium of the Mohegans *(Loups)*. This afforded a just subject of apprehension lest that Nation had received them in order that they might trade in their country, and lest they would possess, by this means, free intercourse with all the others, which would bring about the entire ruin of Canada, both in regard to trade and war. The Count was, therefore, under the necessity of sending a much larger number of Frenchmen, Regulars and Militia, than he had at first proposed, to expel the enemy from that post, if they had seized it, or to prevent them entering it. This is to be done by Sieurs de Manteth and de Courtemanche whom also he dispatched at the head of all the Frenchmen, whose orders are, to think more of fighting than of trading.

The principal Indian Chiefs were, in turn, entertained at the Count's table. The general feast came off on Sunday the sixth of September, when each emulated the other in singing of war and recounting his exploits.

The King's presents to the Indians were distributed on Monday among each of the tribes; the Count selected this opportunity to address them, and praised or censured each according to his deserts. The following are the proper terms of his discourse.[1]

They retired all seemingly highly pleased, and set out three or four days afterwards, their Chiefs having received particular presents and having been greatly caressed.

They were followed by the French under the direction of Sieur de Tonty, commandant at the Illinois, under whom serve Sieurs de Manteth, Courtemanche and D'argenteuil; the last is to remain at Missilimakinac, and to act as Sieur de Louvigny's Lieutenant.

[1] There is no speech in the French Text. — Ed.

In addition to these officers who have each their stations fixed, the man named Perrot is to occupy one in the immediate neighborhood of the Miamis, in order to execute whatever will be ordered him. This place is called Malamet,[1] and the great concourse of Indians who repair thither, among whom this man possesses very considerable credit, induced the Count to select him to be stationed between the Miamis and the other Tribes who might receive proposals from the English; a barrier which destroys all their designs.

Lesueur, another voyageur, is to remain at Chagouamigon and to endeavor to maintain the peace lately concluded between the Sauteurs and the Cioux. This is of the greatest consequence, as it is now the sole pass by which access can be had to the latter Nation, whose trade is very profitable, the country to the South being occupied by the Foxes and the Masscoutins who have already, several times, plundered the French, under pretence that they were carrying ammunition to the Scioux, their ancient enemies. These frequent interruptions would have been punished ere this, had we not been occupied elsewhere. Lesueur, it is to be hoped, will facilitate the Northern route for us by means of the great influences he possesses among the Scioux.

There had been some trifling difficulties in regard to the conveyance of the remainder of the presents intended for the Tribes, and the manner the French should govern themselves during this voyage. The latter was arranged [at the moment of setting out from] Montreal, and the Count tranquilized the minds of every one by his orders and the correct interpretation of those of his Majesty. He was obliged to spend a whole night at la Chine, in order to have what remained of the presents distributed in his presence among the several French canoes. Each took a portion of them on board without difficulty so that nothing was left. One Canoe, however, has since been obliged to return in consequence of the want of strength and skill of three soldiers who were in it.

After the departure of the French the Count thought only of returning to Quebec, and of quitting Montreal which he could leave in all safety in the hands of M^{r} de Callière. Before he left, he received two different pieces of intelligence by some canoes which had been dispatched to him by Sieur Provost, the lieutenant-governor of Quebec.

The first was from Hudson's bay: M^{r} Pachot, one of the directors of that Company wrote to him that three English ships, which had wintered in that Bay, had attacked Fort Saint Anne whose garrison consisted only of four men and one criminal in irons, as already stated. That the enemy had at first landed forty of their men against whom our Frenchmen held out during the first night; but on the second, seeing more than a hundred approaching, they had abandoned their fort and retired as quietly as possible.

The English found in this fort more than fifty thousand écus' worth of Peltries, exclusive of the munitions of war, and the Cannon which might be there. This is a very serious loss, and will deprive Canada of considerable beaver.

The second news the Count received came from Acadia. Sieur de Villebon, the commander in that quarter, wrote him that the Abenakis lacking goods, went in search of them to Pemkuit, an English fort, and had purchased some with their beaver; that, however, no apprehension need be entertained that these communications would result in a peace, being simply for trade, and that hatred was always existing between these nations. This has been confirmed to us by the Indians who came since to us, and by Father Binneteau, the Jesuit missionary to those Tribes. Too much reliance is, however, not to be placed on this, on account of the

[1] Maramec, or the Kalamazoo in Michigan. — Ed.

proximity of fort Pemkuit which, at present, is in a condition not to be attacked; though it could have been easily taken last year, had the orders that were issued been obeyed.

Sieur de Villebon sends, also, other intelligence which he had received from two Frenchmen recently from the Boston prison. They stated, among other things that Governor Phlips[1] was ready to sail with eight hundred Englishmen and Indians, to endeavor to seize him in his fort on the river S[t] John; that he is waiting for them in good spirits, and that he does not apprehend this fleet can do him any injury.

That the Governor has approved the conduct of those of Chignictou or Beaubassin, the territory belonging to Sieur de Lavallière, Captain of the Count's guards who, having been attacked by the English who landed during the night, repulsed them with loss; and that Sir Phlips had severely censured the Commandant of that landing party for having so acted towards people who, up to the present time, had committed no act of hostility.

Those two prisoners reported further, that fifteen days before their departure from Boston, seventeen men of war of from twenty to sixty guns, had arrived in a very bad condition from Martinico;[2] that their army had been defeated there; that they had lost three thousand men and that two of their large ships had been sunk; that many of their people had come over to us; that the fever *(peste)* had broken out on board their ships and that the governor had put those that arrived in quarantine. It was also said that they were very sorry those ships were in such bad condition, for had it not been for that, there would be still time to take Quebec; but as soon as they would refit, they should send them to the mouth of our river in order to endeavor to capture our ships on their return.

Advices have been received from New-York, that the Iroquois were always very insolent, and had killed three or four settlers near Orange.

It was also reported, that considerable misunderstanding existed between the Governor of Boston and Sir Furfax, Captain of a large English ship, who had withdrawn on board his vessel, and that they were insulting each other daily; that the people of that town were heartily tired of the war, and of the interruption of their fishing and commerce, having lost more than fifty vessels within four years.

What has occurred in the Islands is better known in France than here. As regards the other news, so much credit will be given to it as can be reposed in prisoners who are not always well informed.

We, however, entertain no doubt but General Phlips will, eventually, carry out his threats provided he have the means to do so, to which he is the more strongly committed as, apart from the vexation of having been once already repulsed, it is the sole means of staying the frequent incursions of the Abenakis, who so long lay waste the people of his government.

We have received advices that some of that Nation have, recently, had considerable negotiations with the English. Those of the river Kenebeky have concluded a peace which they pretend is only conditional, and merely to recover their prisoners. Those of Pamnasamske,[3] and of Amireaneau have not gone so far in the treaty, and wished merely to recover some of their Chiefs who are in the hands of the English.

Nevertheless, there is every reason to be apprehensive of all these negotiations, unless the Indians receive considerable presents from us, as the English supply them with goods at a low rate and the fort of Pemkuit has its foot on their necks. Considerable presents and an open

[1] *Sic.* Phips.

[2] Sir Francis Wheeler's fleet. *Supra*, p. 565.

[3] An Island in the Penobscot river, now called Indian Oldtown. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 68, 473. — Ed.

trade to supply their wants, will alone prevent them seeking whatever they require from the English. Therefore, whatever friendship they may evince for us, it is essential not to neglect preventing them so far allying themselves commercially with the English as to destroy the confidence they repose in us.

They have assured us that they will, next Spring, renew the war most vigorously. Every means will be employed to engage them to do so; and we hope the aid they will receive from France will stimulate them thereto better than our messages, which the urgency of affairs elsewhere prevented us effectually following up.

The negotiation we had commenced with Tareha the Oneida, has been almost entirely broken off by his return in the beginning of October.

The Iroquois held a number of consultations respecting answers the Count gave him at his first trip. The English took a very active part therein, and all, together, caused a belt to be presented by this Tareha to Onontio, to tell him that the Chiefs of each Tribe were prevented visiting him here by the dread they entertain of the detachments we and our allies have continually in the field; that if he will send two Frenchmen, capable of regulating affairs, they will conduct them safely to Albany—that is to say, to Orange,—where they are to treat for the future, the Tree of Peace and War having been transported from Onnontagk to that place, and that terms can be concluded there by all the nations; that is to say, the Iroquois, the Dutch and us.

This Belt was at once rejected by the Count who contented himself with answering, that since the Iroquois were not willing to accept what had been generously proposed to them, he possessed assured means to constrain them to obey his will.

Tareha presented another Belt from the Oneida Cabins, in whose behalf he had spoken at first. They thanked Onontio for the kind reception he had extended to the said Tareha; and for having restored them the Indian, his nephew and their relative, and assured him that they should not meddle in the bad affairs into which the Iroquois might fall.

The Count promised Tareha, by a belt in reply to the last that he would not confound him or his in the expeditions he premeditated against the Iroquois Nations, the execution of which a prompt repentance alone could prevent. He was dismissed with pretty considerable presents both for himself and brother, and some were given to an old woman called Suzan, who it was known had taken great care of the French prisoners at Oneida, and who had come to see the Count with Tareha.

Since the departure of this Indian the greater part of the Companies who are to winter in this government have arrived here. We have learned at the same time, that a party of six Indians of the Sault, at the head of whom was Laplaque, had struck a blow within a short distance of Orange. They captured two of the soldiers belonging to the garrison of that town; they were obliged to break the head of one, who having untied himself in the course of the night after his capture, inflicted on three of our Indians; whilst sleeping, several blows of an axe, the marks only of which will remain; the other has been brought hither, and assures us that the English of Boston, New-York, and Virginia are preparing to come hither in the Spring by sea, and that another detachment is to be organized at Orange, with all their Indian allies, to make a descent near Montreal.

The ship *la S^te Anne*, belonging to the Hudson's bay company, arrived here on the twenty-eighth of this month; found the English in peaceable possession of the fort we occupied in that Bay, and having been attacked by a vessel of thirty-six to forty guns, fortunately got away

after an engagement of two hours, and brought back every thing the merchants destined for the winter's supply of their people, and the Indian trade.

Such are nearly all the most important occurrences in Canada since the sailing of the ships last year. Those who will understand the true state of the country, and the manner in which war can be waged there, with such indifferent forces as we have had up to the present time, must admit that the funds his Majesty has entrusted to us cannot be more usefully employed, nor the glory of his arms be more brilliantly sustained by a handful of men.

Louis XIV. to M. de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Memoir of the King to Count de Frontenac and Sieur de Champigny. 8 May 1694.

The threats of the English as communicated by the Officers returned from Acadia at the close of 1692, and the information Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny have pretended to have had, that they design a general invasion of Canada and to besiege Quebec, having been without any result, and as there is but little appearance that those English have been since in a condition to prosecute the attack, his Majesty is persuaded that Sieur de Frontenac will not only have placed the country in a state of security against their incursions and Indian forays, but be able to have executed the projects, which, he had informed his Majesty, he was preparing with a view to prosecute hostilities vigorously against them; so that his Majesty is not without hope that the Iroquois may be disposed to make some advances towards peace.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty desires that they conform themselves to the order he gave them last year, to cease paying the Christian Indians 10 silver écus[1] for every Indian killed, 20 écus for each prisoner, and half these sums for women; this will be a further diminution of the estimate. This expense cannot be afforded, and it appears so much the less necessary as on the occasion of the invasion of the Mohawk country and the retreat of the French party which had so successfully made that expedition, the hope of this recompense did not prevent the Christian Indians conniving at the escape of the Mohawks, and rendering that expedition not only useless, but even very destructive to the French, all whose sufferings Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny have described in the Relations they have sent of the retreat of the French, who allowed themselves to be prevailed on by their Indians to form a camp and to remain in it, in order to afford the English time to muster and pursue them, as they have done. Had the escape of the prisoners to the number of more than 300, not been favored by the friendly Indians, the entire of the fund appropriated to the expenses of Canada, would not have sufficed to pay these rewards. Finally, his Majesty understands that they replace matters in this regard, in the condition previous to the formation of that resolution, inasmuch as their subsistence and other supplies furnished these Indians when they are employed in war, are entirely on his Majesty's account.

[1] Each 60 sous. — Ed.

M. de Villebon to M. de Pontchartrain.

Memoir for My Lord de Pontchartrain respecting the expedition to be organized against fort Pemquid; dated 20th of August 1694. By M. de Villebon.

The English have so well understood the importance of reëstablishing fort Pemquid, which our Indians had taken from them in the beginning of this war, that they adopted, in 1692, every suitable measure for its recovery without sparing any expense to place it in its present condition; and it may be alleged, that they are quite safe there from Indians, unless in case of surprise, and even from French, if the resolution be not adopted to attack them in form.

They judged very correctly that in building Pemquid, they were depriving our Indians of the power of going freely coastwise on their expeditions; embarrassing them in an extraordinary degree in hunting Deer which were very abundant thereabout, and that the Indians, finding themselves thus straitened, would be obliged to enter into negotiations, as has in fact been the case; having been tempted by the proximity of our enemies who were able to supply them with all sorts of merchandise they would require, at Boston prices, in order to gain them over to their interests by cheap bargains. This, however, did not, at any time, deprive the French of the friendship of the Indians who always amused the English, until they would find themselves in a way to obtain goods, abundance of every description of which the gentlemen of the Company furnished last year and have continued to supply this season, suitable to their use.

No conjuncture can be more favorable than the present to attack fort Pemquid, inasmuch as they (the Indians) are resolved to wage a more vigorous and a more cruel war than heretofore; as they have demonstrated in the last expedition,[1] having spared neither women nor children.

The capture of fort Pemquid would embolden them the more as they would not have any precaution to adopt to avoid discovery; since they are always uneasy, when passing near it, lest the enemy would become aware of their march and prepare some ambuscade for them on the return of their parties, as they are not accustomed to come back except in small squads in order to avoid being discovered.

Moreover, on the capture of that fort, which the English represent as impregnable, the latter would lose the best post they possess in this entire government, and we could extend our bounds ten or twelve leagues to the river Quinibeki which is to be considered the property of the King, since it is at present exclusively inhabited by our Indian allies; and it would be easy, after the expedition against Pemquid, to station an officer there and some soldiers in one of the Indian forts, for the purpose of maintaining possession of the place, which would even afford them a great deal of satisfaction.

Fort Pemquid is situate in a commodious and safe bay, at the entrance of which only is a Rock that is not at all dangerous. The fort stands on a point at the right on going in, and is handsomely located.

The man named Abraham Boudrot, an inhabitant of Port Royal, who came from there within six weeks, and who goes to and fro to Boston by Count de Frontenac's and my advice, after having been twice in Fort Pemkuit has assured me that he had thoroughly examined it, and that each curtain was about 160 feet in length, being, as well as he could judge, quadrated by four bastions.

[1] On Oyster river N. W. of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. *Belknap*, I., 216.

That on the entrance or Northwest side where lies Roadstead, this curtain forms a wall eight or nine feet thick, and on this front sixteen twelve and sixteen-pounders are ranged in battery on the wall itself, with sodded embrazures; and that in the centre of this curtain is the gate which is of oak, six inches thick, 12 feet wide and ten feet high, but not crowned by any work.

That on the northeast, towards the harbor for sloops, the curtain may be six feet thick, and is mounted with two four or six-pounders.

That the curtain which fronts a portage, half, or at most three-quarters of, a league in length, leading to a little harbor they formerly occupied, is the weakest, because they apparently concluded that they could not be attacked on that side except by Indians, and that they had properly but two curtains to fortify; mainly those I have mentioned; since the fourth, of which I have said nothing, resembles that at the Portage.[1]

This expedition may be undertaken at two seasons of the year. The first, of which I propose to treat, appears to me by tbe last advices I have received from Boston, to be the safest and properest. It is the end of May or the 15th of June at latest.

It is very certain that the enemy hath all the trouble in the world to fit out every year their frigate, which is not ready, however diligent they are, before the 15th or 20th of May, and cruises towards Port Royal and Cape Sable, in order to make known to this former place that it must remain attached to their interests, and to maintain the other at the same time, and to protect their fishing vessels on the Coast. They receive hardly any news at that season of the year from Old England, and whatever may arrive thence is no ways in a condition to oppose the projected expedition, which will be almost executed before they have any intelligence of it.

The other season at which this expedition may be undertaken is at the end of August at furthest. But as the vessels destined for it would, apparently, go first to Quebec, and as it is so uncertain what time they might arrive here, the Court would incur an expense which, in consequence of delays, might turn out entirely useless, and render the enterprise more difficult of execution another year, on account of the advice the enemy may receive. And supposing, even, that they did arrive before the end of August or the month of September, the English would find themselves reinforced by the mast fleet and convoy, which do not fail to come annually to Pescatoué at that season. Add to this, the winds begin to be squally and rough on those Coasts at the close of September.

Another weighty consideration also is, that the Indians can be relied on at the season I mention—the Spring,—as they all return from hunting and repair to their principal quarters in order to plant their Indian Corn, whereas in the month of August or September, they are all distributed by families along the rivers in order to live on the Fish and Game they may kill. It is only by having advices early from France that word can be sent them. But I would not guarantee that the same number would be present as in the Spring.

For the expedition against Pemquid, and to control at the same time, the New England Coasts, three ships will be required: One of 46 to 48 guns; another, a frigate of 36 guns, and a fly boat adapted to the transportation of whatever is necessary for the garrison and requisite for making the landing.

[1] Pemaquid river issues from a pond in Nobleborough, Maine. The fort stood on the east bank of the river near its mouth, (where the tides rise from 14 to 16 feet), and completely commanded its entrance. The ruins, some of which are now three feet high, are melancholy remains of great labor and expense. It was called, at different times, Fort George, Fort Frederic and Fort William Henry. *Williamson*, I, 57.—Ed.

In sailing from France directly for the River Saint John, one hundred good picked soldiers should necessarily be embarked on board the ships, to form a landing party and to make the attack on shore. To these may be conjoined one hundred men from the three crews. I should support these by an equal number of Indians, who are much greater adepts at the musket than all our Soldiers, but less obedient, and in a sortie should not perhaps be much depended on to stand their ground. However, being supported by 200 Frenchmen might assuredly engage them not to give way.

4 Brass 12 or 18 pounders, with their cedar carriages, equipments and ammunition.

4 Trains, or Devils, to transport them at once, from the sea by the portage I have mentioned these will be of trifling inconvenience on board the ships, when dismounted.

2 gunners—300 Grenades—100 iron-shod shovels to remove the earth—30 Rakes, 24 of them iron—50 good axes.

4 pieces of Coarse Clocheterre canvas for bags to hold earth.

Two mortars of only about 12@1300 weight, with cedar carriages and equipments.

200 Shells—2 bombadeers, as it is to be feared that having only one, he may fail either through sickness or some other accident.

I shall land the troops in that harbor which is, at farthest, only three-quarters of a league distant from Fort Pemquid, whence there is a wagon road to the fort; and the landing having been made the ships will have only to cruize at the entrance of the Bay of Pemqui, and enter it at the first shot from our battery, in order to anchor at an Island which is at the Northwest,[1] and beyond the range of the guns of the fort; and in the course of the night, they could come and lie alongside the fort which, as far as I can judge, would require only twenty-four hours of a brisk attack.

To insure the success of this expedition will require perfect understanding and agreement between the Commanders of the naval and land forces; wherefore I request the Court to give such orders as it will consider proper so that the King's service may not suffer.

I shall take the liberty of representing, were M. de Bonnaventure selected that, in addition to the knowledge he is already in possession of respecting the country, he is of a temper not to cause any difficulty.

This post being captured, attacks could then be made along the coast. Sieur Baptiste would, with some pilots whom we have here, conduct the ships in safety, and a portion of the Islands within sight of Boston could be destroyed without any risk.

Profound secresy must be observed in France respecting the vessels to come here, so that the people of Boston may not have any information by way of Old England of this expedition.

I am very glad to remark, when asking for two hundred shells, that such a number will not be required for fort Pemqui, but it may eventually happen that we would find the attack on Pescatoué feasible, and we may be in want of some to attack the fort, for it is very certain that, should all the Indians take the field next year, it will be a bloody campaign for our enemies.

As the Indians of Cape Breton could not be readily notified in consequence of the distance, and as it was they who went on board the Man of War *la Bretonne*, and who, M. de Bonnaventure observed to me, were very much pleased, they could be shipped on the way hither; to effect which nothing is necessary but to enter Spaniards' bay,[2] where some will be found awaiting the news from France, with a settler who is going thither this fall to establish himself there.

[1] Now, Rutherford Island. *Williamson*, I., 58. — Ed.

[2] See note, *supra*, p. 544.

Two months' Provisions to be brought for the subsistence of the Indians estimated at 200 men, to be loaded equally in the 3 vessels.

2000 lbs. of Flour.
2 tierces of Molasses, to flavor their Sagamité.
200 lbs. of Butter, for the same purpose.
10 barrels of Brandy; without which 'twill be impossible to prevail on them to act efficiently.

In order to avoid incumbering the ships, the surplus of the provisions they may require during two months, can be sent for, on their arrival, to Minas or Port Royal, where they could be procured cheaper than in France, and be advanced by the Company's agent who is in that Country.

Memorandum of Presents for the Indians of Acadia, for the sum of 3640[ll] which his Majesty grants them in order to wage war against the English.

2000 [lb] of Powder.
40 barrels of bullets.
10 barrels of Swan shot.
400 lbs of Brazilian Tobacco.
200 Tomahawks, of which M[r] de Bonnaventure will furnish the pattern.
60 selected guns like those of this year.
200 Mulaix Shirts, averaging 30[s] each.
8 [lbs] of fine Vermilion.
200 tufts of white feathers to be given the Indians in order to designate them during the night in case of attack, and which will cost at most only six @ 7[c]; to be selected in Paris by M. de Bonnaventure.

Which presents will be distributed among the Indians when they will be all assembled at the rendezvous to be indicated to them.

Narrative of Occurrences in Canada. 1694.

Memoir of the Negotiations in Canada with the Iroquois. By M. de la Mothe Cadillac. 1694.

In order to inform you of what has occurred this year, I shall first state to you that the proposals for peace, made in October 1693 by Atharea the Iroquois, were continued by two Indians who arrived at Montreal in the month of January, with the assurance that the Chiefs of the Five Nations were coming for the purpose of learning what M. de Frontenac's intention was in regard to the negotiation entered into by their Atharea; that they were coming to

ascertain whether they would be well received, and if there would be safety for their Chiefs who were at a distance of five days' journey of Montreal awaiting their return, and the answer the Count should give them.

M. de Callières having advised the Count of this deputation, sent (so as to lose no time) these two Iroquois back to their Chiefs with assurances, in advance, that they could come in all safety and that no harm would occur to them; that they would be conveyed to Quebec with a good escort and without the smallest risk; that the Count would there listen to their words, and that they might in conjunction with him, devise some expedient for the conclusion of a peace.

These two Iroquois and their Chiefs were expected some days, but in vain; and their knavery was soon admitted. Nevertheless, when nothing more was thought of them, the Count again received advice that three other Iroquois, belonging to the Mohawk village were come and had Belts for our Indians of the Sault and the Mountain. M^r^ de Callières having questioned them, made them go down to Quebec, where they remained two days by the Count's orders before speaking; after this they flung three belts, that is to say, three propositions, into the Council Chamber.

The two first assured our Christian Indians and others, that the road to the Five Nations was clear as well as that to Orange and Corlard; that they might go there and return without danger, and that their hatchet was tied up pending 45 days on condition that they, also, would tie up theirs for the same time. (To tie up the hatchet means a Truce.)

The third Belt was addressed to the French and embodied the same proposition.[1]

The Count kicked away these three propositions or Belts, and by this mark of contempt and haughtiness, indicated to the proudest nation throughout this New World his indifference for peace, and said to them:—

"I consider it a very bold and rash proceeding on your part to come here for the purpose of seducing and debauching my Children of the Sault and of the Mountain. There they are present in this Council. They will tell you their thoughts at home. Think you that you are able to corrupt or to shake them? You deceive yourselves. They are submissive and obedient to me, as true Children ought to be to their fathers."

Our Indians hereupon uttered a cry expressive of their approbation of what he said. The Count continued in this wise:—

"Although I regard you here as spies and fellows bribed by the Great Arrow,[2] I cannot, however, forget that I am your Father, and that you are my Children, who have become rebels and disobedient to my orders. Wherefore and in order to afford you leisure to reënter into yourselves, I will indeed tie up my hatchet for two moons, on this condition that if Teganissorhens be not here before the expiration of that time, and with two principal Chiefs of each nation, I will no longer listen to your voice, and should you return to submit to me any new proposition, I protest and declare to you, that I will commit to the kettle those who shall be so rash as to dare to undertake such an embassy. Once more I repeat to you that Tegannisorens alone and those who will accompany him, will find their path open; that it is his voice I will hear, and that I will not close my ears to his word; that the road will be shut to all others but him, and that those who will be taken will not escape roasting."

[1] For these propositions at length, see IV., 92, also Colden, 8vo., 163.

[2] Governor Fletcher of New-York.

Language so haughty undeceived these three envoys who were surprized at it. They were sent back, two days afterwards to Montreal and thence to the fort of the Indians of the Mountain and Sault, to present them the two Belts the Count has rejected, to which their Chief replied in these terms:—

19th April, 1694. Onontio, that is to say our Father, has rejected your Belts; he was aware your hearts were bad; but no matter. He was wise to allow you to come here, in order that you may be no longer at a loss to know our intention respecting your negotiation, to which I answer by this Belt, that speaks for all my Nation, and is to assure you that our heart is good and pure; that we shall never follow any but Onontio's will. He is our Father who tenderly loves us, who does not abandon us, and we shall be always obedient unto him. We have nothing to do either with Corlard or Orange, and have still less thoughts of going into your villages to convey thither proposals of our movement. We have no other mind nor aim than that of our Father. If he hang up his hatchet, we shall hang ours up likewise, and if he sharpen it in order to strike the better, we will go whither he will turn it. However, as you have solicited Onontio to tie it up for two moons and he has consented, we shall tie up ours also, and during that interval Teganissores and those who will accompany him, will be at liberty to come freely and without fear. No harm shall be done them, for our Father so ordains it.

The Indians of the Sault made the same answer by the second Belt, after which the three Deputies, took the road towards Onontaé, where they were to report what they had seen and heard.

At the expiration of two moons, that is about Saint John's day, Teganissorens and two of the most influential Chiefs of each Iroquois Nation arrived at Montreal and then came down to Quebec, where M^{r} de Callières happened to be. The Count received them quite courteously, and at a formal interview let them know, that he deplored their misfortune, and was touched with compassion for their errors. He then dismissed them, and they were conducted to the lodgings prepared for them. They were, according to their custom, two days without explaining themselves, and on the 3rd they delivered a public discourse in which they reported the propositions they had to submit on the part of their Tribes agreeably to the resolution of their Council; and with this view Teganissorens, in the name of the Five Nations, laid three Belts before the Count in presence of the principal Indian Chiefs and the most influential of the Clergy and Laity, in this country.

23^{d} May, 1694. The following is the Tenor of the

1st Belt.

Father Onontio! Atarhéa, whom we sent unto you last year in order to ascertain whether it were safe to come and see you, assured us, on his return, that if I came with two of the most considerable of each Nation, you would again condescend to listen to the proposals we should submit, and that even should affairs not be arranged, we could return in all security. On this message we set out and here we are on your mat, (that is, chair) to speak to you of peace in the names of the Five Iroquois Nations, and even of our Brethren, the Great Arrow and Peter Schuyler, mayor and commandant of Orange.

2nd Belt.

Father! Permit us to tell you that your predecessors were the occasion of the war. They chastised our children too severely which caused the latter to kick. They lost their senses in

a manner, and struck blows which we are now sorry for. Therefore am I come to tell you that it is peace that brings me hither, and as a proof that I ask it sincerely, I have taken away the hatchet that I had given to all my allies; I pledge myself that they will not take it up any more because they obey me, and I doubt whether you will be obeyed in the same manner by your Children. In former times when I spoke to you at Montreal, we flung our war hatchet up to the sky. A leathern string was tied to it and it was pulled down again. We threw it into Famine river (a stream in their country) supposing that it could not be fished up, and it was again drawn out for the purpose of striking us. This is the reason why we have taken ours up again. We will now resume it and cast it into the very bowels of the earth, that it may not be recovered ever more, and that if possible we may never lay eyes on it again.

THIRD BELT.

Onontio! father of the Iroquois. It is you we address. We present you this Belt to let you know that we have adopted Sieurs de Longueil and de Maricourt in the place of Monsieur Le Moyne, their father, as our children, and M. Lebert as our brother. We pray them to entertain the same sentiments towards us, as their father, and to incline Onnontio alway to peace. They will have nothing to fear whenever they visit us, and will be well received when sent by you.

FOURTH BELT.

I address myself to the Indians of the Sault, whom I formerly called Iroquois. But now, that you are children of Onnontio and pray God, I exhort you, if he condescend to grant us peace, to adopt his thoughts and to communicate them to us, you who are acquainted with us and our mode of action; cultivate that peace on both sides, and put a stop to all subjects of contention. We have mutually butchered each other. Forget what is past as we wish to do also, because if you obey not Onnontio, He who is above, and who is the arbiter of life—meaning God in whom he does not believe—He, should you violate it, would punish you who are christians, more severely than us.

5th BELT.

This expresses the same thing to the Indians of the Mountain.

6th BELT.

Onnontio! I speak to you in the name of the Five Nations. You have devoured all our chief men and scarce any more are left. I ought to feel resentment on account of our dead. By this Belt I say to you that we forget them, and as a token that we do not wish to avenge them, we throw away and bury our hatchet under the ground, that it may never more be seen. To preserve the living we shall think no more of the dead, and as our Children of the Upper Country, the Hurons, Outawas, Illinois, Miamis, Sioux, *Loups*, Foxes, Sokokis &c., are not yet aware that we are come down to speak of peace, and as they will not fail, until notified, to kill my nephews, even though they should destroy a great number of them, that will not prevent us continuing to entertain the same thoughts of peace. Brethren of the Sault and of the Mountain! listen attentively to what I tell you, and we also submit our thoughts to you, Father Onnontio, without wishing to penetrate yours.

SEVENTH BELT.

Father! you have, no doubt, received many insults; your children have afforded you many causes for anger. This Belt is to restore your temper; 'tis a medicine to enable you to expel from your heart, and our children from theirs, whatever bad stuff it may contain. We wish it may have the proposed effect.

8th BELT.

The Earth, even unto fort Frontenac, and that place particularly, is red with blood. We shall take a hoe to break the ground up well, and efface all traces of the stains, and shall clean the mat of that fort in order that not one sign of blood may remain on it, and that we may negotiate peace there with our father, and meet there as we have heretofore done.

9th BELT.

There was no longer any path of peace; the woods and the rivers were polluted. Be the road to Onontaë now clear; I open it by this Belt so that our Father may, when so inclined, communicate his pleasure to us in all security, assuring him that those who will come there from him shall be well received, and that I prepare by this Belt the mat at Onnontagué, which is the place for the transaction of our important affairs.

10th BELT.

We were all in darkness; Light was no longer visible, so obscured were the Heavens by clouds and fogs. In order to dispel all the clouds, I again fasten the Sun above our heads so that we may once more behold it and hereafter enjoy the beautiful light of peace.

And throwing down some strings of wampum he proceeded:—

To prove to you, Father, that I am sincere in coming to solicit peace from you, I bring back to you two of your French nephews and a Squaw belonging to the Mountain. I do not ask you to send back those of our people whom you may have, but if there be any among them who may desire to return I pray you not to stay them, and to keep only those who will wish to remain; assuring you that we will on our side send back from our villages all the prisoners who will be willing to come back.

These are the words of Teganissorens which he enunciated with as perfect a grace as is vouchsafed to an unpolished and uncivilized people. He went through his speech with freedom and collectedness, and concluded with a certain modesty and so great a show of respect and submission to the Count as to be remarked by the spectators; and as he represented that his Nation might become impatient, if he made a long sojourn here, the Count told him to come again on the morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon to the same place where he would return them an answer, after which it would be free to them to go back whenever they would think proper.

He answered them accordingly next day by Seven Belts which were laid down by the Count, who spoke to them in this wise by the

1st BELT.

Teganisorens, and you chiefs of the Five Iroquois Nations who accompany him. You were right in coming to speak to me on the assurance of perfect security that Atharea gave you in my name, provided you came submissive and repentant, as children ought to be, to their Father

when they have committed against him a fault as heinous as those you have perpetrated. I am very glad to perceive because you have told me, that these were your sentiments, and that you desired a sincere peace, assuring me on the part of the Five Iroquois Nations, and of your allies the *Loups*, that in order to preserve the lives of those who are still living, you have abandoned all feelings of vengeance you may entertain for the killing of all your Nations by my Nephews and allies. On my part I promise you also to forget the past; and in order to enable you to judge better of my sentiments, I am perfectly willing to suspend my hatchet—which was well nigh falling—by arresting the parties who were about to go to war against you, and by postponing the execution of my more weighty designs.

2nd Belt.

As for this peace for which you express a desire and which, I pretend, ought to include both myself and the Upper Indian Tribes, my allies, I wish Father Millet, or some one else would accompany you, to bring me back, within eighty days from the date of your departure from Montreal, all the prisoners you may have in your villages, whether men, women or children, including the French, the Indians settled among us, and all others of the Upper Nations, our allies, without any exception, whose interests are as dear to me as my own; in order to prove to me that you indeed wish the Sun to be again fastened above our heads, to dispel all the clouds and obscurities that may prevent us enjoying this beautiful light of peace you are wishing for.

I pledge you my word that, should any of these Indians desire to return with you after they are all here, I will grant them entire liberty to do so, promising you also, to surrender to you all your prisoners, and to cause the doors to be opened to you of all the Cabins where any will be found, in order that they return with you, if they desire it.

Third Belt.

As evidence of the frankness which I wish to use towards you, I desire also, in advance, that Duplanty (a soldier who was taken at the time Chevalier d'O was sent to the Iroquois) whom you never ought to have regarded in the light of a prisoner, may return as you wish, and I restore you, at this very moment, the two Mohawk prisoners and the two women who have been brought to us within a few days by our last parties; but I demand that you, on your side, leave me two of your people in order to be able to persuade the Upper Nations of the sincerity of the proposals you have just submitted to me, and make them, the more readily, suspend the hatchet, by inviting them to come themselves to be witnesses of what will be concluded on your return at the time I have fixed, and that they may not have cause to reproach me with having too easily attached credit to your words.

4th Belt.

Children! In answer to what you have slipped into your words respecting the Dutch and English, I say to you by this Belt that my war with them has nothing to do with my war against you. They are two things entirely different. If, however, they desire to make any proposals to me, you can assure them from me that they will enjoy the same security, in coming and returning, as I have extended to you, provided they be within the eighty days I have prescribed to you, and that those they will send be persons authorized by their principals. But if they would entrust any commission on their part to you, do not accept it, because my ears will be closed to all the proposals you would wish to make me on that subject.

FIFTH BELT.

I am very glad to perceive from your proposal that all your Nations and allies are disposed to remove the blood that has been spilt on both sides in Fort Frontenac and its neighborhood, and that you wish for the replanting of that beautiful tree under whose shade you formerly smoked in such peace and transacted such good business. To prove to you how agreeable that is to me, I assure you, by this belt, that I, on my part, will likewise set about it as soon as possible, and in a manner that the roots will be so deep and firm that nothing shall be able any more to shake it.

6th BELT.

I approve the words you address to the Indians of the Saut and the Mountain. They will answer you when you will pass through Montreal on your return. I am well pleased, likewise, that you let me know that you have continued to adopt Sieur Lebert and his Nephews Longueil and Maricourt in the place of Mr Lemoyne their father. If I have, hereafter, any thing to communicate to you I shall willingly delegate one of the latter, since you assure me they will be well received; that confidence will be placed in them, and that your Cabins wish it.

7th BELT.

As you have presented me with a Belt to serve me as a Cordial, and to help me to reject whatever bad humor I may have in my heart, I, also, give you this last Belt to act in your system as a Counterpoison to whatever the English and Dutch would insinuate into your ears when trying to counteract the good dispositions you prove to me you feel, and thereby to oblige me to give up the sentiments of friendship and tenderness of which I afford you so many proofs.

Our Indians of the Saut and the Mountain also gave Belts to the Iroquois by which they said: That they were glad to see them desirous of peace, and themselves invited to unite with them in persuading the Count to condescend to hear them. They would do all in their power to induce him to grant them peace and to continue it to them if once agreed to; but would, at the same time warn them against flattering themselves that any consideration was ever capable of shaking their pledged fidelity and obedience; that they would have their eyes fixed solely on him in order to suspend the hatchet when his would be stayed, and to let it fall when Onontio would be seen raising his, so as never to turn it except in the direction he should order.

This terminated, Teganissorens left as hostages two of the Indians who accompanied him, and promised to do his best to induce the Five nations to accept the answer, and comply with the demand of the Count, who gave them a magnificent entertainment, and made them considerable presents. They set out on their return about the beginning of June, escorted by Sieur de Maricourt who, whilst with them, met within seven leagues of Quebec, coming down with Sieur de Mantet, the Chiefs of the Hurons and Outawas to whom the Iroquois had likewise sent Deputies to inform them that they had come to Quebec to demand peace. This obliged Sieur de Louvigny, in this incertitude, to send the Chiefs of the Upper Nations to learn the truth of the representation. The Count always prudent and penetrating, recalled the Iroquois deputies, and would have our Upper Indians to be occular witnesses of all that was done in order to deprive them of every shadow of suspicion, and to cure them of a distrust to which they are very prone. With this view the Count had Teganissorens and suite reassembled and caused to be repeated to them, in presence of our Huron, Outawas and other Indians, the proposals they had made and his answer, with which they were highly pleased. All this was designed only to let them know that they had not been forgotten; on the contrary,

that it appeared evident that the Count had the same care of their interests as of his own; in like manner forgot they nothing to evince their gratitude. The Chief Huron spoke by a Belt in this wise;—

Onnontio! We see clearly now that you are our Father, and that you have no intention of abandoning us. The Iroquois has come to beg peace of you; He has come also to our villages to propose the same to us, and that we hang up our hatchet which was sharpened in order to strike him. We have come here to learn the truth of this matter and to see what you intend, because we shall be always ready to execute your orders. Your province is to command; ours, to obey.

Teganissorens, it is you I am now about to address. Know, then, that the peace Onnontio accords you for himself and for us, hath no connection with the English, and if our Father turn the hatchet in that direction, ours will turn thither also.

These words were supported by a shout of approbation from the other Nations, and they finally remained thoroughly persuaded of the good will entertained by the Count for them.

The Iroquois took their departure on the next day, and some days after, the Hurons and Outawas were ordered to return to Montreal within the eighty days to bury the hatchet and conclude a real peace there.

The Count, in this interval, went up to Mont Real with all the troops. The 1st of 7ber witnessed the arrival, according to the prescribed order, of the Seven Upper Nations who thereby indicated a true submission to the will of our General. On the tenth of the same month Orehaouë (an Iroquois whom the Count had won over, and who achieved wonders for us in peace and war) arrived here with four or five other Seneca and Cayuga Sachems.

On the 22nd the Count caused to be assembled all the people of distinction and all our Indian allies to hear the proposals of the Iroquois, who will speak by three Belts which were laid down by one of the Chiefs:—

Orehaouë began by three strings of Wampum, to denote that it was to wipe the Count's tears for the loss of his nephews and to assuage any grief he might feel for their death.

The second Belt signified that they had brought back thirteen prisoners, who were in their villages, on learning by Teganissorens that the Count had required them; that the other three Nations were at Orange to deliberate on the proposals of peace which were mutually submitted; that pending such time all the prisoners were mustered with the intention of restoring them, and thinking that the Count might become impatient at the delay of Teganissorens, they had come to notify him beforehand and to assure him that he would arrive shortly.

The third Belt warmly exhorted the Count to persist in the sentiments of peace, and not to form any plan of disunion; that as far as they were concerned, they had come with sincere intentions and to request him to be pleased to overturn that big Kettle which was suspended in the air, and which was kept so long boiling.

The Count received the two first Belts, and thanked them; he rejected the other, and told them to come back on the morrow to the same place where he would communicate his intentions to them.

But as the Count has just notified me that he has concluded to send me to command the Upper Nations at Fort Missilimakinak, permit me, if you please to think of packing up my baggage and setting off, being persuaded, moreover, that you will be kept thoroughly advised. You will remark the admirable conduct the Count has observed in the course of this negotiation. No man will ever understand better than he the temper of the Indians who fear and love him;

his most secret, his most jealous, enemies cannot contradict this; and can the Court wish for, and ought it expect, any thing more than he does? Pending the war he obliges his enemy to come to demand peace of him with all the tokens of submission that can be expected of a Nation which, hitherto, has never been willing to take this step for any French Governor. His predecessors have always had *Carte blanche*. The Iroquois presented formerly but two Belts; one, of war; the other, of peace. Choose, they used to say; it is equal to us which. The language they hold at present to the Count is very different. They are only words of submission and respect. Onnontio, (say they,) Master of the Earth give us peace. It needs only to compare the terms they employ to-day with those of days gone by in order to see the great difference. This proud Nation would not do that, had it not experienced considerable loss and did it not see itself on the brink of total ruin. What more could Count de Frontenac do, in the midst of all these conjunctures? He is more distrustful during the truce. His forts and settlements are better guarded than usual. The designs of the enemy are either honest or dangerous. If honest, they will come to a termination; if sinister, we are protected against them by a conduct as happy as that observed by the Count. I cannot help pitying him on account of the disappointment he experiences, which must not be attributed to any thing else than his luck. The tears of joy the Colony in general shed last year, at the harvest of beaver, which had been four years exposed to the forays of the enemy, and which has relieved such a great number of families and traders from the slavery of their creditors, ought to redound, it would seem, to the credit of the Count. The good, notwithstanding, turns into evil with him; and feeling in a forced position, he is obliged to regard with inquietude or at least with indifference, the universal joy of his government. I beg of you, Sir, to consider that it is indispensably necessary to divide the Colony into two; one, the upper; the other, the lower Country. The latter without the former would be a body without a soul. Your genius has only to enlarge a little the observations I am about to submit to you, to be convinced thereof.

In order to arrive at a correct understanding, we must inquire what are the products of this Country, from Cape Gaspay to the end of the Island of Montreal, which contains about one hundred and eighty leagues, and see whether we can establish a Colony thereupon. I admit that the Cod fishery can be carried on in front of the rivers Magdalen and Mount Louis, which are one hundred leagues from Quebec; and again about Matane, sixty leagues from the same place. But it is also proper to know how it is, and in what manner it can be, carried on. I have been on the spot; I have seen and consequently can give evidence. I admit, they fish a quarter of a league off there, but I declare also that the Cod must be caught with eighty fathom of line which is fatiguing and slow; that at each of the three rivers there is but one cove or point where the fish can be dried, and that in the whole, there is not accommodation or anchorage for more than thirty or forty boats. Add to this, fishing does not commence until about the month of June, and the fish disappear and quit towards the end of August. What prospect is there of establishing a sedentary fishery in those places of so little importance? The scheme is worthy only of a Riverin[1] who sees but the surface of a project that he cannot even

[1] Mr. Riverin established a sedentary fishery in 1688, at the River Matane and afterwards succeeded in organizing a company to prosecute the trade and removed farther down the Saint Lawrence to the River Mount Louis, where he had just founded his establishment, when his operations were interrupted by the war and the company was broken up in 1697. His disappointments, however, did not destroy his energy. He formed a partnership with two citizens of Paris and in 1700 was about to resume business, when his associates, who preferred the fur trade, seized whatever was at Mount Louis belonging to Riverin, on the pretext that it was their property, and thus blasted all the hopes of this energetic and most persevering projector. *Charlevoix.* — Ed.

execute. What aid can Quebec afford fishermen a hundred leagues off? Can the enemy be prevented cutting off this little trade? This is impracticable unless by means of some frigate which must be armed to guard it, and it would turn out, at last, that the Game was not worth the Candle. Why say, then, that every thing must have a beginning and that advantage must be taken of past errors? I do not believe that the affairs of Europe will so soon admit of the formation of new projects, and of people embarrassing themselves by desiring to construct something considerable out of nothing.

Agriculture, then, must be the exclusive employment. That, indeed, is good. But it is well to examine if this Colony can sustain itseif solely by that means, and even were it to produce as much grain as the two best provinces in France, we must inquire if that will afford it a sufficient commerce for its support. Grain must be very scarce throughout the world to induce Merchants to resolve on coming to Canada to get cargoes of it. Certain it is, however, that no other production can be expected from this Lower province. Let us join to it the Upper Colony and you will see that the two combined will be able to form a body perfectly imbued with life, which can afford good and fair hopes and furnish by their reunion a compact establishment.

The quantity of Beaver and other peltries sent by the Upper Colony affords us the means of attracting commercial people thither and of importing prodigious quantities of merchandise from Europe. It supplies an outlet to France which, on its part, receives very considerable returns from this Country. It causes merchants to settle here, and people of quality to derive means of subsistence there by the aid they derive from it.

And were we to abandon the Upper Nations, which would be the case were we to cease furnishing them with the merchandise they stand in need of, can there be a doubt but the English would substitute themselves in our place? The attempts at success they are daily making, ought to convince us of this truth, inasmuch as they have been lately among the Miamis and offered one hundred muskets for the first French scalp. Fortunately, their embassy has been illy rewarded, for they have been partly defeated there. In a word, as interest is the bed which lulls every one to sleep, it is certain that should our Indians perceive that their beavers and peltries were despised, and that they were furnished only with very dear and ill-conditioned goods, the consequence will inevitably be that they will listen to the suggestions which will be most advantageous to them. All that a Commander in their country can do is, to prevent them conferring with the English and the Iroquois whose object is only to detach them from us; and that is only effected by the presents the King annually makes them, and by instilling distrust of our enemies among them. What would become of the Lower Colony, if all those Tribes should side against us? It would soon be necessary to seek another asylum, and the cultivation of the soil would, in that case, be utterly useless.

Those who would insinuate to the Court that it is only licentiousness that creates those Courers de bois whom people represent as vagabonds, are for the most part of the time influenced by other motives than those of conscience and religion. Finally there cannot be a doubt about it: Either all those Far nations and others must be constrained to come and trade here, or we must be constrained, indeed, to go to them. If force is to be had recourse to, in order to constrain them to this trade, the attempt would be vain, and we are not sufficiently powerful to dare to use force. If it be in the expectation that necessity might reduce them to do it, this idea would not meet with better success, for they would not fail to go down to the English who are much nearer them than we. Or rather, the English themselves would not

lose any time in going up to them in order to furnish them with goods, and at a cheaper rate and in greater abundance than we. The continual efforts of the English to obtain a foothold there are frustrated now only by the garrisons scattered throughout the divers posts in that country, and by the Canadians who go annually thither to hunt and who oppose them.

I know not whetheer the orders relative to the Upper Country, which the Court sent out during the last, and confirmed this, year, may have originated from itself, or have been predicated on the Memoirs it might have received. I believe it would be important, Sir, to aid My lord de Pontchartrain with your experience on this subject, and to induce him to consider whether it be possible for an officer to subsist at Missilimakinak on the amount of his pay. No person can avoid declaring to you as an honest man, that it is the most terrible place imaginable to sojourn. Neither bread nor meat is eaten there, and no other food is to be had there but a little fish and Indian Corn, which, most of the time, is worth fifty francs the *minot*. You can object to me, Sir, that there is a great deal of Beaver and Moose *(Orignaux)*. That's true. But the place where the Indians go and kill it, is two hundred leagues from the fort. Therefore, it is impossible to have any portion of it. Now, it costs as much as sixteen hundred livres for a canoe and three men, exclusive of their diet, to catch the fish and to go to that place. Judge then what must be the net profit of the one hundred pistoles which a Commandant is allowed to carry there. If such be the advantages an officer derives from his capacity, vigor, and the preference he receives, it were well that he had not given any proofs of them. Did the King ever oblige an officer — what do I say? — a soldier or a sailor to pass an entire year without bread, without wine, without meat and without peas? These poisoned Memoirs cannot go down, and cross the ocean except by means of the Missionaries who wish to be masters wherever they are; who cannot tolerate any one above themselves, much less inspectors over their interests. A poor officer, who will be obliged to manage more than forty Nations of entirely opposite humors and inclinations, and of wholly different interests, will have for reward, after a year's deplorable misery, the chagrin of seeing himself in debt at his return. It is an excellent policy to disgust the bravest men. If they be Memoirs of the Intendant, I perceive no other motive that can have led him to that course than Jealousy of the Count, or an unwillingness to refuse to subscribe to the intentions of Father Carel who has been his Regent, and is the Missionary, at Missilimakinak.

Note. — This Memoir is imperfect; it wants at least one more sheet in the Original to complete it. — J. R. B.

Report of the Minister on Operations against the English. 1694.

It appears from all the advices, that the English are preparing to send a considerable fleet to North America. We have intelligence at the same time that extensive preparations are making in Boston in New England. These forces and preparations cannot have any other object in view than the reëstablishment of the English Colonies in Newfoundland, the capture and destruction of the fort of Placentia in said Island, the capture of Quebec, and the devastation of the Colonies of Canada and Acadia.

An English fleet of ten or twelve good vessels coöperating with the New England and New-York forces, is able to accomplish all these designs, and inflict thereby a very serious loss on the King's subjects, and put a real embarrassment in the way of the negotiation of peace, because the English would claim to be, in such case, the masters of that part of the world, and demand for its surrender equivalents which perhaps it would be difficult to furnish, and, which are, nevertheless, necessary to grant them, in order not to allow them to be the exclusive masters of the rich commerce arising from the fisheries and peltries.

The King can obviate all these inconveniences with a fleet of ten vessels, which should be dispatched by the 1st of May, and proceed direct to Placentia. If the English were found there, it should fight them, and whatever may be the result, the designs of the enemy would be broken up.

If it happened that the enemy became Masters of Placentia, and afterwards entered the river St. Lawrence, in order to take Quebec, nothing would have to be done but to follow them, when they would be inevitably destroyed with all they might have drawn from their Colonies. Were we sufficiently fortunate to meet and to destroy them in that river, or to fight them before Placentia, the field would be clear for one of the greatest and most important expeditions that it would be possible to attempt against the English. This would be against Boston, the Capital of New England where the English carry on a very lucrative trade, and whence the Colonies of Jamaica, Barbadoes and other islands they possess at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, derive their supplies. The importance of this conquest is familiar to the whole world, and it would be the most serious blow that England can receive, and the foundation of an irreconcilable hatred on the part of the English against the Prince of Orange.

Such a conquest alone would be an object worthy the King's grandeur, and never can fleet be more gloriously nor more usefully employed. But independent of that, it is expected that his Majesty will think fit to provide for the security and preservation of his North American Colonies, which are of such vast utility to his subjects' commerce and the augmentation of his revenues, and will afford us the means to compete with the English in the fishing trade, the richest that can be in the world, which would very soon enrich them if they carried it on exclusively.

A fleet of ten ships will, it is confidently expected, remedy every thing.

It is certain that no other means exist for its accomplishment.

M. de Pontchartrain to Count de Frontenac.

Versailles 16th April 1695.

Sir,

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Whilst waiting until I should be able to answer you in detail, and communicate to you more precisely his Majesty's orders and intentions, I am very glad to inform you, in advance, of his opinions on the subject of the war and the negotiation you have had with the Iroquois from the fall of the year 1693 to the departure of the ships, and to tell you, that this negotiation appears to have been carried on by them in concert with the English. It seems that the one

and the other have had in view more particularly to suspend and defer the expeditions you stated two years since you were about organizing against them, rather than a sincere desire to make peace, in order, by the liberty they expected to procure for themselves, to be able to hunt and trade, and afterwards to resist more vigorously your designs, and even to carry the war into Canada. The Iroquois have been jilted by the English, when expecting the arrivals of larger forces from Europe for that object; for it appears by the different advices you have had, that the latter fed the former with the rumors they had spread abroad, and which have been found to be false. You cannot have more convincing proofs of the want of sincerity in the Iroquois than in what you have discovered, viz: that whilst they were sending Ambassadors, one after the other to you, they were tampering with the Upper Nations, our allies, for the purpose of making peace with them independent of the French. From this cheat you have at least derived the advantage of having convicted them of it in presence of the Deputies of those Nations; and by making known to the latter, through the Iroquois themselves, that these had no intention of including them in the pretended Treaty of peace, you have more strongly confirmed their fidelity to the King's service and the confidence they ought to feel that, on no condition, will his Majesty abandon them. He is, moreover, of opinion that the affairs of the Iroquois are, effectually, in a bad condition, and that they are beginning to distrust the English who have involved them in the war. Finally, to reduce the Iroquois to the point of sincerely wishing for peace, there seems to me no better policy than to wage war incessantly against the one and the other, by resuming the plans you have projected and of the execution whereof you have given hopes; such as invading the Iroquois settlements or attacking Orange, for which you made preparations in the autumn of 1692. Or if you do not consider yourself able to undertake these expeditions at present, to resume the course of harrassing them by frequent and strong parties, and by detachments of regular troops, of Canadians and Indians under the command of the best officers — it being impossible to have any that are too good for that purpose — and by always directing particular attention to the engaging the Upper Nations to make the strongest possible diversion against the Iroquois.

Things being thus circumstanced, the time does not appear favorable for the reëstablishment of Fort Frontenac, the expense and maintenance of which would cause too considerable a diversion of the funds you possess for the more useful operations. Wherefore I think you will have to defer this restoration to a more fitting season.

That you may be better able to prosecute hostilities vigorously, his Majesty has ordered the supplies for Canada on the same footing that you received them for the preceding year, in preference to more urgent demands for the employment of the funds at his disposal. He has been graciously pleased to make this effort, at a crisis like the present, on the assurances I have taken the liberty to give him, that you would make so needful and so advantageous a use of it for Canada and the glory of his arms, that he would have reason to be fully satisfied therewith. This effort is so much the greater as the sort of truce you have been obliged to make, must have afforded you an opportunity of saving the greater portion of the hundred thousand livres that you received for the extraordinaries of war in the year 1694; so that with this reserve and a like sum to be sent you with the funds for the subsistence of the troops and the other ordinary expenses, by the ship *la Charante*, in goods, provisions and stores according to your requisition, I am persuaded the success his Majesty expects will crown your efforts; especially if M. de Champigny and you, in concert, will apply yourselves in the expenditure to a wholesome economy which has been so often recommended to the one and the other of

you, for the reduction and diminution in divers things to which your attention has been called, and which notwithstanding have been very extravagantly continued, according to the last transmitted accounts.

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The orders issued by the King during the last and present years, respecting Acadia, must make you sufficiently acquainted with the attention his Majesty has paid to your representation of the importance of that Province for the preservation of Canada, and the advantages you have to derive from the war the Indian allies can continue to wage against the English, by which diversion these Indians keep the latter occupied. Were it not for this, the former would be able to employ all their forces in a more vigorous defence against your expeditions, and perhaps to attack you in the centre, or at the extremities at the Upper part of the Colony. Wherefore his Majesty has resolved to attack Fort Pemcuit next year, if circumstances remain in their present position, so that he may, by removing from the Indian allies this source of uneasiness, be more assured of their fidelity against the intrigues of the English.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Versailles, 14th June, 1695.

By their despatch of the year 1693, the King was informed of the dispositions it appears the Iroquois entertained in favor of peace, and of M. de Frontenac's project of waging a more vigorous war against them in order to reduce them to submission. But his Majesty has been astonished at learning, by the despatches and by the Relations that have been transmitted last year, that the time has been spent, up to the date of the departure of the Vessels, in vain negotiations with the Iroquois, even whilst these were endeavoring to debauch the Indian allies from his service. He is persuaded that Sieur de Frontenac who is conversant with their bad faith, will resume the first designs he had formed, and always hopes that by continuing the war against them, they will be brought to sue for peace in better faith than they have done hitherto, and to detach themselves from the English who have involved them in this war. The result has justified what his Majesty wrote last year to Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny, of the little probability there was that the English could attack Canada, either by a general invasion or by besieging Quebec. On the contrary, the enemy was not in a condition to defend himself from the attacks of the Indians of Acadia, nor against those of a privateer with a solitary brigantine. This has caused his Majesty to suppose that the Iroquois, aware of the weakness of the English, have engaged in concert with the latter in the negotiations for peace, in order to elude, and suspend the execution of the designs projected against them, for the purpose of gaining time to prepare to defend themselves. It appears according to the result of these negotiations that they succeeded therein. Wherefore his Majesty is pursuaded that if Sieur de Frontenac has deemed it proper to renew them, he will not have discontinued the prosecution of the war, and that he will continue it until they shall have entirely submitted.

There is no more appearance this, than there was last, year that the English are in circumstances to get up an invasion against Canada by sea, or by land. Therefore, nothing will prevent Sieur de Frontenac attacking them and the Iroquois. His Majesty refers to his

ability and prudence what he will consider best to be done, in order to combine the movements of the Canadians, the allied Indians, the Illinois and those in the direction of Acadia so as to take advantage of the feelings of deeper alienation from the English which he has instilled into all their minds by the extraordinary presents appropriated to those Indians of late years.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty does not think proper, for reasons contained in his despatch of 1694, to continue the reward of ten écus for each Iroquois that is killed and every Squaw that is taken prisoner, nor of 20 écus for every male Iroquois prisoner. Means less onerous to his Majesty must be employed for the purpose of exciting the Christian Indians to make war on the Iroquois; the former ought to be induced by the subsistence it appears they receive, when they go to war, and by the other favors and the protection of his Majesty who has not perceived any great effects from the 6326[ll] which, they report, have been paid on the above account to the Indians.

Memoir concerning Fort Cataracouy.

Reasons in support of its usefulness.

1st

In time of Peace, we shall be able to carry on Trade there with the Iroquois who hunt in the neighborhood, by which means we shall obtain peltries from them; and we shall be able to establish a Smith, who would be also an armorer, there to repair their hatchets and arms, and apply these advantages to the relief of the Creditors of M[r] de la Salle, formerly proprietor of this post, to whom considerable sums are due.

2nd

In time of war our Indian allies of the Far Country will make it their retreat and will obtain their supplies there.

Reasons showing its uselessnes and expense.

1st

This Trade will not be considerable in time of peace, because the Iroquois will, as much as possible, carry his Peltries to the English, who give him more for them than the French.

Observation:

This Trade in itself, is in opposition to the principles on which the Colony must be governed; It is not proper to go to meet the Beaver and nothing is so strongly forbidden by his Majesty's orders. The Beaver trade can be beneficial only in so far as the Indians will bring the article into the Colony for the purpose of obtaining their necessaries there in exchange.

2nd

They must go thirty to forty leagues out of their direct course to pass by this fort in proceeding homeward from the enemy's territory, and large parties cannot obtain provisions there because there is too much difficulty in conveying any from Montreal merely for the garrison.

3d

It will serve as an entrepôt for provisions and stores necessary for the expeditions to be organized, and as a place of retreat for the French and Indians, either in going or returning, who will leave the Colony to attack the Iroquois, and for the reception of the sick and wounded on coming back from expeditions.

3d

If provisions are to be sent to this fort in advance, in order to be available for a large party, the same force would be required to go there as would be necessary if proceeding against the enemy, otherwise there would be no security for the stores. There is no more difficulty, on leaving Montreal, to go direct to the Country of the enemy who are on the South, than to go to this fort, which is at the North, lake Ontario being between the two. The people who will go on this war, will easily carry their necessaries for the campaign in the bateaux and canoes, and the entrepôt, which will be likewise the place of the retreat, ought to be at the point of debarcation, on the territory nearest the enemy, where it is absolutely necessary to construct a picket-fort, which is the work of one day, for the safety of the bateaux, provisions and munitions during the overland march to the enemy's villages.

How can Cataracouy serve as a retreat for the Indians and the French, being fifty leagues distant from the nearest of the enemy's villages, and separated by a great Lake which is almost always in agitation? Besides it takes scarcely more time, and perhaps less, to go down to Montreal than to cross to fort Cataracoüy, the river being very rapid.

It is well to consider also, in regard to the sick and wounded, that this fort is very unhealthy, eighty-seven men having died there in one year out of the hundred who composed the garrison. Let us add to this, that the army which proceeds against the enemy, being able to carry only what will be necessary for its voyage, it will be requisite to organize a second from the Colony to this fort in order to revictual it. This is exposing the troops and settlers to destruction from the extraordinary fatigues of these voyages during which they are almost constantly in the water, dragging the bateaux and canoes. The sowing and the harvest must, also, be abandoned.

4th

It is a frontier post, which keeps the enemy in check; many detachments can be sent against them from it.

4th

It is, indeed, a frontier post sixty leagues above Montreal, at the head of a small bay, adjoining a swamp that poisons the garrison, without being on any river, or lake or pass; it can be of no use except to protect itself and whatever is within gun shot, the enemy being free to pass beyond that without any impediment; for it would be sheer deception to try to persuade us that the garrison would go in pursuit, as it is impossible for it to go into the woods, and moreover imprudent to send into them; for though there may appear but four of the enemy there might be a great many of them; and all things well considered, 'tis a garrison of fifty picked men who do nothing and are, as it were, in a prison, within four walls.

The river thither is nothing but rapids, falls and cascades which necessitates, in many places, the conveyance of every thing over land. This renders the access to this place extremely difficult, and affords great facilities to the enemy to attack and destroy the detachments which will be sent thither, or else to take advantage of their being on the march, to fall on and devastate the Colony.

If it has been reëstablished without impediment from the enemy, it is because he had no notice of it, and unless twelve to fifteen hundred men be sent there every year, to revictual it, it is impossible to be certain of reaching it, should the enemy be disposed to offer open opposition.

How could it be possible to send so large, and even a smaller detachment there, were news to arrive of an English expedition against the Colony. Our force is, already, too much scattered in the Indian Country, Hudson's bay, the fisheries and fort Chambly, without causing this new diversion which may leave the Colony almost unprotected.

Besides, if we take into consideration the heavy expenses to be incurred for the support of that post, which will be seen by the statement annexed to this Memoir, an infinite

number of powerful reasons will be found therein to overturn entirely the designs which may be adduced in support of it, as it is wiser to abandon it a second time than to retain it and endanger the loss of the Colony.

This 6th November, 1695.

(Signed) CHAMPIGNY.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1694, 1695.[1]

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the month of September 1694 to the sailing of the Vessels in 1695.

You will have seen by the Relation of last year that Count de Frontenac sent back the Outaouacs about the end of September, along with the French who usually go trading. The Convoy was commanded by Sieur Delamotte-Cadillac, Captain of a detachment of Marines, a man of very distinguished merit, and who was on his way to replace Sieur de Louvigny.

But the bad weather at that advanced season of the year preventing the continuance of the voyage, the greater part of the French were obliged to give up at Montreal; and others, to the number of thirty, with Sieur de Coulange fancied that by remaining contented near *les Allumettes*,[2] between the river *Bonne Chère*[3] and the river *Creuse*,[4] they might pass the winter not only without any danger of the enemy, but also with all the pleasure to be derived, as well in provisions as in peltries, from the hunting of the Indians, because the Algonquins and Nepissiriniens believing themselves safe near the French, who would afford them shelter in a fort, were determined not to bury themselves in the depths of the forest. Meanwhile Sieur Delamotte, with a small party of the better disposed, resolved to push on. He put six strong relays *(allèges)* in each canoe, and as he considered only the service of the King and the Colony, to which he was willing to sacrifice his interest, his labors and even his life, he made such diligence that (after difficulties insurmountable perhaps to all others but him) he, finally, arrived, as we have learned since, very safely at Missilimakinac.

The severity of the winter was not an obstacle sufficient to prevent nine of those Frenchmen who had remained with Sieur de Coulange coming on snow shoes over the ice and snow in quest, as they said, of provisions. But as these deserters were returning to their fort, Mr de Callière, a rigid observer of the Count's orders, judging correctly that provisions was not their sole object, dispatched after them Adjutant de Clerin, a sergeant and a few soldiers who took away from them some brandy, the conveyance and sale of which in the woods is

[1] Embodied in Letter IX., of the 4th Vol. of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique.*

[2] *Les Allumettes*, or the Matches, are Falls on the upper or Western part of the Ottawa river.

[3] This river rises in a series of Lakes and, flowing Eastward through the country of Renfrew, C. W., then turns to the north and falls in the township of Horton into that part of the Ottawa river called Lake *des Chats.*

[4] Is in the county of Pontiac on the North side of the Ottawa, into which river it discharges itself, West of Les Allumettes.

contrary to the King's orders. The proceeds of the confiscation were employed in works of charity, and this "Water," which was inflicting death on the purse of those interested, has truly proved a Water of life *(eau-de-vie)* to many sickly people who have derived some strength from it, for it was, eventually, divided among the soldiers, the poor Recolets, and the Grey Nuns *(Religieuses Hospitalières)* of Montreal, whose residence, with that of the sick and the entire building, in general happened to be destroyed very recently by fire.

That misfortune occurred on 24th of February, the feast of S[t] Mathias; The fire broke out three hours before day, in the garret of the old Church, without any one knowing how it originated, making its appearance first in the steeple it lost no time in enveloping the dwellings of the poor and of the Nuns which in the space of two hours, without it being possible to prevent it, were wholly destroyed, with the exception of two bakeries, a barn and stable *(menagerie)*, recently built, the saving of which cost all the trouble in the world. All that could be done was to endeavor to secure a part of the furniture of the lower apartments. But as these good Nuns have lost very considerably in furniture, clothing and grain, and particularly almost all their linen, including that of the Poor as well as that of the Nuns, and amongst the rest all that had been soiled during the winter, which lay in the garrets, and whatever was in the cellar of the Poor which was not vaulted and could not be saved, they are rendered thereby such worthy objects of compassion that the most obdurate heart must feel for them. It was very fortunate that, by a special providence of God, the North East wind fell all at once. Otherwise, the house occupied at the time by M[r] de Callière in the immediate vicinity, would with many others, have communicated the fire to the best part of the town which might have shared the same fate.

This spectacle having filled every one with terror and pity, M[r] de Callière in order to take advantage of it, and to strike the iron while it was hot, assembled all the citizens of Montreal and its Liberties *(banlieu)* on the following day, and made them a most moving address, to encourage them to contribute and relieve the sufferers; It had all the effect that could be expected from his eloquence and zeal; every one subscribed according to the impulses of his charity, so that this meeting produced a much more powerful relief than ought probably have been expected, for with the collection which M[r] Dolier, Superior of the Seminary, and Lieutenant General Juchereau took up in the settlements within the government of Montreal and among the officers and soldiers, it amounted to the sum of 8,000[ll] including provisions, work and money. It may be truly said, that this contribution is considerable, taking into account the means left the Montrealists, after having so long experienced the burthens of the war.

M[r] de Calliére, whilst waiting for the collection at Quebec and the rest of the country to add to the fund, set many persons to work to haul, during the short period the snow remained, the timber necessary for the buildings, and his attention and diligence made us soon perceive that industry surmounts every thing and that promptly, inasmuch as we expect in the course of this year to place the lodgings of the Nuns and the dormitory of the Sick in a condition to afford better accommodation for the winter than they have at the Convent of the Congregation, where they are greatly straitened.

M[r] de Coulange and his men whom the desire of gain had stopped in the neighborhood of *les Allumettes*, had more good fortune than good conduct; for, the hostile Iroquois having in some way blockaded his fort[1] during the whole of the winter and a part of the spring, never

[1] Fort Coulonge was at the mouth of the river of the same name on the north bank of the Ottawa, in the present County of Pontiac, a little west of Grand Calumette Island.— Ed.

dared undertake anything against them, much less think of attacking them within their pallisades. Our Frenchmen, notwithstanding, being desirous to repair the fault they had committed in tarrying in the jaws of the Wolf instead of returning like the others to winter in the settlements, caused their first imprudence to be so seasonably followed by their last and prudent proceeding, and that in consequence of the judicious orders that Mr de Callière had given them, that they finally started and continued their route to the Outaouacs, with the exception of five who came down to Montreal, to bring the peltries they had traded. These were accompanied by some 80 canoes of our Népissiniens and other Indians who had been hunting in the neighborhood of their fort, and arrived at length at Montreal to the great gratification of every one. The divine protection manifested in the affairs of Canada cannot be sufficiently admired. At a time when they appear most desperate, they resume all at once new vigor, for it must be acknowledged that little was wanting to make us despair both of the goods and lives of these poor abandoned people, to whom it was difficult to extend relief, and which could not be afforded except at a vast expense.

Thioratarion, an Indian of the Sault, and Ononsista, an Indian of the Mountain whom the Count had permitted to go to Onontaghé with Tarhéa to hear what the Iroquois would say in their Councils, returned to Montreal on the 24th of March with a Mohawk who had joined them in order to come and see his sister at the Sault. They had been conducted by Tarhéa as far as a river[1] which falls (into the Saint Lawrence) at the foot of the Long Sault, three days' journey from Montreal, where they met Tatakouiséré hunting, who had not been home as had been supposed. They sojourned one day at Montreal, before going to Quebec to give an account to Mr de Frontenac of their negotiation. Mr de Callière was, thus, afforded leisure to learn from Thiorhatharion what was passing among the English, and after several inquiries he answered as follows:—

1st That he had not heard that Mr Dongan had arrived at Ménade, but he had heard that 400 English Soldiers had arrived in that city, and that goods were very high there.

2nd That Peter's brother, the only Dutchman at Onontaghé, had told him in confidence, that the Bostonians alone were urging those of New-York and the Iroquois to wage war; that on the contrary those of Orange were so strongly in favor of peace that three of them were to accompany the Iroquois, when the latter would come to this country, to confer on that subject.

3rd That the Onontaghés did not come within the 80 days specified by the Count, because of the obstacles interposed by the English, whom they had been invited to visit, where being arrived, they found a new commandant at Orange of whom they demanded what his pleasure was. The latter replied, he did not know what they themselves wanted, and that he was not aware that they had been told to come and see him.

4th That the reason the Onontaghés had not accompanied him to repair the fault they had committed of not coming to Count de Frontenac at the time indicated, supposing they desired peace, was no other than the apprehension they labored under that, after having surrendered all the French prisoners the Count, with the Onontakaës[2] was to attack them in their country, being advised by divers deserters that he had given a large Belt, underground, to the Upper Nations inviting them to come and join him, that they may go together to devour the Onontaghé and Oneida Villages; that therefore they would not come unless Sieur de Maricourt be sent to them with some prisoners of theirs, to reässure them.

[1] Grass river, St. Lawrence County, N. Y.

[2] *Sic.* Outaouaks. *La Potherie*, IV., 5. — Ed.

It appeared to Mr de Callière from the above speech and other remarks added by the Indian, that the Iroquois, instead of thinking of coming to see the Count, were requiring us to go to them and to disarm the Abenakis so that they may cease making war against the English; and he had just reason to believe that they were not acting with a sincere wish to obtain a peace, and had so much the less desire for it as they appeared attached more strongly than ever to our enemies; that the latter caused them to temporise by negotiations in order to prevent us going to attack the villages of those Barbarians, and to have all the time and leisure necessary to disclaim their conferences with our Upper Indians for the purpose of causing the latter to conclude some particular peace, independent of us; or, finally, to make them expect some early expedition on their side, against Canada.

But what confirmed Mr de Callière more strongly in the opinion that the Iroquois is wholly English, was the request Tiorhatarion made him to send after a party of Indians of the Sault who were going towards Orange and to prevail on them to come back. This party were, yet, only three days' journey from Montreal and were hunting until the breaking up of the ice and snow would afford them surer means of approaching the enemy. He then said, that striking the English and particularly those of Orange, was to strike the Iroquois and spoil affairs that were in a train of settlement. It was easy for Mr de Callière to answer to this, that our differences with the one and the other had nothing in common, and that if the Iroquois were disposed in favor of Peace, they should remember that Mr de Frontenac always told them, he will not cease to strike them all, until they come together and bring back all our prisoners and complete the negotiations commenced with Teganissorens.

After Mr de Calliere obtained from Thioratarions and Ononsiaka all the information he could, he sent them with Sieur de Maricourt to Quebec, where, in presence of My lord the Governor, of the Intendant and of the King's Lieutenant, Thioratarion spoke in this wise:—

On arriving at Onontaghé with my brother, I spoke thus by a Belt to the Iroquois and the English:—

We are here by permission of our Father, on the invitation Tarhéa submitted to him, for the purpose of saying to you that we are surprised to see you come one by one, to speak of peace, instead of coming all together to bring the prisoners belonging to our Father Onontio, according to his expressed wishes, for he is your Father as well as ours.

By a second Belt which those of the Sault and of the Mountain had given me, I told them — I had heard what you said to our Father Onontio, that you had leveled the roads from this place to Quebec; I also make them smooth so that you may come thither, but all together.

I left two Belts at Montreal (continued Thioratarion speaking to the Count) which the Iroquois gave me and which they address to the Indians of the Sault and Mountain expressive of the joy they felt at seeing me and my brother in their Country, where we went of our own motion and with Onontio's consent, and requesting them to join us in procuring a restoration of their people who are among those of the Sault, the Mountain, and Lorette.

I also left two Belts of thanks for the one we carried to Onontaghé, and the following is what I bring to our august father, Onontio.

First Belt.

We request Sieur de Maricourt to unite with us, as his father formerly did, to obtain peace from the Governor; the mat is prepared for him at Onontaghé.

SECOND BELT.

We exhort Sieurs de Maricourt and Du Planté to bring us, at early spring, the prisoners who are with the French; these are the sentiments of the entire cabin.

THIRD BELT.

We request Onontio to stay the hatchet of his Nephews, the Lorette and Abenakis Indians.

FOURTH BELT.

As Onontio is obeyed by his Children we request him to cause them to restore to us our brethren who are prisoners among the Upper Nations.

FIFTH BELT.

Tho Outasais and Hurons came to Seneca where they made fast a Sun,[1] notwithstanding which they failed not to come to strike us; but we are always looking that way.

SIXTH BELT.

Peter, the Englishman,[2] told us that Onontio had sent him a message, with permission to come and speak to him; but that he could not accept it without the consent of the King of England.

As the Count did not permit his envoys to receive these Belts from the Iroquois, having allowed them to go to Onontaghé only to listen, and not to enter into any negotiation whatsoever, it is easy to conclude that he was not bound to answer them. Their demands were so insolent and so contrary to what he had said to Taganissorens and to the two last Sononkan Deputies that came to Montreal towards the end of the past summer, that he could not be other than highly dissatisfied with the Chiefs of the Sault and the Mountain at taking charge of those Belts, inasmuch as they ought to have declared distinctly to the Iroquois that Onontio would not accept them.

The Count contented himself with telling the messenger who had brought them, that had it been worth while, he would have given him a taste of the gridiron, in order to teach others not to come spying on pretence of such conferences; that if they should feel disposed hereafter, to continue doing so he would have all those whom he should catch, put into the kettle, looking on them only as veritable spies, and being unwilling to hear, in future, any proposal unless they brought him back not only all the French prisoners, but also all those belonging to our allies whom they have in their hands; that that alone would serve them as a passport whatever expedition he sent against them; and that, otherwise, he would not afford them any security.

Our two Indian chiefs were not altogether pleased with the Count's answer. He of the Sault would have wished to be permitted to return to Onontaghé, and allowed two months' time to see if he could not succeed better in a second negotiation than in the first. But he was not allowed this second voyage, the Count declaring to him that he had closed his ears and nothing could open them but the restoration of the prisoners; however, that he might explain his sentiments hereafter; that he might go home but without any Belt, or answer in return for those he had received.

The great desire Tiorhatarion evinced to return to Ononthaé, enabled the Count, whose penetrating mind fathomed the most secret intrigues, to perceive that there was duplicity in

[1] *Attacher un Soleil*, a figurative expression for making a peace. *La Potherie.* — ED. [2] Peter Schuyler.

all the proceedings of these Indians. But he was fully enlightened six weeks after by what Mr de Callière wrote him.

The latter, having gone to the Saut to trace out for the Indians a new fort more commodious than the old one so that they may be more efficiently and more readily assisted in case of attack, learned from Tatakɛis-sereel [and seven[1]] of the most considerable chiefs of the tribe, that Tiorhiatarion had brought them two Belts from the Iroquois, which they were unwilling to retain in their villages.

That the first said, addressing Tiorhatarion; Are you of the same mind as Ononsiasta, and can we speak to you unreservedly? To which Tiorhatarion had answered, If you have any thing to say to me, speak to me in private about it.

The Iroquois continued, saying, It is then to you, and to Takɛisseré whom we know to be our friends and the most influential at the Saut, that we speak, and tell you that we already spoke to you by a Belt through Teganissorens, but you have rejected our word. Here is another that we place between you and your friend Tatakɛisseré, to tell you to persuade, like good Christians, Onontio to peace.

By the 2nd Belt the Iroquois spoke thus:—I put this Belt, between you two underground, where it must remain three years, in order to say to you that you must think much of the union that ought to exist between us, and not forget that here is your ancient country; that you ought to advise us of the designs of Onontio without letting him know it. Fear not visiting us; you will be always welcome.

Mr de Callière learned further from them that Assinaré, an Oneida by birth but a long time settled among the Nepisseniniens, with whom he is incorporated, had told them, that being hunting all winter on the Grand River,[2] some Mohawks who were hunting there likewise, had come to see him frequently and told him that Tiorhatarion had been to Onontahé where he told the Iroquois that he had a fine blow for them to strike against some French Voyageurs who had remained during the fall on the Grand River, and against the Algonquins and Nepissings who were hunting there; whereupon the English at Onontahé strongly insisted on attacking them; but the Mohawks said that Onontio had conquered them without the English affording them any assistance, and let the latter go and do it themselves; expressing surprise that they should propose war again when they were inclined to peace.

The same Assinaré added that the Iroquois had resolved to come and speak to Onontio in the winter, but were prevented and dissuaded by Tiorhatarion who assured them he should return to report to them the state of affairs so that they may act accordingly. Tatakɛisséré and those seven Chiefs having informed Mr de Callière of the above, and evincing considerable indignation at such conduct, the latter ordered Thioratarion to be observed and even arrested should he be preparing to go to the Iroquois without the permission of the Count, to whom he sent a canoe express with an account of the whole.

Although these two Chiefs accompanied Tarhéa to Onontaghé, the Count, who unremittingly watches over every thing, with wonderful application and foresight, was not thereby prevented from sending out during the winter, different parties, (which have not been, and will not be, discontinued,) with a view both to keep our people employed and to endeavor to make some prisoners, who furnish us intelligence of our enemies. This has succeeded quite well up to the present time.

[1] *De la Potherie*, IV., 9.

[2] Ottawa. — Ed.

The first of these parties that struck a blow consisted of fifteen Indians of the Saut, to whom were conjoined two officers, Lieutenant de Chaillons and Ensign de Boisbriant. Having marched in the direction of Orange, they separated, some of them changing their minds thought they would bring us some Mohawks more easily than Dutchmen. They were not mistaken for we saw them return, about the 15th of April, with three Indians belonging to that Tribe whom they had taken prisoners notwithstanding the pretended peace the latter attempted to insist on. Ten or twelve days afterwards, the two Frenchmen and the remainder of the party came back with a Dutchman, a prisoner who had been captured within a league of Orange.

All the parties had not a like success in making prisoners which was, however, what we had most at heart. Some scalps were brought in, but they told no news. One, however, of which I am about to speak, that was taken at the pallisades of Orange is well worth mentioning. Two Indians belonging to the Mountain having separated from Totatiron, their Chief, by his advice, in order more easily to make several prizes, attacked five Dutchmen so close to Orange that the voices of those within the town were distinctly heard. Four having been put to flight or out of the way, they took one prisoner, but he obstinately refusing to march and they having no time to lose exposed as they were to bringing all Orange out on them, killed him, and having precipitately scalped him, took to their heels and brought the scalp to Montreal. This blow will not fail by its boldness to put the gentlemen of Orange into a terrible fright.

Towards the end of May another party of Frenchmen and Indians brought us in a Dutch prisoner, a dismounted horseman whose horse they had killed under him within two days' journey of Orange. Here is what we learned from these prisoners, both Dutchmen and Mohawks, on their arrival, separately and at various times.

1st

The Mohawks reported that the English had expressed a great wish that Tiorhatarion and Ononsista, when at Onontaghé, had been brought to them; but the Oneidas would not suffer it.

2nd

That the English had assured the Iroquois that Mr de Frontenac had no other design than to deceive and that, had he intended to make peace, he would according to the European fashion, have employed them for the purpose; that they (the English) had the advantage of us, and finally, that all their preparations were made to come to Quebec towards the 15th, or the end, of June with the reinforcement expected from old England, which would not sail during this year.

3rd

That the Iroquois were gone out with the intention of watching on the Grand River[1] in order to defeat the Indians and Frenchmen who will pass up and down; that if they should meet any Indians or Frenchmen stronger than themselves, they will say, peace is concluded; if not stronger, they will fall on them.

Notwithstanding these reports, Tioratarion always affirmed that the Iroquois entertained a perfectly good and sincere disposition to make peace. Under these conflicting circumstances what could we think but that time alone would unfold the truth?

[1] Ottawa. — Ed.

The first Dutchman brought in prisoner says, First, that a vessel had lately arrived at Menade with Soldiers from Old England that two others were daily expected with troops. 2° That 500 men[1] were being raised in the Country to oppose the reëstablishment of Fort Frontenac, the abandonment of which had, until then, improved their affairs and those of the Iroquois. 3° That he had in fact learned that the latter wished to make peace, but on condition that the English of Orange be included in it. 4° That the Iroquois had promised the English that, if the French should recommence hostilities, they would cause Eight hundred men to fall on them.

And in regard to the second Dutch prisoner, who turned out to be the brother of this first, he being but a young lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and the place of his residence not having much communication with Orange, he gives us no information, neither about the arrival of ships at Manaffe[2] nor of the designs of the English, and the Iroquois. [Oṛeouahé, who had been sent to France[3]] in the Marquis de Denonville's time, and who, since his return to Canada, appeared always much attached to our interests, arrived on the 20th May, in Montreal, on his return from hunting, with three Mohawks, who came to join us and establish themselves at the Saut of the Mountain, having, as they said, no nearer relatives than those residing there. As they had been a long time absent from their Country, were young and inexperienced, much light could not be derived from the interview with them, nor even any information that we could desire. They said only, that a party of two hundred Senecas and Cayugas had set out in the beginning of Winter on a war expedition against our allies, the Miamis; and another, of one hundred against the Andastes,[4] a nation with whom we have no alliance; and in palpable contradiction they added, that the Iroquois were disposed to make peace with us. Was not waging war against our confederates a fine proof of it? They likewise gave us some intelligence regarding those who had been hunting around Sieur Coullonge's fort which was the only news we learned.

On being morally certain that the enemy were wholly retired from the Grand River, Mr de Callière, on the 15th June, dispatched under the command of Mr de Laforest, a reduced Captain, the convoy destined for the Stasais country. It consisted, for the greater part, of those who had remained behind last Autumn. Whatever profession the Iroquois may make of being desirous for peace, it is beyond a doubt that they will always show themselves avowed enemies when they will be the stronger in point of numbers. Their attack on three Frenchmen in which, however, the latter had the advantage, is a proof of what I advance and a very evident token of their duplicity.

Our men had fallen in, at the other side of fort Lamotte,[5] with two Indians who were on the point of embarking, and inquired of them who they were? Mohawks, answered they; to which our folks having replied, We are Frenchmen. Well, retorted the Mohawks presenting their pieces, we are looking for such as you; whereupon they fired and wounded the Mr Montour in the abdomen. This, however, did not prevent him having his revenge for, firing, he brought down one of them. The other two Frenchmen fired also, and brought down the other, and were under the impression, therefore, that they had killed both of them but were at once convinced of the contrary on hearing them crying out in the direction of the woods whence, they seemed to expect help. This led our people, after having dispatched them, to retreat

[1] Fifteen hundred. *De la Potherie*, IV., 12.

[2] *Sic.* Manatte.

[3] The words within brackets are added to supply an omission in the French text. — Ed.

[4] See note 2, *supra*, p. 227.

[5] On Lake Champlain.

with as much rapidity as was prudent, without desiring to amuse themselves with scalping, being apprehensive that they were in considerable numbers. This happened on the 13th June, and as soon as Mr de Callière received intelligence thereof, he lost not an instant in sending out scouts in anticipation of the enemy's possible movements.

Some other Indians arrived, a few days after, from the neighborhood of Lake Champlain and brought in a wounded prisoner, who was one of those that had fired on Montour and his Companions, whereof I have just made mention. He reports that a great number of Dutch and Iroquois were collecting at Orange for the purpose of organizing some considerable expedition against the French settlements.

Count de Frontenac who was desirous of securing Canada by fortifying Quebec, had recommenced on the works there from the very opening of the Spring. He was induced to begin thus early and to push forward operations so diligently, because of the frequent threats of the English to come with such a force of ships and men as would not fail to repair their honor; they being extremely desirous to avenge themselves for the check they received and the disgrace that had overwhelmed them in 1690, which they could not wash away except in the blood of the French, nor erase from men's minds, except by the ruin of Quebec and the invasion of the entire Country.

It had been intended to inclose the whole of the Town by earthen ramparts; to construct a strong redoubt on the Cape and to erect batteries in the Lower town. To provide for these two wants required diligence and no less economy of the public funds. The inhabitants of the town were taxed to contribute either money or provisions, and those of the country[1] their labor and personal exertions.

Each applied himself with vigor, and the business advanced wonderfully under the direction of Sieur Levasseur, one of the Captains of the detachment of Marines who acts as Engineer for which he is perfectly qualified, when the Count committing to him the entire superintendence of the remainder, and of the completion of the works, set out towards the end of June, in a canoe for Montreal with the intention of putting into execution his plan of last year, to restore fort Frontenac. He was accompanied by a few of the inhabitants belonging to the government of Quebec and to that of Three Rivers; in passing the latter place he learned the blow the enemy had quite recently struck at the Lake of the Two Mountains, near the head of the Island of Montreal. The following is an account in two words, of the affair.

Sieur Charleville having perceived from the fort a dense smoke had the curiosity with his natural bravery to go to the place to find out whether it was that of men (at work) or of the enemy. He embarked with seven Indians, and having discovered ahead of him a canoe of fifteen Iroquois, attacked it vigorously. The battle soon terminated, however, by the death of Charleville who was shot with two balls and an arrow. Further resistance being unavailable our Indians, who had no more Frenchmen with them, retreated, and reported to us that they thought they had killed six of the enemy.

This attack obliged Mr de Callière to dispatch forthwith forty Algonquins and several other Indians, including Népissingues and those belonging to the Saut [and] the Mountain, in search of the enemy. Messrs Saint Pierre, de Repentigny, Lavallière Junior and other officers volunteered to accompany them. When they reached the head of the Island they set out in different directions in quest of the Iroquois, but in vain. Meanwhile, Sieur de Repentigny's young son, a brave soldier, and three other Frenchmen were killed at two different places, on

[1] *Compagnie* in the text. Qu? Campagne. — Ed.

the River *des Prairies*, a few hours before our young warriors had arrived at the place where the shots had been fired.

On receipt of this intelligence Mr de Callière sent a detachment of about one hundred and twenty men, including French and Indians, in small light bateaux, under the command of Sieur de St. Oours, first Captain, who was joined by several officers as volunteers with the most generous ardor and zeal.

As bad luck is usually followed by some good fortune, and as the latter often drags still worse after it, 'tis not surprising if things experience the same alternation in this country as elsewhere. The Count having heard, in the meanwhile, when passing Repentigny, of the two blows above mentioned, one of which had been struck within sight of the fort and the other a league higher up, arrived at length with the Intendant at Montreal on the 8th of July, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of every one.

Notwithstanding some sorrow remained in the hearts of the citizens on account of the recent expeditions to *Bout de l'isle* and the River *des Prairies*, the arrival of ten or twelve canoes on the 15th of July, administered consolation to the most afflicted. The dead were abandoned in order to think only of rejoicing with the living on account of the good news Sieur Lesueur gave us of the favorable state of affairs in the Upper Country; that all our allies, with the exception of the Hurons, were constantly occupied in harrassing the Iroquois, and that they had actually over nine hundred men in the field. These good tidings, I say, reässured the most timid and disheartened.

These canoes were manned by Indians who were accompanied by only five Frenchmen, and were attacked on their way down by some Iroquois, who lay in ambush on shore, and killed one Indian, and wounded two others, and a Frenchman. It is to remarked that among this party were a Sioux Indian and squaw, the first that ever visited the French settlements.

Count de Frontenac received some letters from Officers at the Upper posts, by which he learns what follows:—

The Iroquois having carried off three women and three or four children belonging to the Miamis with their Chief's youngest son, and struck this blow whilst these were working in the fields—called Prairie here—advanced undiscovered, towards the French Fort commanded by Sieur Courthemanche.[1] They had already stuck their guns through the pallisades when they were repulsed so vigorously and fired on so briskly that they retreated to their camp in disorder, leaving some of their men dead at the foot of the stockades, and crying out repeatedly that, as peace had been concluded between themselves and Onontio, they had no design against the French, but against the Miamis. They invited Sieur Courtemanche afterwards to visit their camp, where they would surrender to him the prisoners they had taken. To this he answered by inviting them on his side to come into his fort, where they should not experience any harm, and that an exchange of prisoners could be made there on both sides. But these conferences, carried on with high words and swaggering airs, were productive only of insults and the enemy withdrew. Meanwhile Sieur de Courtemanche, being desirous of ascertaining what route they had taken in their retreat, sent some scouts out, who discovered at the lower end of the river fifteen litters, from which he inferred the wounded might amount to thirty; in addition to this, seven or eight bloody places were observed among the brushwood, which led to the impression that the bodies had been removed, after the custom of the Indians, in order that the truth should not be known. Sieur Courtemanche, certainly,

[1] At the River Saint Joseph. *Charlevoix*, II., 146.

acted on this occasion with all the prudence, activity and valor that could be expected from a brave and courageous man, whilst the Iroquois, to the number of three or four hundred, were exerting themselves to carry off the Miamis.

Sieur Delamotte who holds the chief command of the French in the Stasacs Country, as I believe I have already stated, and whose residence is at Michilimakinac, the rendezvous of the majority of the Upper Tribes, being informed that two Hurons had, whilst hunting in the neighborhood of Sakinan,[1] been taken and retained by the Iroquois, and that the Baron, one of their influential men had received two Belts from our enemies, wished to know what they meant. For this purpose he thought proper to send a Frenchman, thoroughly conversant with their language to meet them (for they were not yet arrived at Michilimakinac) in order to learn adroitly what he was desirous of ascertaining. The Frenchman having met them quite near, performed his part very well, and gave Sieur de Lamotte all the information he could wish for. The latter being well advised, set about infusing jealousy into the minds of the other Nations, in order to render the Baron suspected; after which, having assembled them with the Hurons who just arrived, he addressed them in this wise:—

SPEECH OF SIEUR DELAMOTTE.

Children. I wish to tell you what I think of the recent conduct of the Iroquois. He has formed the design of devouring the Miami, and on his way 'tis said, tied five or six Hurons; and reflecting that such a trivial blow would not fail to alarm the Nations and make them fall on him and force him to abandon his project against the Miami, he has had recourse to a trick. He wishes to imitate a man who wants to surprise and kill his enemy without running any risk; He comes on his victim whilst lying asleep; finding his dog keeping watch, the Iroquois approaches and fondlingly throws the animal a bone; and whilst he is gnawing it, kills his master. What next? The dog, who believes he has got a prize, finds himself caught by the man who fondled him, and being thrown into the kettle with his master whom he has so carelessly watched, both become the prey of their common enemy, who makes a good meal of them. This is what the Iroquois does by this Belt. He wishes to eat the Miami, but fears the Huron who watches as his friend and ally. He, therefore, throws you this Belt, knowing well that whilst you will be occupied in admiring it, in contemplating it, in turning it on all sides on your mat; rolling council over council; in a word in gnawing that bone, he will have leisure to destroy the Miami, and to retire without danger, whilst waiting for the opportunity to boil you in turn in the Kettle which he is casting by the Belts he is sending you.

I am at last aware that many among you have experienced in your own persons the perfidy of the Iroquois, and that many Nations, whose names are no more, have known his treachery, and thou, who art but an insignificant remnant, thou oughtest to remember it better than any one. Courage, then! Be ye men from this moment, or take to flight and remove beyond Sun-down. Think you to live in safety near a neighbor who breathes nothing but blood, and whose heart is filled with venom against the rest of mankind? Can it be true that a mischievous Belt would bind your hands and gouge your eyes out? If it be possible that you cannot see a mite with them, open, at least, your ears to hear the word of a good Father; let it fall into your heart and cherish it well. Here it is: You must break the bonds with which the Iroquois fancied he has garroted you, supposing that you would not have the sense to find it out. You

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 293. — ED.

must no longer look on that Belt except with eyes of indignation, because on whatever side you turn it, treason is every where concealed under it, as fire under ashes. Reflect, now, on what you ought to do. This is an acceptable time. The Master of Life offers it to you. If you go and aid the Miami who is stretching out his hands to you, the Iroquois will without doubt find himself overwhelmed by the weight of my victorious arms. I have here some French Chiefs who know the Iroquois, and who have repeatedly devoured their villages; they are all ready to put themselves at your head with all the Frenchmen here. You will be witnesses of their bravery. Imitate them. Let us think once more not only of making war, but of continuing it until the entire destruction of the common enemy; your villages have become larger, your cabins have become filled with children and beautiful young people since that war began. This is my word. 'Tis the mind of Onnontio; 'tis his voice. Listen to it attentively. This is all I have to say to you.

Sieur Delamotte having concluded his speech, some thought proper to say that peace was concluded at Montreal, and that the Iroquois had carried back the Black gown,[1] all the French and other prisoners. To which he replied, that Onontio had declared in full Council, when speaking to the Iroquois in presence of all the nations, that he should never make peace, until all his children generally were included in it; that they ought to confide in his word rather than in a rumor that evil disposed persons had circulated. If, added he, it be true that peace is made, why, then, does the Iroquois strike the Miami? Can he carry his hatchet with impunity against the children of Onontio without the latter lifting up his arm to avenge them.

Having disposed the minds of all in this way, he adjourned his Council to the 16th of May, when the Baron explained the Belt with which he was entrusted on the part of the Iroquois, nearly in these words; abridging as much as possible the verbiage of the Indians, who are very elaborate *(policés)* and, consequently, very tiresome, speakers.

Speech of the Baron, the Huron Chief.

I speak to all the Nations. The Master of Life is witness that I will not add any thing to, nor aught detract from, the true account of what has passed.

Five of our people and two of our Iroquois prisoners had been overtaken and captured by the enemy who, having released three, took two of them along to be spectators of the blow they were about to strike on the Miami, and to be conveyed afterwards to Onontahé,[2] where all business must be transacted, in order that one of them should afterwards go to Michilimakina and the other to Montreal to make their report. They released these three by a Belt and by them sent another Belt here, expressing their good fortune at not having been taken on other ground, and stating that they also were fortunate at having released two of their own Nation.

Brethren. Let us take good care then, not to mar the message, for they declare that the Governor has praised and employed Tiorhatarion to negotiate peace, and that the latter is actually at Onontaghé. As for us, what have we been able to do, except to send word to the Miamis to provide themselves with a stout pallisading, and to fight like brave warriors.

It further says that the Iroquois nation being assembled at Onontaghé in the winter, mutually recommended to each other to abstain from striking any of the Lake Tribes, and as our people did not think of waging war against them this winter, they were desirous of directing their hatchet solely against the Miamis.

[1] Father Milet. — Ed.

[2] Onondaga.

This Belt says further, that the Outasais, named Oukantikan,[1] has to give an account of all the Belts the Iroquois entrusted to him, inasmuch as we Hurons, not being as yet informed thereof, are with some reason surprised thereat.

That Oukantikan has brought a very large Belt here this fall which he received at Montreal, and we ask what has become of five Belts that Amic also had brought. We do not wish to conceal any thing so that our Father be informed of every transaction.

In fine, the Iroquois said by this belt, that he was going to devour the Miami in order to unite the whole earth; inviting all the Lake Tribes to repair with the French to the neighborhood of Detroit when the leaves are red; that is to say, in the Fall.

All the Nations, except the Mohawk,[2] invite you to that rendezvous. This, which is the plain truth, is all I have to say.

Big Head, the most influential of the Outasais *du Sable*, spoke thus:—

Brother Huron. You cast a reproach on me when you make Oukantikan speak; he did not bring this belt. You say you conceal nothing; you are guilty of evasions, however, and though I hear all you say, I understand not all of it. Yet I am somewhat rejoiced that our people at Detroit are living. I felt some apprehension for them; for on the arrival of M^r^ Delamotte this autumn he did not speak in that tone, having, on the contrary always told me to be on my guard, and there is Manthet, a Frenchman of respectability and worthy of credit, who assures me they are under arms at the South, and that even our people have struck a blow this winter.

Changouessi, an Outasais-Cinago said:

Go, scratch yourselves there, you base minded fellows; Detroit is a fine rendezvous.

Ouiskons, an Outasais-Cinago, added:

Far be from us this belt. Two of our Chiefs, after having received sacks full of them from the Iroquois, have been killed the same year.

The Baron evading, as it were, the question, continued:—

Thus, Brothers, are we pained by what is happening at present to our brother the Miami, and for our people of the Detroit, who do not arrive.

The Rat, a Huron of sense took up the word and said:

We have but one cabin and one fire, and we ought to have but one mind. Let us unite. The opportunity is favorable. There is corn in the village to feed the women and children; we have brave warriors. What hinders us to die like men defending our lives? Shall we remain passive whilst our brethren are being carried off? I have confidence in the word of *Quarante Sous*, our ally, who, though a prisoner, exhorts us not to trust the word of the Iroquois. We ought to have no will but that of our father, and we cannot make peace without him. Let us adopt sure ground for our resolution.

Big Head, an Outasais *du Sable*, continued, saying:—

My opinion is formed. I have no other will but that of our father. However, it is well to assemble.

[1] The Outaouas, called Outontagans, formerly inhabited the Great Manitoualin Island, but were driven thence by the Iroquois, and retired to *L'isle du Detour* (now Drummond's Island). *La Hontan*, I., 164.

[2] *Annies.* La Potherie, IV., 22, prints the word *Amik*, i. e., the Amicoué or Beaver Indians. See note 4, *supra*, p. 160.—Ed.

Sieur Delamotte had reason to expect good from all these speeches. But the Indian, not exhibiting any great desire to go to the assistance of the Miami, all the private councils they held among themselves had no other result, at the time, than to inclose their village with good pallisades, in order that, having placed the women, old men, and children in safety, they might go on the war path. In their frequent songs at their feasts, they were always saying that they were going to start, and yet they did not stir. This obliged Sieur Delamotte to send out a small party of sixteen men, who soon attracted one of sixty; so true is it that emulation infuses life into the laziest.

If we attach belief to certain revelations and visions it is because they are authorized; but it is impossible to feel any thing but contempt for what gave rise to a grand and numerous Council the Indians of Michilimakina convoked for the purpose of considering some dreams, and drawing important conclusions from them. That Council was opened on the first of June by the Baron, in presence of Sieurs Delamotte, the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and the most respectable Frenchmen.

The Baron began and said:—

An old man and his wife, each about one hundred years old, were discovered this winter in the Sakinan country. They resided there, since the ancient expulsion of the Hurons, in a prairie or field which they found already cleared. He has related all that has passed since many years, being conversant with all the battles that have been fought and all the embassies that have passed on the one side and onthe other, but particularly with that of the Iroquois to Onontio. The intercourse and communication he has with the Master of Life, who frequently speaks to him, prevents him being ignorant of any thing whatsoever, or in want of whatever he requires, for He sends him animals, and makes his field abound with corn and pumpkins.

This venerable old man has exhorted us to be attentive to the Black gowns, and to apply ourselves to Prayer, assuring us that the Master of Life, who is One in Three Persons who form but one Spirit and one Will, would be obeyed; otherwise he would destroy the disobedient, by depriving them of their grain. He told us he was aware all our corn had been blasted last year because we had not been assiduous in prayer. Finally, after having recommended us to observe the eighth day, by abstaining from all work and sanctifying it by prayer, he concluded his discourse with a prohibition to put the Dead under the ground because that is opening them the road to Hell; but rather to elevate them in the air, so that they may the more easily take the road to Heaven; and with very pressing exhortation to hearken to the voice of Onontio, and to follow his will.

Such, added the Baron, are the words of this illustrious veteran, who presents this bundle of Beaver to the Commandant and this other one to the Black Gowns.

Of all the Baron's story the only part that was not imaginary was the present of Beaver, which seemed real. It was, however rejected by Sieur Delamotte, who, having inquired whether it was the Old man's word or theirs, was answered; it was the Old man's. He added, this voice being unknown to him, he did not hear it, nor receive the present; that the best proof of their good disposition both for prayer and the obedience they owe Onontio, consisted less in the Beaver that was offered, than in prompt movement and vigorous action against the enemy; that finally they had made a bad calculation in regard to the celebration of festivals, having mistaken the eighth, for the seventh day; besides that, we celebrated others, about which

the Black gowns had sufficiently instructed them if they were desirous of hearing them. In a word, he was not so simple as to be imposed on by such a ridiculous tale. After which he withdrew.

The Indians were somewhat troubled because the French were unwilling to listen to the voice of their pretended man of God, alleging that the Black gowns were very desirous of being heard when they recounted stories about Paul, and the anchorites of olden times; wherefore then, they asked, shall not our Old man possess the same light?

This tale, which was spread among all the Indians, was invented and manufactured by the Baron who did not fail to insinuate to them that the Old man forbid them to be the first to strike the Iroquois, as he who should begin would be infallibly destroyed, and the Iroquois himself would be annihilated were he so bold as to be beforehand with them with his hatchet.

And as Sieur Delamotte had a reasonable suspicion that the Baron had concluded peace as early as last year and had ratified it in the winter, he acted very wisely in not receiving the message of the mock hermit; it would have been acknowledging him as true, and allowing the Baron to make the Old man talk on every occasion that he would judge favorable for his pernicious designs.

I should despair closing my Narrative were I to attempt to relate exactly and circumstantially the intrigues, cabals and councils of the Indians, and the pains, fatigues and schemes that Sieur Delamotte opposed to them, making use of every means *(le vert et le sec)* for the success of his plan to induce all the Barbarians to go forth to war. The style at the Council is besides, almost always uniform, full of hyberboles, similes and other figurative expressions, some specimens of which I have already given. It is doubtless eminently useless to hear a speech which could only weary the reader. I shall state, then, that the coldest becoming at length warm, all the Nations, with the exception of the Huron have sent out separate war-parties; Sieur Delamotte not being able to persuade them to organize a general expedition, he accomplished a great deal in putting a stop to the negotiations with the enemy, the object of which was the introduction of the English in order to obtain goods at a cheaper rate than they got them from the French, not reflecting that in the lapse of time, the first who will monopolize their trade by selling them at a low price will raise the rate beyond that of the French.

It was on the knowledge we possess of their design that Sieur Delamotte in speaking to Big Head invented a Parable which did not please him as much as it does me on account of its applicability.

Hast ever seen, he asked, the Moon in thy Lake when the evening is clear and the weather calm? It appears in the water, and yet nothing is truer than that it is in the sky. Thou art very old, but know that wert thou to return to thy early youth, and to take it into thy head to fish up the moon in thy lake only once a year, you would more readily succeed in scooping that Planet up in thy net, than in effecting what thou art ruminating on. In vain dost thou fatigue thy brain. Be assured that the English and the French cannot be in the same place without killing each other. Those are arrangements made beyond the Great Lake.

Big Head appeared to approve in two words the aptitude of this parable, by merely exclaiming—How strange!

Although the Indians had no desire to make a general movement against the enemy, they did not fail to manifest a different disposition by means of a Council holden on this subject, merely to sound Sieur Delamotte and to discover whether the ardor he evinced to go in a body

against the Iroquois, was not a feigned and simulated zeal and quite remote from his thoughts. But the latter having exhibited a most extraordinary joy on beholding them in these good sentiments, and feigning to attach credit to their words, promised them, on the spot, to make all the French within call accompany them, so that they may all go together to devour the enemy. They were taken, then, at the word, but their courage failed them *(ils saignèrent du nez.)*

We have dwelt long enough on the occurrences in the Outagais country to render it necessary to return to Montreal where the Indians, conducted by Lesueur, saw that every thing had a marvellous aspect for the war which had been so loudly preached in their Villages. The movements that were making, and had been made throughout the entire winter and spring, were, doubtless, of a nature to dispel the strongest suspicions they might have entertained of our intention; but when they saw every thing ready for the voyage to Fort Frontenac, Mr de Callière having made every preparation previous to the Count's arrival, they were forced to abandon all doubts. These began to be dispelled by the general movement at Montreal, and the ardor manifested by all to proceed with the restoration of their ancient asylum and of a retreat common to them and to us; from these things, I say, they correctly and with full certitude concluded, that we were not disposed to make peace so readily with the Iroquois.

But what applause did they not bestow on Count de Frontenac when, three days afterwards, they there saw the detachment provided with ammunition, provisions and necessary implements. It consisted of seven hundred men, including Regulars, Militia and Indians. Chevalier de Cresafi who is not less commendable by his bravery and prudent conduct than illustrious by his birth, commanded in chief, and, under him,

The Marquis de la Groye	All Captains.
Sieur de Noyan	
Sieur de Lavallière	
Sieur de Maricour	
Sieur de Linvillier	

and thirty others, including reduced Captains, reduced Lieutenants and Ensigns, all picked men, who went with their little army to sleep at La Chine, whither the Count repaired on the following day, to give them the last orders and to see them depart; they set off with wonderful celerity.

Let us leave them to continue their voyage and let us attend to the Outagais Indians to whom the Count granted an audience on the eighteenth July, on his return from Lachine, in presence of the Intendant, Mr de Callière and other persons of quality.

Chingouabé, Chief of the Sauteurs, said:

By a first bundle of Beaver, That he was come to pay his respects to Onontio, in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagsamigon,[1] and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them.

By a second Bundle, To testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman, who was killed at a feast. It occurred accidentally, not maliciously.

By the third Bundle: We come to ask a favor of you; which is, to let us act. We are allies of the Sciou. Some Outagamis or Mascoutins have been killed. The Sciou came to mourn with us. Let us act, Father; let us act and take revenge. Le Sueur alone, who is

[1] On Lake Superior, in the NW. part of Wisconsin.

acquainted with the language of the one and the other, can serve us. We ask that he return with us.

Le Brochet[1] speaking for his, and the other Tribes, said:—

We come on behalf of the Chiefs who gave us some robes to purchase powder; all our young men are gone on the war path, and they will be very glad to find on their return wherewithal to continue.

The Chief of the Scioux, before speaking, spread out a beaver robe, and laying another with a tobacco pouch and an otter skin over that, commenced weeping very bitterly, saying, Have pity on me! After consoling him somewhat, he dried his tears and said—All the Nations had a Father who afforded them protection, all of them have Iron; that is every necessary. But he was a bastard in quest of a Father; he is come to see him and begs that he will take pity on him.

Upon the beaver robe he next laid twenty-two arrows, and at each arrow he named a Village of his Tribe that demanded Onontio's protection, and that he would be pleased to regard them as his children, begging that a path be opened to them by which they may come here like the rest; that he had as yet done nothing to render him worthy of protection, but if the Sun could enlighten him on the path from his country to this place, 'twould eventually be seen that the Scioux are men, and that all the Nations in whose presence he speaks, know it.

It is not, he continued, on account of what I bring that I hope he who rules this earth will have pity on me. I learned from the Sauteurs that he wanted for nothing; that he was the Master of the Iron; that he had a big heart into which he could receive all the nations. This has induced me to abandon my people to come to seek his protection and to beseech him to receive me among the number of his children. Take courage, Great Captain, and reject me not; despise me not, though I appear poor in your eyes. All the Nations here present know that I am rich and that the little they offer there is taken on my lands.

The Count, after having spoken to the other Tribes and recommended them to live in peace with the Sciou, in order not to think of any thing but to turn their hatchet against the Iroquois, had the Scioux informed that he received them among the number of his Children on condition that they would hear only their father's voice and be obedient to him; that he would hereafter send back Lesueur to them, who alone is acquainted with their language, and who would carry necessaries to them.

They then approached Onontio, according to their usual custom in affairs of importance, and taking hold of his knees, recommenced weeping and crying, Take pity on us; we are well aware that we are incapable of speaking to you, being, as yet, only Children; but Lesueur who understands our language and has seen all our Villages, will next year inform you what will have been achieved by the Sioux Nations whom you see here before you represented by these arrows, who will be protected by so good a father that will send them Frenchmen to supply them with Iron of which they only begin to have a knowledge.

Having ceased weeping, a Squaw belonging to a very considerable Chief of the same nation who had been redeemed by Lesueur at Michilimakina, approached the Count, the Intendant and M[r] de Callière with downcast eyes and embracing their knees wept bitterly and said: I thank thee, Father; it is by thy means I have been liberated and am no longer captive. She frequently repeated these words, continuing to shed floods of tears after their fashion.

[1] The Pike. — Ed.

The Ciou resumed his speech and said:—I speak like a man penetrated with joy. The Great Captain, he who is master of the Iron, assures me of his protection and I—I promise him that if he condescend to restore me my children who are prisoners among the Foxes, Outagais and Hurons, I will return hither and bring with me the twenty-two villages whom he has just restored to life by promising to send them Iron.

After Count de Frontenac had given audience to the Tribes, every one was dismissed to attend to his private affairs until the 29th July, when they were called together anew, in order that the Count speak to them in this wise,

To Chingsabé.

Chi[n]gsabé, my son. I am very glad to have learned by the thanks you present me for having given you some Frenchmen to reside with your nation, that you are sensible of the advantages you derive from the articles they convey you; and to behold your family now clothed like my other children, instead of wearing bearskins as you formerly were in the habit of doing. If you wish me to continue sending you the same aid, and to increase it still more hereafter, you must also resolve to listen attentively to my voice; to obey the orders that will be given you in my name by Le Sueur, whom I again send to command at Chagouamigon, and to think only of making war on the Iroquois, who is your mortal enemy as well as the deadly foe of all the Upper Nations, and who has become mine, because I have taken your part and prevented him oppressing you.

Embarrass not yourself, then, with new quarrels, nor meddle with those the Sioux have with the Foxes, Maskoutens and others except for the purpose of allaying their resentments, whilst I find means to induce the latter to surrender the prisoners they have taken from the Sioux this winter and to afford them satisfaction for what other causes of complaint they may have.

I reply not to the regret you have expressed to me for the misfortune that overtook the Frenchman named Jobin, because I am informed it was an accident, and that you are not to blame therefor.

To the Pike[1] and the other Outagois Nations:—

Though you have been witnesses of what I told the Iroquois in your presence last year, and of the declaration I made them that I should never conclude a peace with them which did not include you and all the other nations, my allies, and until they restored me all your prisoners with those of the French, I clearly perceive that they have made use of their usual artifices to excite fresh suspicions in your mind, and to induce you to think that I entered with them into secret negotiations of which you had not had any knowledge.

What Sieur Delamotte told you from me on that subject, when explaining what had been done, ought to have removed that suspicion from your minds. But open wide your ears; hear once from my mouth how the thing occurred and you will thereby understand the artifice and malice of the Iroquois who are seeking only means to induce you to take umbrage against a Father who never deceived you, in order to prevent you hearkening to his voice, and to turn you aside from the war[2] which they know he has ordered you to continue.

I am going to tell you, then, once again how the thing occurred. Whereupon the Count recapitulated every thing; related the arrival of Tareha with Father Milet and how he had

[1] See *supra*, p. 610.

[2] "et de te donner la guerre," are the words in the Text. De la Potherie, has it — "et te detourner de la guerre," which is adopted. — Ed.

refused his Belts; the departure of Tiorhatarion and Ononsista to the Ononthagues without being charged with any message, but merely to hear what they should say in their Councils; the Belts they had presented on their return and his refusal of them, not forgetting the declaration to the Mohawk who had come down with them; he spoke of the different parties continually sent out whilst Tiorhatarion was among the Iroquois; the attack which the enemy made on the fort of the Miamis and recently on us at the Lake of the Two Mountains near the head of the Island, and on five of our People who were killed at the River *des Prairies*. Care was taken not to omit the attack the enemy had made on themselves when coming down from their Country, notwithstanding they spoke and the Iroquois knew them very well; they were made to appreciate the degradation by Onontio in their presence of Tiorhatarion the Chief of the Indians at the Saut, for having surpassed the orders the Count had given him when he consented to his going to the Village of the Onontaës, and the election of another in his place. Finally, the Count reminded them of the large force he had just dispatched to reëstablish Fort Frontenac, and to carry on such operations as circumstances will permit.

After that, added the Count, I do not believe that you require further proofs to convince you, that I am resolved to wage war against the Iroquois more vigorously than ever, and that you, on your part, cannot avoid waging it against them also, if you desire that I should consider you obedient children, and attached to your own interests as well as to that of your Father, since the question is the destruction of a common enemy.

The Count having caused the presents to be distributed,

Chingsabé said:—

Father: It is not the same with us as with you. When you command all the French obey you and go to war. But I shall not be heeded and obeyed by my nation in like manner. Therefore I cannot answer except for myself and those immediately allied or related to me. Nevertheless I shall communicate your pleasure to all the Sauteurs, and in order that you may be satisfied of what I say, I will invite the French who are in my Village to be witnesses of what I shall tell my people on your behalf.

Then the Governor addressing the Hurons and Stasais said:—Children, I thank you for the welcome you extended to Tioskaté, chief of the Sioux. I have been informed of it by Sieur Delamotte. I exhort you then to continue hereafter to receive them kindly at home when they will visit you; to forget the dead you may have lost on both sides in the war you had formerly waged against each other, and to regard them, at present, as your brothers and my Children, leaving the path open to them to come to see me here and to look for what they will stand in need of.

The Council broke up and the Indians left Montreal, two days after, to return to their Country with the Count's orders.

In the interval between the first audience granted to the Stasas, (who arrived at Montreal on the 21st of July,) and the last Council when they were dismissed, [there arrived] a Canoe which had been dispatched express to the Count with some letters from France, which had been committed to the care of Sieur de Bonnaventure who was lying at anchor at Pentagset.

Let us lay aside for a moment the affairs of Canada, to relate what occurred in Acadia.

Two frigates which had arrived at Boston last year, designed from that time to come and cruise at the mouth of our river. Some prisoners had assured us that three others and some middle sized vessels, were preparing for the same purpose. But whilst waiting until they make

themselves heard, let us say a word about the gallant exploit of a Barkalonga,[1] called by the English a Galley, mounting 8 guns, 6 swivels and having a crew of 70 men.

On the 20th of September, Robienne the privateer of Nantes was attacked by this Barkalonga, and as his force was inferior, he took advantage of the flow of the tide to hug the shore, ordering a portion of his men to land with a view to use their muskets where she should anchor, having nothing to apprehend except being boarded, which he did not think the English would attempt, because they would be stranded as well as he. As misfortune would have it, the whole of his crew, except three, misunderstanding the word of command, went ashore, and the English perceiving this manœuvre, approached, at the same time, in order to board Sieur Robienne. What is he to do in this dilemma? He forthwith takes a barrel of gunpowder and strews it along the deck, and stations himself near his flag, match in hand. The Englishman, who was within pistol shot, summons him to surrender and to strike his flag. He is told that he has nothing to do but approach if he wishes to be blown up with him. A cannon shot was discharged at Robienne, accompanied by a volley of musketry, and possibly preparations were making to continue, when his men who were on shore, opened so great a fire on the Englishman that they forced him to weigh anchor and take a wider berth, under favor of the ebb of the tide. Sieur Robienne having caused a good deal of water to be thrown on the powder on his deck, began to cannonade the English, but on the fourth shot the stern of his ship caught fire in a most unaccountable manner. Brandy, tar and the powder being stored in that quarter, the flames and smoke increased in an instant with such violence, that he was obliged to abandon his vessel which blew up in a quarter of an hour after.

The same privateer having captured an armed Ketch and its crew bound for the Islands, took on its way four or five prizes and pillaged a small Island thirty leagues beyond Boston in the direction of New-York.

Divers letters from Acadia have informed us that seven of our Abenaquis Indians having indiscreetly gone about the end of the Autumn,[2] to the fort of Pemkuit, three of them had been arrested there by the English, and the other four pitilessly killed at fort Sako. This treacherous proceeding did not turn our Indians aside from their object; nor discourage them. And as they are passionately desirous of first recovering their relatives who are prisoners, in order to be able, afterwards to look for revenge and to recommence hostilities more vigorously than ever, they tried to obtain an interview, and having received from the Lieutenant Governor of Boston a letter, of which the following is a copy, they sent an answer to it which is annexed:—

By the Honorable William Stoughton Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Having received certain information that the Indians of Amarascoggin together with others of the eastern part of this Province have, contrary to their submission and declaration of Fidelity to the Crown of England, since perfidiously adhered to and joined with His Majesty's enemies in the late tragical outrages and barbarous murders committed at the settlement of his Majesty's

[1] A small vessel used in war, without a deck, lower than the ordinary barges with a peak head and carrying sails and oars. — James.

[2] 19th of November, 1694. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II., 81; *Williamson's Maine*, I., 640. — Ed.

good subjects at Oyster river[1] and Groton,[2] and carried off with them several prisoners who are now detained by the said Indians at Amarascoggin and other adjoining places, whereby they have appeared in open Rebellion and therein forfeited their lives as well as those of the hostages for their fidelity; who according to the custom of Nations and the law of Arms might be justly put to death; but having learned that divers of their Captains and principal men did not participate in these late treasons and barbarities, I, therefore, in order that they may establish their innocence and fidelity, do send these presents by the hands of Sheepscot and[3] John Albagata-Waroongan one of their hostages, in order that they may see that he is, notwithstanding the cowardice and baseness of the Indians, still living, and be informed by him of the good treatment he and his comrades have received, and that his Majesty's Governor in this Country has not violated any of his promises made to them when he received the submission of the Indians. Wherefore by order of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, I strictly command and invite all the above named Captains and other Indians who will desire to furnish proof of their innocence and fidelity, and who have a regard for their lives, to send back all the English prisoners in their hands; also to seize, bring in, and surrender to Justice the Chiefs and savages who have combined, assisted and acted in this last bloody tragedy. Wherein they shall not fail on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the Law, as false traitors and rebels.

Given under Our hand and seal at Arms at Boston the twenty-first day of January, one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, in the Sixth year of their Majesties Reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Answer of the Abenaki Indians to the Letter of the Lieutenant Governor of Boston.

Lord who writest to me, listen and understand what I am about to say, and write, to you. Thou wilt easily recognize my words, and why wilt thou not recognize them. It is thou (so to express myself) that furnishest them to me. Writing with too much haughtiness, thou obligest me to reply to thee in the same style. Now, then, listen to the truths I am about to tell thee of thyself; of thee, who dost not speak the truth when thou sayest that I kill thee cruelly. I never exercise any cruelty in killing thee, [as I kill thee[4]] only with hatchet blows and musket shots. Thy heart must have been ever addicted to wickedness and deceit. No other proof is necessary than the acts last autumn at Saco and Pemkuit, taking and detaining those who were going to obtain news from thee. Never in the universal world has it been seen, never has it been related of a man being taken prisoner who bears a flag and goes to parley on public business. This, however, is what thou hast done; in truth, thou hast spoiled the subject of discussion. Thou hast covered it with blood; as for me, I could

[1] On the 28th of July 1694, the Indians fell with fury upon a village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, killed and carried away ninety-four, some accounts say about one hundred men, women and children. *Hutchinson's History of Mass.*, II., 79. Of the twelve garrisoned houses five were destroyed, viz. Adam's, Drew's, Edgerly's, Medar's and Beard's. The house of John Russ, the minister, was destroyed with a valuable library. The other seven garrisons, viz. Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davis's, Jones' and Woodman's were resolutely and successfully defended. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 216. — ED.

[2] On the 27th of July 1694, having crossed the Merrimack they fell upon Groton, (in Middlesex County) about forty miles from Boston. They were repulsed at Larkin's garrisonhouse, but fell upon other houses where the people were off their guard, and carried away from the vicinity about forty persons. *Hutchinson*, II., 80.

[3] This conjunction seems to be superfluous, as the English writers call him Sheepscot John; the other appears to be his Indian name.

[4] *De la Potherie*, IV., 42.

never resolve to act in that manner, for therein I have even an extreme horror of thy unparalleled treachery. How then dost thou now expect that we would talk. Last autumn we carried to Saco and Pemkuit our flag which was common to thee and to me; we had only one. On being carried to Pemkuit thou dost seize it. When carried to Saco thou coverest it with blood. If now thou thinkest of me, I must know somewhat his thought is with whom I am to talk. Restore to me our common flag which is the only medium by which we can talk together. What thou sayest I retort on thyself. There, repent and repair the grave fault thou hast committed; seize those who killed me at Saco, and made me prisoner at Pemkuit. I will do the like by thee. I will bring thee those who killed thee when I shall be able to find them. Fail not to do what I require of thee; of thee, I say, who killest me without cause; who takest me prisoner when I am off my guard. Here, again, is what I say to thee. Bring, or send me back my relatives whom thou detainest without cause. Thus only, if thou doest it, can I have a good opinion of thee. Take special care not to fail in what I tell thee. If thou dost not obey exactly, thou wilt draw down calamities on thyself, thy cattle, thy provisions and all thy substance. As for me, thou canst not inflict much injury on me except by your treachery. My houses, my stores, my property are in inaccessible countries. If thou wilt confiscate them, they will cost thee a great deal of labor and fatigue. Let Pagadocsagan return within fifteen days; let him not fail to come back, and, within thirty days at the utmost, let our people be brought back. Pemkuit, which thou hast defiled, is now no longer pleasant to me. I desire another place for our negotiation; namely, Meremitin. There will our common flag be always hoisted, when thou wilt have restored it to me.

Signed Sanmihses Ekesambamet

all who are here. Our Chiefs are not here now. This is what we tell thee.

Merimitin,[1] was the place selected for the talk which was to take place towards the end of May, on exchanging the English prisoners for those belonging to our Indians.

It was the Abenakis of Father Bigot's mission, that had received the Lieutenant Governor's letter which was brought them by one of their people whom the English held as a hostage; and as the major part of the Indians who composed that Mission were at a distance those who happened to be there on the reception of this letter, answered it.

Would it not be supposed that every thing would fail rather than this exchange? Yet, on our Indians repairing to the place appointed, the English, so far from bringing our prisoners there, did not even come there themselves, though they had promised to bring the prisoners thither.

Our Indians impatient at this treatment, proceed, notwithstanding the resolutions of their Councils, to Pemkuit in order to obtain news of their message, so strong are the ties of blood and nature. But the sole reason given them by the Commandant and Minister was the obstacle created by the wind which had been unfavorable to the arrival of the prisoners from Boston. Each vented against the other whatever reproaches were on his mind, after which the English becoming mollified and getting to talk about the pretended union between them, took a stone which they gave as an emblem of the durability this peace ought to have; and the Indians conforming to their mode of expression, placed another Stone beside that of the English, with this difference—the Stone of the first was bedecked only with idle words whilst that of our Indians was accompanied by eight prisoners which they surrendered in reality, though

[1] The lower part of the Androscoggin, before it unites with the Kenebec river, is called Merrymeeting bay. — Ed.

determined not to give up one except as theirs would be placed in their hands. The English, finally, promised to bring in within thirty days all the prisoners captured during several years, the greater portion of whom had been seized treacherously—that is to say, they promised to bring back those who were near, and within two years those at a distance.

The Abenakis, in return, promised the restitution of those in their power; and this was the result of the interview.

Since then we have learned by an Englishman taken near Boston by a party of Abenakis from Three Rivers, that his countrymen had come to the place of rendezvous but did not bring the prisoners there, which obliged our Indians to resume hostilities wherein there is no doubt they are actually engaged, having been exasperated by the continual treachery of our common enemy whom they wished to manage only for a season in order to withdraw their people out of his hands.

In some cases misfortune is beneficial. Our Abenakis having become, at last, aware that the chains and hardships of the poor prisoners, their relatives, had been doubled by the English in violation of their promise, after having gratuitously received the eight prisoners who had been surrendered to them in advance, took the bit so determinedly between their teeth, that it is not considered necessary to put fire beneath their bellies in order to induce them to visit the enemy with the bloody effects of a just fury: It is supposed also with some degree of reason, if any reliance can, indeed, be placed on Indians, that the latter would have continued the war neither more nor less, even had the English kept their words with them and restored their prisoners; By not restoring them, that became evident; had they been given up it was confidently expected that, released from their fetters, and unable to consent to ever pardoning the English, these men would drag all the young men along to assist them in revenging their wrongs, despite of every thing to the contrary which might be alleged by the lovers of peace who desire to draw breath after so many years of fatigue.

As I propose to avoid prolixity, I pass a great many things in silence, such as the Abenakis sending to the Count some English scalps, and some prisoners taken whom they captured at different intervals.

But I must not omit mentioning the naval movements the English are making with the design of doing us all possible injury. They use, sometimes, however, pretexts somewhat specious, as was the case with a ship and ketch that entered under full sail and anchored in the harbor of Menagouet.[1] They stated that they were come to redeem some English prisoners, and in fact eleven were given up to them. Their real design, however, was to see if some ship had not arrived from France so as to be able, with the assistance of another vessel that lay in the offing, to capture it if it should not have come in.

We have been pefectly aware that a ship of fifty guns and one hundred and fifty men had arrived from Old England, and that a small Boston craft manned by thirty men was cruising from one place to another for the purpose of carrying off Indians. But the English prisoner, brought in some time after by the Abenakis of Three Rivers, removed all our apprehensions regarding this larger ship of one hundred and fifty men, by informing us that she had returned to Boston a complete wreck with ten killed and sixty wounded, having been frequently boarded.

The death of the Princess of Orange[2] and that of William Philippe[3] are not sufficiently regretted in this country that I should interrupt my narrative by Funeral Sermons. On the

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Pentagouet. — Ed. [2] 28th December 1694. [3] *Sic.* Phips. He died 18th February 1695.

contrary I feel a pleasing inclination to continue it in consequence of the joy afforded me by the following news: —

Our Abenaki Indians had been warned by a Frenchman belonging to the garrison of Pemkuit to be on their guard, and that two hundred Englishmen concealed in the Islands off the coast were with others, meditating an attack on them whilst engaged in negotiations. This intelligence had the best effect possible, confirming as it did the faithlessness of that nation which we had already so often impressed on them. They vowed eternal war and immediately set off to those Islands in quest of the enemy, with quite a different intention than that of holding a conference with them.

The second news we received and which afforded us joy, was the havoc committed by a ship of fifty guns on the English to whom she gave no quarter. They were, doubtless, some of our friends and possibly the same that had so effectually disposed of the vessel which, as I just stated, had returned to Boston in so pitiable a plight.

But the most sensible pleasure we experienced arose from the happy tidings of the arrival at Pentagouet of the ship *l'Envieux* commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, who, in distributing the presents from the King, made the Indians perceive that they ought not to be tempted to make peace by an unjustifiable despair of receiving assistance, this year, from France. What a strange thing is prejudice! These poor creatures had taken it so doggedly into their heads that the English were masters of the sea and that no French vessel dare make its appearance along the entire coast, that, had it not been for the arrival of this ship, I know not what result would have been expected from such excessive terror which overpowered in their minds all the good disposition they seemingly entertained, to be revenged on their enemies: Meanwhile they soon passed from profound despondency to energy thoroughly martial. We shall see, hereafter, what will have been its success.

Captain Baptist had taken a prize off Cape Mallebarre, which he left under the command of Guion, a Canadian. The latter and the fillibusters abandoned it after having more than half pillaged it. It was a craft of more than sixty tons, with a cargo of sugar, molasses and other goods. Baptist started off again on a new cruise when he had the good fortune to take a prize of twenty-five tons, which supplied generally all he required to fit him out for the entire summer. He set out anew with orders to proceed to Spaniard's bay,[1] in the supposition that he might fall in there with Sieur de Bonnaventure. But as the fortune of war is uncertain, and as occasional ill luck cannot be avoided, he had the mischance of losing his vessel; after having bravely defended himself an entire day against a frigate, he found himself so riddled that he finally foundered with eight Englishmen within sight of the frigate which could not render them any assistance. One consolation afforded by this loss was that the English derived no advantage from it.

This Guion whom I have just mentioned, after having made seven prizes, fell in with the same frigate that had defeated Captain Baptist. But running aground with all his prizes on the little Seal Rock, he forced the English to grant him terms. They gave him one vessel with all its cargo.

I see nothing else worth mentioning respecting the affairs of Acadia except the news furnished us by Sieur de Saint Castin, that a frigate of forty guns, and one of twenty-two were ready to sail from Boston; that a third of twelve guns had already left that port and had even arrived at Piscaduoët;[2] that their plan, no doubt, was to do some mischief in the Quebec

[1] See note 1, *supra*, p. 561.

[2] Portsmouth, New Hampshire. — Ed.

river, and that the ship which is to bring out William Phillipe's,[1] successor in the government of New England, was daily expected at Boston from Old England.

Guion's brother having come of his own accord as far as Montreal, where he arrived about the fifteenth of July, the Count gave him twenty men in order to encourage him to continue his cruises, which can be productive only of a very good effect.

But now that we have come back, let us see what is doing in the neighborhood where our enemies are wide awake.

In the afternoon of the second of August two Mohawks, who had been three or four months prisoners at the Sault, left the latter place on their return home. Passing La Prairie de la Madeleine, they attempted to seize, quite close to the stockades of the fort, a young French child in order to carry it away with them to their Village. But some of our Indians happening fortunately to be within call, made them drop their booty by firing at them.

Some of our Indian partisans who were in the direction of Orange, had captured some prisoners but were obliged to let them go on being discovered by a party of thirty men, who were much stronger than they. On their return, they reported that it was, according to all appearances, greatly to be feared that the enemy would fall on the southern district. They did in fact appear at Tremblay, within two leagues of Montreal on the 12th August, where they killed an old woman and a man; after which they carried off two other women, one man and four young children.

This loss considerably damped the joy we experienced on the same day by the return of 8 or 10 of our Indians who brought in two Englishmen and two Squaws, and the Scalps of two Mohegans *(Loups)* who were killed near Orange where the blow was struck. Our sorrow disappeared, however, two days after, on the return of the Convoy from Fort Frontenac. The reappearance of the Sun dispersing the clouds does not afford greater joy to Nature than did that of Chevalier de Crisafy to the Montrealists. Every one hastened to the water side to see him when he was landing, and by their cheers gave expression to their feelings towards so worthy a Captain who brought back his troops safe and sound, without leaving a single man behind except the forty-eight to garrison the fort. As this expedition used extraordinary celerity, I shall not undertake to give a long description of it, but merely observe that it occupied from the time it started to its return twenty-six days, eight of which were employed in repairing five extensive breaches made in the walls by the mine; that some old mortar, after having been broken and mixed with rich clay, was made use of for the purpose of rapidly running up the masonry which will be as solid with the cement, as with mortar from new lime the preparation whereof time did not admit; that all the timber for the construction of the houses and for fire-wood was cut and hauled with extraordinary diligence; that throughout the whole of the labor and fatigue of going and coming in the rapids and dangerous passes, so special and so general a good fortune attended all, that not one was wounded. What I remark most fortunate in this good luck is, not to have been discovered by the enemy, a circumstance to be attributed to the great secrecy the Count observed up to the moment of departure; being well aware that his plan was not one of those to be bruited about; and to the prudent conduct of Chevalier de Crisafy, whose guarded movement deprived the enemy of all knowledge of it. But reflecting on such an excess of good fortune, I must not, in enumerating those secondary causes, forget the principal, but attribute such great success to the good genius, the guardian angel of New France, to whom God has committed the protection of the Country.

[1] *Sic.* Phips. — Ed.

This fortunate return of the convoy from Fort Frontenac was not the sole pleasure of so fine a day. It had been preceded, some hours, by the arrival of Sieur Nicolas Perrot from the Stasais and Farthest Nations with ten or twelve Canoes of Poutesatamis, Sacs, Folles Avoines, Outagamis and Miamis of Maramek.[1] This was on the 14th of August, and the following is the substance of the news the Count received by them in a letter from Sieur Delamotte and from the reports of Perrot and the Frenchmen who came down with him.

News from the Stasais.

The Outagamis have spared the lives of the Iroquois prisoners that had been presented by the Sasaiation[2] of Chégagou in the Spring, with the intention of employing them in return, in negotiating with the enemy. The apprehension that the Cioux, who have mustered some two or three thousand warriors for the purpose, would come in large numbers to seize their Village, has caused the Outagamis to quit their country and to disperse themselves for a season, and afterwards to return to save their harvest. They are, then, to retire towards the river Sabache to form a settlement there, so much the more permanent as they will be removed from the incursions of the Ciou and in a position to effect a junction easily with the Iroquois and the English, without the French being able to prevent it. Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the Mascoutin and the Kekapou would be of the party, and that the three Tribes forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it, by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequence. But we have every reason to hope that the efficient orders issued by the Count, and the care Sieur Delamotte will take to execute them, will dispel all these fogs. He will not possibly effect this object with as much facility as he broke up a party of Hurons who were on the point of embarking on a war expedition against the Cioux; for with a Belt and a few words, full indeed of energy, he had the good fortune to dispel this storm at the first conference.

All Sieur DelaMotte's penetration, however, did not prevent some Hurons, among whom was the Baron's son, proceeding, unknown to him, with the consent of all the Nations, both of Michilimakina and its vicinity to the Village of the Senecas, to make their peace, independent of Onontio. They carried, for this purpose, fourteen Belts, of which some of the better disposed Hurons secretly and mysteriously furnished him, eight days after their departure, with the explanation, the substance whereof is briefly as follows:—

Our Father has vexed us; he has long since deceived us. We now cast away his voice; we will not hear it any more. We come without his participation to make peace with you and to join our arms. The Chief at Michilimakina has told us lies; he has made us kill one another; Our Father has betrayed us. We listen to him no more.

These deputies have carried back to the Senecas three of their men in order to give them up. Two of these are to remain at the village, and the other is to return with some influential Iroquois for the purpose of having an interview in the latter part of August with all the Lake Tribes, and causing the existing war to be succeeded by a durable peace and close alliance.

It is a misfortune that it was impossible to anticipate the Embassy of those Indians, as this blow could have been certainly averted. But it must be understood that when they are determined to keep a secret, the policy of the most expert Machiavelian would fail against their

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 570.

[2] A Miami tribe called Ouiatanons by the French, and Weas by the English. — Ed.

finesse and deception, daubed over with the whitewash of sincerity and the fairest appearances in the world.

Whilst the Baron was at Montreal, as I have already stated, acting the part of the couchant dog and listening with apparent submission to Onontio's voice, all this fine scheme was concocting in the Upper Country, and what was wonderful is, that the resolution of the Council was taken and concluded before he started to come down, although the Traitor gave no other excuse for his voyage than an ardent desire which consumed him to come and hear his Father's will in order blindly to obey it.

But this is pretty tedious. Learn what is passing among the Outasais to be persuaded how much they would be disposed to make their peace with the Iroquois, independent of the Count, were they not vigorously opposed. Let us enter now into the Council with those recently arrived Nations and witness the audience Onontio is giving them.

Being assembled on the sixteenth of August in the presence of the Governor, Intendant, and several officers, Ononguissé, Chief of the Poutouatamis, opened the meeting with the following speech:—

Father. I come here, seeing all my Nation deranged, in order that you may restore them to their senses. This it is what brings me hither without a present and makes me look upon you with my eyes.

I wish the Cioux, the Sacs, the Miamis and the Outagamis may listen to your voice. As for me, half your heart is in mine, and I have no will but yours.

I have been surprised that the Kikakons, the Outasais *du Sable*, Hurons and others of Michilimakina whom you call your children, are not hearkening to your voice to-day, and that on the contrary they seem to wish to upset the earth and deceive you; whilst I, who have not seen you for a long time, am always inclined to obey your wishes as I have done since my infancy. Up there at Michilimakina I have respected your word; I have adhered to it, and not being able to resist all those other nations, have adopted the resolution to come down to acquaint you, that you may apply the remedies you will consider necessary. When the Indians I have named to you come here to see you and call you Father, I feel sorry that, immediately after they are out of your presence, they alter their language, and act contrary to what they promised, whilst I, no matter what injury the other nations may inflict on me, do exactly what you desire me. I have even been killed by the Ciou; you forbad me to avenge myself and I have obeyed your word.

The memory I have cherished of your former words alone hath kept my feet within the paths of duty, for we have not had any one, for a long time, with us to communicate your wishes to us, and have almost been—I, Poutouatami, and the Sacs and the Puans and the Folles Avoines—as if we had no Father, being at a distance the one from the other.

Those of Michilimakina are incessantly telling you that it is they alone who wage war against the Iroquois, though we wage it more than they; and they tell you these sort of stories only in order to stand better with you. I would wish that the Cioux, the Miamis and the Outagamis wage war no more against each other.

Colubi, Chief of the Sacs, took up the word and said:—The French exhorted him to come here, and he accordingly came down in his present poor condition. He retained in his recollection since last year, the Word of his Father who commanded him to keep his tomahawk always in his hand, and to turn it only against the Iroquois; and this is what he has done.

Although he formerly made war against the Cioux, he had resisted the entreaties of the Outagamis and Maskoutins to attack them, regarding them now as brothers.

Father, he added, I come to tell you, that although the Outagami, or the Fox, is my relative, yet I could not dissuade nor prevent him last winter going to war against the Cioux.

Kioulous-Koio, Chief of the Folles Avoines said—He had nothing to add to the speech of Ononguissé; like him, he observed his Father's word.

Onanguissé resumed, and spoke for Makatemangsas, an Outagami or Fox, saying in his behalf what follows:—

Father. Though killed by the Ciou neither I, nor any of my family have desired to make war on him as half my Tribe hath done, recollecting that Onontio my father hath forbad me so to do. I do not approve of my Nation wishing to make an alliance and peace with the Iroquois, and I come to advise you of it and to tell you that I have not changed my mind, and am always obedient to you.

Messitonga, or *Le Barbu*, a Miami of Maramek[1] said:—Though at a great distance. I heard my Father's voice, and have no other opinion but that of Onanguissé and of the others who come to speak, and no other thought than to make war against the Iroquois. When the Ciou kills me I bow my head and recollect my Father has forbad me to turn my tomahawk against him.

I have not yet heard you. I complain that the Miamis of the river Saint Joseph rescue by force from us, and spare the lives of, the Iroquois, prisoners we are bringing home.

I am come here to ascertain whether it be by your order these sorts of violences are committed, as I have not heretofore understood your thoughts except by Perrot in whom we hesitate to place confidence, the French and the Indians saying that he is but a pitiful fellow. I come here to hearken to you, and to offer you, as I did last year, my body, covering up your dead who were killed by the Iroquois, and to tell you that you are Master of my Tribe, which is that of the Crane.

He then presented a Beaver robe, and added:—

I have not yet been able to learn your thought from your own lips, and have heard your word only as Perrot repeated it to me from you. This has brought me down here.

Onanguisse demanded if it were true that Onontio had permitted Nassasakset, as he had told him, and Sieur de Tonty, to go to war against the Kanzas and other Mississippi tribes.

Sieur Perrot presented a robe on the part of the Pepicoquis who, also, are Miamis of Maramek, whereby they said they covered the French dead, and the Miamis slain in the Iroquois country. This robe was stained red to show that they remembered the French who died for them and whom they were desirous of revenging.

Onanguissé told Onontio individually and in private, that it was not he but Perrot that had brought the Outagami or the Fox; whose heart he believed was false; who despised not only the French, but all the other Nations also; the Outagami however, was not the only one that had conceived bad thoughts, inasmuch as the Mascoutins had a still worse heart than he.

Whilst fort Frontenac was repairing, several of our Indians embraced the opportunity to organize different parties to endeavor to strike a blow against the Iroquois. Some of them having seen thirty canoes which they judged to contain three or four hundred men, notice of the fact was given to M^r^ de Lavalière who commands in that fort, and word was afterwards sent to Montreal. This news was brought on the 19^th^ of August to the Count who received

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 570. — Ed.

confirmation of it from others that arrived on the same day, and added that one of our most respectable Indians named 8tagakon had been undoubtedly captured. But as it is very usual for the Indians to retail such rumors, in order to mark our countenance, the Count, without evincing any feeling, deferred sending out scouts until the twenty-fourth. Meanwhile other Indians, reporting that they had seen in Lake Saint Francis a hostile canoe which certainly was not far off, the Count hesitated no longer; he dispatched under the command of Sieur Dumui 7 @ eight hundred men to Isle Perrot, a convenient and very advantageous post, and issued orders that the remainder of the troops should be ready at the firing of the first gun to go and meet the enemy if they ventured down the river, at the same time that the corps which had set out and was instructed to let them pass, would attack them in the rear. Whilst Sieur Dumui is making every effort to discover the enemy, and is sending out French and Indian scouts in succession, and four times one after the other, so as to escape surprisal and to insure the success of his own plan for discovering the enemy, a canoe arrived here from Quebec, on the twenty-seventh which, far from giving us news of the French fleet, informs us that some Canadians who had arrived from Anticostie had seen two frigates of twenty-two and twenty-four guns, about Mingan, in the latter end of July, and a large English ship, a month before, in the same place.

It is almost impossible to avoid some hostile incursion during the harvest. On the twenty-ninth two Frenchmen were killed at La Prairie de la Madelaine and four carried off alive; and whilst this aggression was being committed, another party killed a man at Boucherville, and wounded two, carrying none off; finally, two days afterwards, which was the thirty-first, the Iroquois took off three of the bravest settlers from Cape Saint Michel.[1] These last mentioned blows were struck by some Mohawks and Oneidas, as we discovered by their tomahawks, which they left sticking in the ground, according to their custom.

Onanguissé the Poutesatami of whom we have spoken, had gone, with all the Indians belonging to the Bay *des puans*[2] to seek to signalize themselves in the party commanded by M^r^ Demuy; But seven or eight days had scarcely elapsed when becoming impatient because the enemy did not make his appearance, they were seen returning to Montreal, where the Count gave them their farewell audience and having by considerable presents replied to what they had said to him on their arrival, he dismissed them after having slightly reproved them for quitting the army without his orders. They left the Council extremely firm, and evinced a very strong determination to remain forever inviolably attached to Onontio's interests. But it will not be out of place to insert here the speeches at this Council which was attended by the Governor, Intendant M. de Callière and a few officers; the major part being at the time engaged looking up the enemy. On the third of September, then, Onontio spoke thus:

Onanguissé listen attentively to me.[3] [I am very glad to see you. I was under the impression that the Son whom I loved had fled from my presence for ever, and that far from following, he wished to oppose, his Father's will. This is what has been reported to me of you, and that you were doing all you could to prevent the accomplishment of my wishes. You could not help acknowledging it to me, but I will forget it, as you seem to me now to be better disposed and to have recollected that I had adopted you as my Son from your earliest

[1] A seigniory in the county of Verchères, on the South side of the St. Lawrence, about fifteen miles below Montreal.

[2] Green Bay, Wisconsin.

[3] These speeches, which are omitted in the Paris Manuscripts, are supplied from La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, IV., 58–68, and included within brackets. — Ed.

infancy. This obliges you, despite all the trouble you say you experience, to come and notify me that you see many of my Children rebelling against me and disobedient to my voice, but as for you, you offer yourself entirely to execute my will.

You are right in believing that one-half of my heart is yours, and this it is which gave me pain when I was told that Onanguissé was opposed to those who were carrying my message. It annoyed me very much, but I have not forgotten, on that account, that he was a Son whom I had adopted, and who would return perhaps to better sentiments when remembering that I had always been a good father to him.

You would have reason to be surprised if those of the *Sable*, the Kiskakons, Hurons and others of Michilimakina were unwilling to hear my voice any more; and could with justice say to them, that I have ever been their father; that I have made every effort at the cost of the blood of Frenchmen, to sustain them, and that if I have waged, and desire still to continue the war, rejecting all proposals of peace which the Enemy is thinking of so often making me, it is only out of consideration for them and their allies, whom the Iroquois would not include in the Peace they propose to me.

I now speak to you, and like a true Father express to you the sentiments I have always entertained, and wish to feel towards you, if you endeavor to deserve them. I have adopted you as my Son; I love you; I cannot have two hearts; when I have once given my friendship, I cannot take it back from him to whom I have given it, unless forced thereunto. I forgive all that you have done, if you will do well henceforward, and when you will come next year to inform me that you have succeeded, you will be content with the reception I shall give you. The officer in command at Michilimakina and Perrot will tell me whether you will have deceived me; and in return for whatever favorable reports of your conduct they will render me, you may expect every thing from me.

Nancouakouet has deceived me when he turned my arm on one side; I had told him in terms sufficiently plain, that my Tomahawk was to fall only on the Iroquois and his allies, and not on the Akançaas and others. It will not be difficult to persuade those of Michilimakina that I do not desire peace, since you have seen within a few days that the Iroquois has come to fight and has killed even some of my young men by surprise, under the conviction that I was unwilling any longer to listen to him or to receive him as my child, after having rejected all his proposals because he would not sincerely include you in them. You must all believe that despair makes him act so, seeing he has been unable to surprise me, and that I saw beforehand that the bait he was throwing to my Children, at which some of them did not fail to bite, was merely with a view to deceive them and to put them in the kettle.

Be of good heart: you have just committed another fault in so soon abandoning, without my orders, the French camp whither you yourselves offered to proceed; in going there you greatly pleased me, and your return has caused me great astonishment.

Communicate my intentions to the Sacs, the Outagamis and the other Nations of The Bay, in order that for the future they may more readily listen to what messages I shall send them. I would desire that your nation and all theirs which are at present dispersed in divers villages so distant the one from the other, may reassemble all in the same place, where they could form different villages if they please. This union would enable them better to resist their enemies, and put them in a position to execute with more facility and readiness the orders I should send them. And with this view it is that, after having made you personally this present, I make you this one also, to invite you and all your nation to do as I now suggest.

Kolouibi, I address you: I cannot doubt that you, Kolouibi, are my friend: You told me so last year, when you, in spite of the Saulteurs and Outaouaks, were desirous to march against the enemy; you informed me of it, having accompanied Mr de Mantet here; continue to do what I ask you, and rely on my support.

Perrot also told me all you have done up yonder to encourage the Fox; I am very thankful to you for it, but I see he is out of his head; he is your Relative; assure him that I have never abandoned him; my heart is strong, and I feel when an attempt is made to detach any of my Children from me.

Nancauakouet: You have done a noble deed; be always as courageous as you have been, and never strike a blow except when and where I shall tell you. Know, that the Siou having come to demand my protection, I have granted it to him, and that he is my Son. Who are those that would oppose my will? Your Nation hath many prisoners; be assured that having adopted them as my Children they are your brethren. Will you suffer your Brother to be a Slave among you? Clean your mat so that I may sit down on it in peace.

Kioulouskau: Perrot has informed me that your Nation was doing its duty. La Motte has sent me word from Michilimakinak, that your young men were on the war path, and I know that they were recalled thence last year. Entertain always the same thought, obey my will, and you will find a Father who loves his children when they deserve it.

Makkathemangoua, the Fox: I see that you are a young man: your Nation has quite turned away from my wishes; it has pillaged some of my young men whom it has treated as slaves. I know that your father Onkimaouassan, who loved the French, had no hand in the indignity to which they were subjected. You only imitate the example of your father who had sense, when you do not coöperate with those of your tribe who are wishing to go over to my enemies after they grossly insulted me, and defeated the Sioux whom I now consider my Son.

Tell your nation from me, that though it does not deserve it, I wish still to take it under my protection, in the hope that it will not cause me any further discontent, and that you will endeavor to restore it to its senses. I pity the Siou; I pity his dead whose loss I deplore. Perrot goes up there, he will speak to your Nation from me for the release of their prisoners. Let them attend to him.

I should have wished to see the Porc-Epi Capeoma and other Chiefs to whom I would have restored their senses which they lost when they thought of going over to the Iroquois, who seeks only to deceive and whom I cannot trust; I who have more sense than they, and whom they fear.

Eh! what? Will Egomineré and all the rest, who seem disposed to go over to the enemy, behold with indifference the Miami devoured by the Iroquois! When he will have no more meat do you imagine that he will not eat you. He wishes to exist alone.

As for you Nanangoussista and Macitonga, Miamis of Maramek, you are the Chiefs of that great village, and I believe that you have visited me only with the consent of all the other Chiefs there. I will believe, as you say, that you have no other will than mine. Perrot told you that you must remove your fire from Maramek, and unite with the rest of the Miamis in a place where you could oppose the enemy and make war on him; I can think only of the repose of my Children; I can effect that only by the destruction of the Iroquois, and to accomplish

that, my Children must live together so as to be able to execute with greater facility, the commands I shall transmit to them. You told Perrot, a year ago, that you would come down to hear me. You sent me such a message by your belt and by your coat that Perimond brought me. I sent you an answer by him, but he did not deliver it. You tell me now, by that which you present me, that you have no other mind or heart than mine. I am going to explain my will to you. Obey it.

Children. I declare to you that I will not believe that the Miamis wish to obey me until they make, altogether, one and the same fire, either at the river Saint Joseph, or some other place adjoining it. I have got nigh the Iroquois and have soldiers at Katarakoui, in the fort that had been abandoned. You, too, must get nigh the enemy in order to imitate me and to be able to strike him the more readily.

All my children tell me that the Miamis are numerous, and able of themselves to destroy the Iroquois. Like them all are afraid. What! do you wish to abandon your country to your enemy? Will he not find you out, in what corner soever you may hide yourselves? Should you not contest the entrance with him? Do you doubt my support since the commencement of the war? He made his appearance only once at Chichikatia, and that was at a time when they were pretending to be negotiating a Peace with me; but now when all my arms are turned against him, can you doubt of my depriving him of the means of insulting you, and of my facilitating your designs against him. Have you forgotten that I wage war against him principally on your account alone? Your dead are no longer visible in his country; their bodies are covered by those of the French who have perished to avenge them. I furnish you the means to avenge them likewise; I assist you as far as is in my power; it depends only on me to receive him as a friend, I will not do it on account of you who would be destroyed were I to make peace with him without including you therein.

Perrot is going up with you to conduct you to the place where I desire you to follow him. Do as he desires you, and in obeying me you will find a father who will, if necessary, sacrifice all his young men to secure your repose.

Regard not what Chichikatia might have told you of Perrot: He is not a Slave, he it is whom I have sent with my message to you; I respect you too highly to place you under the superintendence of a slave; It is I who wage war and not he.

When you killed the *Loup* and the English you obeyed me, and if Chichikatia released them when made prisoners by you, he disobeyed me. I shall believe what you tell me if you remove your fire in order to replace that which Chichikatia has abandoned. I send Perrot to explain my intentions to all your old men, and if you do not believe what he will tell you, he has my commands to leave you, and I will abandon you myself without thinking any more of protecting you and without wishing to meddle with your affairs and your land. I want my Children to respond to the protection I give them; they see my young men dying daily, without any reproach on my part that they die for them.

As for the rest, I am well pleased, Onanguicé and your other Chiefs, to give you notice in the first instance, before you leave me, that the Commandant of Michilimakinak is my sole representative throughout all your country, and that he will explain my thoughts and intentions to you; the other French officers among you, such as Courtemanche, Mantet, d'Argenteuil, de l'Isle, Vincennes, La Découverte, and Perrot, are entirely subject to him.

Listen then to his voice only, as he alone can truly explain my words to you, and you cannot fail to follow it without at the same time disobeying me. But as he cannot be every

where, he is obliged of necessity to employ the officers whom I have just named to be his Messengers, and to acquaint you with his intentions which can be no other than mine, and which none of these officers nor any other of the Frenchmen among you, can either add to, or take from, without failing in their duty. Should any of them tell you any thing that may cause you pain, or of which you might entertain some doubt, seek for explanations respecting it only from him, and do not heed any thing others may say to you, for he is the only person, as I have already informed you, that can remove all your suspicions and doubts, in whom you must place the same reliance as if your Father, himself, was addressing you.]

Onanguicé and you, other Chiefs, remember well this my last advice, and follow it exactly, if you wish that your Father regard and treat you as obedient children.

The departure of these Indians was delayed for some days after their dismissal, in order to communicate to them their share of some good news we received. Two scalps were brought in, Bamboura who had taken them, gave assurances that those who were expected to arrive in a few days, would bring four more; For in the attack they had conjointly made, six had been taken which they divided, and then separated in order to retreat with greater security. On the seventh of September, one of our Indians, named Kinrache, brought in two scalps of *Loups* and three Squaws and three children belonging to the same tribe, and in the evening of the same day, when Onanguissé and the Indians of the Bay were beginning to file off in order to await Sieur Nicolas Perrot[1] within three leagues of Montreal, where he proposed joining them on the next day with ten or twelve Frenchmen for the purpose of accompanying them as far as their Country, the arrival of ninety French and Indian Canoes from the Otaouais, under the command of Sieur Demanthet, agreeably surprised us, for we did not expect them at soonest until eight or ten days later.

The Bay tribes had no sooner retired from the Council chamber than here were more Indians to take their place. The Count received their compliments on the tenth of September to which he returned an answer four days afterwards, in the presence of the Intendant and of M[r] de Callière, in the following words:—

Otontagon. Thy father [has been always faithful to my voice, and up to the time of his death had kept his young men in the obedience they owed Onontio their father. It is for you who now occupy his place, to imitate him, and you could not do it better than to prosecute

[1] Nicolas Perrot was, says Charlevoix, a man of talent, of some education, and belonged to a respectable family. Necessity compelled him at an early period, to repair to the Indian country where he soon became familiar with the Algonquin languages. On returning to Quebec in 1665, with a party of Ottawas, he was selected by M. Talon to accompany Sieur de St. Lusson to the falls of St. Mary as Interpreter, and to collect the tribes dwelling around the Upper Lakes so that they may submit to the French crown. In 1684, he was employed by M. de la Barre in bringing the Western tribes to his assistance against the Iroquois, and in 1687, did the like service for M. de Denonville. He was sent by M. de Frontenac to Michilimakinac in 1690, and induced several hundred of the Indians thereabout to come down and trade. He continued employed for successive years as Indian agent and, in 1697, was on the point of being burnt by the Miamis, and saved only by the Outagamis, by whom he was much beloved. At the peace of 1701, he acted as Interpreter to the Western tribes with whom he afterwards returned to Lake Superior, and was subsequently employed during the administration of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to whom he addressed a Memoir respecting French interests in the Western country. He complained, however, that his recommendations were traversed by interested parties. To this enterprising Trader who had a fort on Lake Pepin, is the world indebted for the discovery of the celebrated Lead Mines, on the river Des Moines in Iowa, which at one time bore his name. He had traveled over the most of New France, and was intimately conversant with the character of the Indians concerning whom he has left a very interesting Manuscript entitled *Mœurs, Coûtumes et Relligion des Sauvages, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, from which M. de la Potherie borrowed largely to fill up the 1st and 2d Volumes of his *Histoire de l'Amerique*. Charlevoix from whose History many of the above particulars are copied, acknowledges his indebtedness also, to M. Perrot's Memoirs. — Ed.

the war vigorously against the Iroquois, and to live in great distrust of the Huron who wishes to drag you down in his ruin along with him. I take it kindly of you that you came down expressly (as you assure me) for the purpose of informing me of the peace the Huron is wishing to make with the Iroquois, and of the Belts he is sending him, in which it is reported you have had a share. But 'tis right that you know that this news doth in no manner surprise me, as I am assured that the Huron would have carried his carcass long ago over to the Iroquois, had he not been afraid of the Kiskakons, the Outaouak Cinago, the Nancokoueten, and of you, Outaouak of the *Sable*.

Otontagan My Son. Perhaps you have been led away by surprise into this bad road, because you are yet young. But Okantican and Ouemakacoyeg through whose mouth you speak are thoroughly informed of it. I wish however, to forget it in the hope that you will listen more attentively in future to your father's voice.

Okantican. I regret the death of your brother-in-law Nancouakouet. He strayed somewhat from his duty in directing his Tomahawk towards the Akançaş, but he has never had an English or an Iroquois heart like the Huron. It appears by the young prisoner he sent me, and whom I shall keep as a remembrance of him, that in dying he regretted having disobeyed me. You will announce to all the Upper Nations that I will avenge his death when we shall reduce the Iroquois. Operations against the Akançaş must be suspended and your young men sent into the field immediately, and before Spring. They will find a retreat at Fort Frontenac, which I have had repaired expressly to receive them on their way to and from Onnontagué.

Here is a blanket and gun to wrap up the bones of my Son Nancouakouet which it will be necessary to allow a short time to rest in peace, and think, meanwhile to wash away his blood in that of the Iroquois. This is what I exhort you to do by this Belt. And I give you this other one to place it on the bow of your canoe to close the road, and prevent you going to revenge La Fourche on the Akançaş. Direct your vengeance solely against the Iroquois, as I have already said, and when you will be at Michilimakinak fail not, Okantikon, to request the Commander to assemble all the Nations, and to present them in full Council with these Belts which I commit to your care, and to publicly deliver the Message I intrust to you, and of which I send him a copy in order that no person be ignorant of my intentions. Here is a jacket I give you Otonthagan and Okantikan, in order that you second my message, and I add this powder and these balls for you and your people.

Miamis. For you Chichikatia, I told you already what I have said to the Chiefs of Maramek who accompanied Perrot, in order to induce them to quit their Villages to settle near yours. They have promised me to remove their entire tribe there, and I have given them presents inviting them to do so, after I had enjoined Perrot not to omit any thing to effect that object. I hope they will keep their word with me, and that we shall see the effect of it before the end of Winter. And if I learn from yourselves or from any other source, that Perrot has not used his utmost efforts to compass this union, be assured I shall punish him severely for it.

You have always been so well intentioned towards the French, and so obedient to your Father's voice, that I doubt not but you will contribute on your part to facilitate the execution of this affair, by leveling all the difficulties that may be encountered, and breaking all the clumps of earth that may render the road rugged.

For the purpose of inviting you still to persevere in the friendly sentiments you entertain towards your father and his Nephews, I give you and your brother chief of Chicagou these two jackets, these two carbines, this powder and this lead.

Assure all the Upper Nations that I am about to continue unceasingly the war against the Iroquois and by imitating also my example yourself, induce them likewise to follow it.[1]]

They left on the next day, the sixteenth, and must assuredly have had their minds filled with the idea of our movements and continual action against the Iroquois, and reciprocally of that of the latter against us, so that they cannot entertain the slightest supposition that we dream of making peace.

They witnessed the return of our party which brought in on the eleventh, a little *Loup* girl about nine or ten years of age, that had been captured within, at most, half a league of Orange; they heard this same party assert that it had seen fifty Iroquois on Lake Champlain, coming to attack us or our Indians, for the Count had dispatched Sieur de Ladurantaye with two hundred men to intercept them.

They also witnessed the return of a party of our people of the Sault which had been so unfortunate as not only to do nothing, but to have lost two of its men who had been taken by the treachery of a false brother.

Finally, on the eve of their departure they saw the return of a Sault Indian who having gone [with seven others[2]] to Onontaghé and captured two men and a woman. They were so hotly pursued by the enemy that to get rid of them they were obliged to crack the skulls of their prisoners so as to save themselves as speedily as possible. This solitary Indian only reached the French settlements, after great difficulty, without knowing whether his comrades had been taken or killed, or whether they could have the good fortune to extricate themselves as well as he.

These 8tagais ought to be convinced of our earnestness in carrying on hostilities, and that there had never been the slighest appearance of a cessation of hostilities except among themselves since the war commenced. On leaving Montreal on his return, the Count dispatched a Frenchman with them, to carry his orders to Sieur Delamotte.

Whilst they are on the way, the wind aft, and the North-easter several hours in their favor, news arrived that Sieur de Ladurantaye had attacked the enemy. Let us inquire the particulars:

On receiving certain intelligence that the enemy had made his appearance on Lake Champlain in such numbers as to show that he intended to strike a blow in Boucherville, and adjacent places, the Count, who is fully aware of the importance of not losing a single moment in such a crisis, commanded Sieur de Ladurantaye to proceed with some Canadian Voyageurs, picked Soldiers and ten or twelve Indians to intercept the Barbarians. This officer having embarked with his party, resolved on going down the Main river,[3] as far as Sorel, and then to ascend that of Chambly fifteen leagues, to within sight of the fort, with all the precaution that can be made use of by an extremely prudent captain who endeavors to surprise without being surprised. He was aware, by the quite recent trail of the Iroquois which his scouts had discovered and he had been to examine, that the enemy was not far off, and remarking that the eyes of his people glistened with a fire that promised victory, he knew how to take such advantage of it, that, despite the impassable roads of the horridest country that ever was seen, and despite the rain and bad weather, he overtook the Iroquois on the next day, the sixteenth, as they lay in ambush on the edge of the wood, at the end of

[1] The part included within brackets not being in the French Text, is supplied from *De la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amerique*, IV., 69–72. — Ed.

[2] *De la Potherie*, IV., 73.

[3] The Saint Lawrence.

the fields of the Boucherville prairie *(désert.)* The enemy, according to what we have since learned, was in considerable force. Our Frenchmen, whose natural impetuosity does not permit them to wait long when fighting is in question, hardly discovered the Savages when they charged them so impetuously and so promptly that to attack and put them to flight was one and the same thing. Many of the Iroquois remained on the field; several were wounded and our Indians not affording themselves time to remove the scalps, contented themselves with taking merely the heads of five, and carrying them during the thickest of the fight; whilst many who were wounded fled, and all those who were not wounded had all the benefit of their light heels, having thrown aside both arms and clothes so as to be able to run the swifter. One of their scouts, who had crawled on his belly pretty close to the pallisades of the village, expected to find an asylum among the French, meditating doubtless a return to his country on the first favorable opportunity. But the result will show that he did not adopt prudent measures. The fight being over and two-thirds of the enemy either killed or wounded, Sieur de Ladurantaye returned the same day to Montreal, with all his people safe and sound except two Frenchmen who were killed in the field. He caused their bodies to be brought back in order that such brave warriors should not be deprived of an honorable burial which they had purchased with their blood and their lives. It was just to confide to their shade the spy who surrendered himself as our prisoner in the sole thought of betraying us. But as too much carefulness sometimes prevents the effect proposed, the precaution the soldiers took to cut his hamstrings, so as to prevent his escape, deprived our Stasais of the diversion they anticipated. The latter who had started, as I said, on their return home, having halted at la Chine, were invited by an express from the Count to come and roast an Iroquois and drink his broth. The most inveterate sycophant never repaired with greater zest to a delicious repast than did these Anthropophagi, our allies, to the Governor's first invitation. The darkness of the night was no impediment to them; they set out; arrive; make the prisoner sing according to their custom until day-break, and anticipate vast diversion at his expense, when burning him at a slow fire. But the latter who was losing all his blood by the wound of his severed hamstrings, lay on the bed of death at the moment the sun was about to rise to commence a day which was, seemingly to him, to be the most sorrowful of his whole life. It was a signal piece of good fortune for him to die so seasonably and to avoid the torments infuriated Savages would have obliged him to endure. The Stasais dragged the dead body without the pallisades *(a la voirie)* and having cut off the head for a feast, resumed the road to la Chine for the purpose of returning home to announce to all our allies that we are not so inactive as they had imagined.

It is to be observed that the Count had dispatched some of the Sault Indians in pursuit of those who had fled homewards, in order to attack them at a moment when their rout and fright would probably render their destruction assured. This design was partially successful; our allies were seen returning on the twenty-fourth, with two Iroquois scalps and two prisoners, one of whom was severely wounded. It is true that they presented them to those of their own Tribe and of the Mountain, to replace their dead, and that they paid their respects to the Count only with the scalps, without the prisoners, not anticipating the censure he was reserving for them; but they were made sensible of their fault, and the Count, in an eloquent discourse mingled with mildness and hauteur, persuaded them so conclusively that they swore by every thing the most sacred, that they would bring all the prisoners in future to submit them to his disposition. The two prisoners were brought and offered to the Governor who,

pretending to be inflexible, postponed until the next day, the determination with his Council of the matter; and the officers attending in great numbers, the result was that the Count, by a very gracious kindness, in which policy and prudence largely participated, granted the prisoners their lives, and gained as much love by his clemency, as he acquired authority by his menaces.

We received no intelligence of the vessels from France, and our uneasiness appeared to be increased by the report brought by Captain de Vilieu and Lieutenant Montigny recently arrived from Acadia, that the English had captured a Bark and a boat belonging to Sieur Riverin, on the way from Mount Louis to Quebec. Three young men, one of whom was his brother, had made their escape in a bateau and reached an island; but the enemy having pursued them and seized their craft, placed them under the painful necessity of constructing a raft to reach the main land. They were shipwrecked. Young Riverin and a lad of sixteen years old lost their lives, and the third, having fortunately escaped, brought the news of the disaster.

The frigate and brigantine which were cruising at the mouth of the river, led us, with sufficient reason, to apprehend that some stray and solitary vessel belonging to our fleet would unfortunately fall into the hands of these pirates, and the intelligence we received that an English brigantine had come to make an exchange of prisoners, in no wise encouraged us. It was very true that M^{r} Cary, the gentleman sent by the Lieutenant Governor of Boston to conclude this exchange, having left his ship at Tadoussac, was then at Quebec waiting for the Count who was unwilling that he should go up as far as Montreal. But this Englishman was neither security nor bail for our vessels from France.

Meanwhile, as the season was advancing, the Count after having given the Governor at Montreal all the necessary orders, came down to Quebec, with the Intendant, anticipating his departure some days through a presentiment that on approaching that town, the ships would approach it also. But his just impatience soon ceased, for scarcely had they got down thirty leagues when a canoe sent from Quebec by the King's lieutenant having fallen in with them at Three Rivers, communicated to him the joyful news of the arrival of the fleet, composed of eight ships under the command of Chevalier Des Ursins. It was on the last of September and the following day that our port received with inexpressible joy succor so considerable and so long expected. What pleasure, what joy, what consolation for people in want of every thing! The latest advices from the river S^{t} John informed us that Sieur Bonnaventure had encountered at the mouth of that river, subsequent to his departure from Pintagoet, an English frigate which was disposed to contest the passage, and with which he fought a considerable time with tolerable success. His advantage, however, had been greater, had not the whole of his rigging *(manœuvres)* been carried away in the encounter and his two larger masts injured by cannon shot; this, however, did not prevent him getting off and reaching the lower part of the river to take on board the provisions destined for fort Natchouat.[1] He afterwards set out to execute the other orders he had received from the Court.

We have very recent intelligence from Acadia assuring us that the Indians belonging to the Missions of Father Bigot and M. de Tury[2] have attacked some English settlements

[1] Opposite Frederickton, N. B. See note, 1 *supra*, p. 548. — Ed.

[2] Rev. Louis Pierre Thury was born at Bayeux in France, and admitted to Holy orders on 21st December 1677, at Quebec, in the Seminary of which city he remained until 1682 when he was appointed to the parish of Charlesbourg, in that vicinity, where he remained until July 1683. The Gentlemen of the Seminary having been long desirous to establish some Missions

killing fourteen or fifteen men, and that they since struck a second blow in no wise inferior to the first; for being in ambush on an island, they surprised an enemy's vessel in which they killed or wounded twenty-five Englishmen. Mr Cary, having spent nearly a month at Quebec, departed, finally, on the 15th of October to go on board his brigantine, which he had left at Tadoussac. He carried away with him a larger number of prisoners than he had surrendered to us, and the Governor wished to act thus in order that things should be conducted in future with that mildness and humanity that should always distinguish civilized, from barbarous, nations. This gentleman, who had come on the Count's passport for the purpose of concluding this exchange, proposed a fixed one for the future; but as he derived his commission only from the Lieutenant Governor of Boston, and as he had none from the Governors of Menade and Orange, the matter was posponed until the next year, when, possibly, he will be provided with fuller powers.

The apprehension already entertained that the Hurons of Michilimakina had some bad intentions, notwithstanding all their demonstrations here to the contrary, was not without foundation, for Sieur De la Mothe, the commandant of that post, sent in all haste to advise the Count that they had transmitted several belts, by some of their people, to sue for peace, and that three Iroquois delegates had come to Michilimakinac with a like number of belts, in answer thereunto, inviting them to conclude peace and to engage Onontio to be a party to it; that he had done all in his power to prevent the acceptance of those Belts, but that his efforts had been useless, and that notwithstanding all the remonstrances he could adduce, he was unable to make any impression either on their minds or on the other Tribes who, though they do not appear so disposed to peace as the Hurons, do not fail to have some leaning for it, in the hope of English trade, and of obtaining goods at a cheaper rate; and finally, that all he was able to effect was, to induce them to postpone the last resolution, and to send some delegates with a belt to Onontio to learn his pleasure, and whether he was inclined for war or peace. As it would not be honorable in Onontio to listen to proposals of peace coming in that manner, he rejected their belt, and gave them, for answer, that his ears were stopped on that subject, and that he should not cease hostilities against the Iroquois until he had utterly reduced them, or until they should come to him, as they had already done, to sue for terms, and submit to the conditions he had imposed on them; and after having reproached these deputies as their conduct deserved, mingling his censures, however, with expressions of compassion which he felt at seeing Children whom he always loved and who understood their interests so well, so seriously blinded, he declared to them, that he was resolutely bent on war, and felt himself strong enough to carry it on without them; that he should, nevertheless, have been well pleased to have them united with him in order to avenge so large a number of their Nephews who had been massacred and burnt by the Iroquois, and that all proceeded [from the desire of the Iroquois to surprise and betray them at the earliest opportunity; that the example of the

among the Indians, Bishop de Laval sent Mr. Thury to Acadia in 1684 for that purpose. He visited Port Royal and on his return the following year, it was concluded to send him back immediately and vest in him the superintendence of the design with the title of Vicar General. He proceeded accordingly and established a mission at the River *de la Croix*, now the Miramichi, in New Brunswick. *St. Valière. Etat present* 30, 46, 85, 86, 103, 108. Being at Port Royal in 1690 when it was invested by the English, he fortunately made his escape and proceeded to Panawamské or Indian Old Town, on the Penobscot river, where he continued to labor during the remainder of his life and where he died on the 3d of June 1699. *Taschereau. MS.* Williamson's *History of Maine*, I., 473, gives some interesting particulars respecting this ancient Mission; but the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, I., 330, are incorrect in stating that Mr. Thury was a Jesuit. He was a Secular priest and belonged to the Seminary of Quebec. — Ed.

death] of Kouskouche and his comrades at the time of the embassy, and within sight of the deputies they had sent to sue for this peace [ought to cure them of their blindness;[1]] but that if they were insensible to that affront and that new treachery, he should leave them at liberty to do what they pleased; that he asked nothing else of them than to remember the warning he was giving them, that all the overtures of the Iroquois were intended only that they may the better surprise them, and commit, as usual, a greater treachery on them.

This firmness astounded the Huron without forcing him, however, to break silence, or furnish more full explanations than he had done, restricting himself always to saying that he was not empowered to do any thing except to hear Onontio's word and to report it to his Nation in order that they may deliberate on it.

Not so with the Kiskakons; for they declared they had no part in what the Huron was doing; that they said so to the Huron's face and avowed that their Tribe would always follow Onontio's voice whether he wished for peace or war.

The Outasais Sinago said as much, and the Nepissirien added that as far as he was concerned, he was not desirous to return home, but to remain near Onontio in order to participate in the expeditions he was about to undertake. This disconcerted somewhat the Huron emissary, who though very artful and false, could not but be surprised at perceiving that others were not of his mind, so that it may yet be expected that, on their return home, things will change and not go on so badly as was at first apprehended. The good treatment which the Count directed should be extended to them during their sojourn here, and the few presents made them, will, possibly, contribute greatly to this. The result must be awaited patiently and we must be persuaded that M^r^ de La Mothe will act with address so as to arrange all his matters, for no one's conduct can be more just, nor more prudent. However, not only the letters but the reports of every one that returns from that quarter, conclusively establish this fact, that the two principal causes of the estrangement of those tribes from us proceed, first, from the difficulty the French oppose to taking their large beaver at its weight; the refusal to receive it at the King's stores and all the other chicaneries daily added thereunto; secondly, from the tintamara the Missionaries are continually making against the trade in Ardent Spirits although Sieur De la Mothe introduces all imaginable order so as to prevent, in conformity with the Count's express commands, all irregularities and scandals.

They could say with truth that the English will gladly receive their large beaver and furnish them goods at a lower rate than the French, who are obliged on that account to increase the price thereof; and they claim that, not being Slaves, they are at liberty to drink whenever they please, and that the English will not refuse them liquor.

This first article, if not remedied, is capable of ruining the entire trade. The importance of the second has so long since been explained, that it is unnecessary to detail the reasons in favor of it in this place.

[1] The text is obscure owing to the omission of some words. The passages within brackets are added after a comparison with La Potherie, IV., 80, who relates the transaction also. — Ed.

Abstract of the Despatches from Canada. 1695.

Canada.

Memoir submitted to My Lord of the contents of the Canada despatches of 1695; of the requisitions for the support of the War, and of the disbursements to be made &c. in the present state of affairs in that country in regard to the Iroquois, the Upper Nations and the English.

The perpetual deputations of the Iroquois to M^r^ de Frontenac on the subject of peace which he believed they sincerely desired, kept every thing between the French and them somewhat in suspense and left him in a state of incertitude until the month of October 1694. These negotiations have been continued until the commencement of April 1695, by a final embassy from the Iroquois who, a few days afterwards, recommenced with more cruelty than ever.

These divers parties who came against the Colony have killed a number of persons, and inhumanly massacred and burnt those of whatever age or sex that fell into their hands.

The Iroquois under the direction of the English of New-York, and under favor of those negotiations, which had been preceded by some damages they had received from the war the French had been waging against them, had hunted and raised some provisions wherewith to procure ammunitions and arms; and unknown to and without the participation of the French, were at the same time taking advantage among the Upper Nations, our allies, of the prospect of the peace which was negotiating between the Iroquois and Count de Fontenac. The effect of this was, that the Nations tired of carrying on the war alone, whilst they beheld the French treating of peace with the Iroquois, were apprehensive that it would be concluded and that they would eventually, be left to carry on hostilities alone. Previous to the departure of the vessels, just returned from Quebec, M^r^ de la Mothe Cadillac, the Commandant at Michilimakinac had sent an express to give notice that the Hurons were in treaty with the Iroquois; that the Outtawas were shaken for the same reason; that two other Nations called the Foxes and Mascoutens, mustering 1200 warriors that had never opposed the French, were, also, designing to join the Iroquois, and to go and settle near them to protect themselves from the Sioux, (another Nation, at a greater distance from the French trade,) who had declared, and made war on them last year, so that no hope could remain of averting this storm from the union of all those Nations of the Continent except by some considerable enterprise against the Iroquois in order to retain the Upper Indians, whose obedience can be expected to be preserved only so long as the French will be the strongest, and those Indians will continue under the impression that we can prevent their destruction by the Iroquois. Wherefore, all efforts must be directed to this point, and to the retrenching as much as possible the expense in the Upper Country, in order to diminish, at the same time, the beaver trade of the French among the more distant nations among whom they have spread themselves.

M^r^ de Frontenac appears disposed to wage a vigorous war against them, but he deemed it expedient to wait the previous reëstablishment of Cataracouy, wherein he has employed last summer a detachment of 700 men, who returned to Montreal on the 14^th^ of August, after its restoration and after leaving 48 soldiers there. This has cost 12000^ll^.

M. de Champigny writes, that the reëstablishment of that post was contrary to his opinion; he says, 'tis in opposition to that of the entire Colony, and that the detachment being only

one day's journey from Montreal on the arrival there of the despatches transmitted by *l'Envieux*, forbidding M^r^ de Frontenac to organize this expedition, he had solicited its recall in vain.

The joint letter of Mess^rs^ de Frontenac and de Champigny mentions the difference of their opinions in that regard.

M. de Frontenac regarded the restoration of this Fort as a means to facilitate his expeditions against the Iroquois, and to aid and communicate with the Indian allies.

In the existing condition of affairs in Canada, it appears expedient to send thither reinforcements with the greatest promptitude possible, so that they may arrive in time to profit by the favorable season.

Extraordinary expenses attendant on sending a reinforcement of not less than 600 men to be incorporated into the 28 companies, with their subsistence.

For the Extraordinaries of war including 12.000 for revictualling Fort Frontenac,		96.525
For Indian Presents,		20.000
For payment of the crew of the ship *la Bouffonne*, for 12 months commencing last September,	13,269.12.4.	
For 36.175 rations for the said year @ 125 per day,	21,465	
For caulking during winter in order to have this vessel ready for Spring,	10.000	
		44.754.12.4

There is an estimate of what is required for the furniture and rigging of *La Bouffonne* to be sent in 1696.

M^r^ de Champigny has authorized the drawing of the bills of exchange for 200,000 on account of the funds of 1696, for building the Castle of Quebec, exclusive of the fortifications.

He has sent the Estimate of the provisions, effects, and merchandises to be sent on account of the funds, for which immediate provision must be made.

A statement of munitions of War.

Other demands.

Abstract of Despatches from Canada with Notes of the Minister thereon.

25 February 1696.

The Negotiations of peace from the Iroquois to Count de Frontenac continued until the beginning of April of last year, after which these savages recommenced hostilities with more cruelty than ever; so that they inhumanly killed and roasted persons of all ages and sexes that fell into their hands.

That Nation, which had suffered great injury from the war the French had waged against it previous to these negotiations, was in want of every thing, and the result showed that it proposed terms only to obtain time to provide supplies. It pushed its cunning further; it took advantage of the honorable attention paid to its propositions, to create among our Indian

allies the apprehension that it would attack them after it should have concluded its arrangements with us; so that the Hurons who had been faithful to us up to the present time, have treated with them, and the Outaouas, Foxes, and the Mascoutens have commenced negotiations.

These circumstances require the vigorous recommencement of hostilities against the Iroquois, this being the only means left to retain the Indian allies, and to procure the return of those who have strayed from their obedience.

It is necessary that his Majesty make known immediately his decision on these 2 demands in consequence of the measures to be adopted for levying men, and for the investment of the sums demanded in articles useful to the Colony.

For this purpose Messrs de Frontenac and de Champigny demand 600 soldiers to be embodied into the 28 companies; they demand, also, 115m for the expenses of the war and for presents for the Indian allies, instead of 100m granted them hitherto.

M. de Frontenac has, according to his letter, and in order to carry on operations successfully against the Iroquois, considered it necessary to repair fort Cataracouy otherwise called Frontenac, which is 100 leagues above Montreal, pretending that it will serve as a place of meeting and a retreat for the Upper Indians; and there has been incurred on that account an expense of 16580ll exclusive of the employment there of 700 men during the entire of last season.

It is difficult to determine whether the construction of this post has been necessary or not, but it appears dangerous to pull it down at present in consequence of the bad opinion it would give the Indians of us.

Monsr de Champigny writes in the joint letter, that he is wholly averse to this establishment which will expose his Majesty to immense expense, without that advantage M. de Frontenac anticipates being derived from it. The required increased expenditure arises from the reëstablishment of that fort.

What M. de Champigny did on this occasion is not only conformable to the usual custom, but it has even been heretofore authorized by his Majesty in order to dispense with transporting specie to that country.

Sieur de Champigny has authorized the Treasurer's clerk to borrow 200m ll from the merchants of Quebec in order to pay the troops during the year 1696, whilst awaiting the arrival of the ships.

The correspondents of these Merchants request that M. De la Rayoye be ordered to accept and pay those Bills of Exchange, so as to be able to prepare the cargoes they are to send to that country and be ready for the end of April according to the orders they have received, and that there be no more complaints of their having spoken too late.

Acadia.

This Colony, which has been laid waste by the English, and of which we have recovered possession, is of very great importance on account of the fisheries that can be established there; the convenience of its ports, and the vicinity of the English, who are furnished with considerable occupation by the Indians whose friendship we have found means to secure. In consequence of this diversion, the English are less able to injure the Colony of Canada.

These Indians demanded last year the destruction of a fort which the English possess at the mouth of the river of Pinkuit. The lateness of the season prevented a compliance with the request at that time. The ships which must necessarily be sent to that Colony, and which will afterwards proceed on the expedition against Newfoundland, will be able to prosecute this enterprise, 2400ll worth of provisions will be required for 300 Indians who will be employed therein, and some ammunition, the memorandum of which is annexed. The English having destroyed the fort the King had in the Baye Francaise[1] of Acadia when possession was resumed thereof, it has been found necessary to establish a post up the river

[1] Bay of Fundy.—Ed.

S[t] John which falls into that bay; and this establishment has succeeded so well that all the settlers who had sworn allegiance to the English have returned to their duty.

It was proposed last year to abandon this post and to occupy a fort which formerly existed at the mouth of that river. The principal reason for the change is, to secure a retreat for the privateers of Quebec and Newfoundland who by this means may damage the large trade the English carry on in New England. A sum of 3000[ll] is required for that purpose, with some munitions, the estimate of which is annexed; also 60 Soldiers to make up, with the 40 actually there, the number of 100, to be divided into 2 Companies. Sieur de Villebon, commanding in that country, has caused to be prepared stockades and all the materials necessary to render that fort tenable.

They can be deducted from the number of those to be sent to Canada, if the King grant the request.

Sieur de Villebon has written that the fishermen of New England have proposed to him to pay 10 pistoles for each of their vessels that he would permit to fish on the banks of Acadia during one summer. He observes that he would be of opinion, for divers reasons, to accept that proposal, more especially in order that it be used as a title against the English who pretend to have conquered that Colony by mastering and destroying the King's fort.

Should it be accepted, the proceeds could be employed in the augmentation of the Colony.

Sieur Baptist, a privateer of Acadia, who formerly inflicted a great deal of injury on the English, requests a passage in the King's ship for himself, his wife, his daughter and two servants. Sieur Deschau an Acadian gentleman, requests the same favor for himself and 2 servants.

Two Recollect Friars instruct the Indians in the truths of Religion, and acquit themselves very well of their duty. It is proposed to grant them both 300[ll] as an aid towards their support.

Louis XIV. to Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny.

Memoir of the King for Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny.

His Majesty having been informed by Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny's despatches of the xi. and xvii August and 4 and 10. November last, of the rupture of the Negotiations on the subject of a peace proposed to them by the Iroquois during the last two years, and of the irruption which, they report, these barbarians have made into the Colony with greater cruelty than had ever before been exercised towards the inhabitants; it has appeared to his Majesty that they did, in fact, feign a desire for peace only with the design to prepare means to attack the Colony more easily during the suspension of the French expeditions. This suspension they obtained by favor of their frequent deputations, in order to gain time to collect, by unrestricted hunting, provisions and means wherewith to obtain ammunition and arms; finally, to intrigue among the Outawas and other Nations with a view to induce them, by jealousy of those negotiations and the suspension of active hostilities, to league themselves with them, as it appears they have done, according to the representations of Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny, based on advices from Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, commandant at Missilimakinak, and the declaration of Deputies from those Indians who were at Quebec when the vessels sailed.

As the defection of the Indian allies, which apparently will materially change the disposition of affairs in Canada, might also modify the projects reported to his Majesty by said Sieur de Frontenac previous to being advised thereof, His Majesty does not, in this incertitude, feel himself qualified to do any thing more in this regard than to communicate to them his reflections and the consequences drawn from the Narrative of what has occurred not only among the Iroquois, but even among the Indian allies, and to make on this occasion another considerable effort to succor the Colony.

It appears to his Majesty that the war with the Iroquois, has arisen especially of late times from no other cause than their jealousy of the trade with the Upper Nations, in order to monopolize that between New York and these nations to themselves, through the advantageous position possessed by the Iroquois establishments which bar the communication of the English with those nations and of the latter with New York. Further, it results from the Narratives of Sieurs de Frontenac and de Champigny that the estrangement of the Outawas and others proceeds from the fact that the French, by ranging the interior of the country, have usurped the trade these nations carried on with the Upper Tribes, and that some of the latter are, on the same account, waging war against the Allies, or obliged to rally themselves to the Iroquois; and that, finally, the ranging the woods, more unrestricted last year than it ever was before—notwithstanding his Majesty's orders and the reduction of the licenses to the number of 25—is the source of all the disorders of the Colony, and has given rise to establishments which by dividing, weaken its strength in such distant regions, and upset the views his Majesty has entertained and which alone ought to prevail—to concentrate it and employ the settlers in the cultivation of the soil, in the fisheries and other pursuits he has always recommended and which they can derive from the nature of the country and their own application and industry.

The difficulty of communication with the Upper Nations, and even its impossibility by reason of their union with the Iroquois, suggest to his Majesty that Sieur de Frontenac might not be able to keep up that communication unless at such excessive expense as would deprive him of the means of waging a more vigorous war against the Iroquois, in order to destroy them or at least force them to sue sincerely for peace.

After an examination of what has been submitted respecting the proposed invasion of the villages of the Iroquois, or the confinement of operations to the harrassing them by frequent expeditions, his Majesty is pleased to leave it to Sieur de Frontenac's capacity and experience, to execute, in whole or in part, what he will judge most adapted for his Majesty's service and the advantage of the Colony, after having weighed the opinions which may be given him by Sieur de Champigny and the principal Officers, persuaded as His Majesty is, that M. de Frontenac will always adopt the most prudent course.

In addition to a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers including the 60 for Acadia, of which they have been notified, His Majesty has ordered to be conveyed by the ships he has had fitted out at Rochefort, every thing they required of ammunition, arms, provisions and merchandise; and not only the same funds as last year for every description of expenditure and outlay, but even an augmentation of 15,000^{ll} for the extraordinaries of war, and of 7000^{ll} on account of the expense for subsisting and maintaining the troops according to the estimates thereof which have been transmitted.

With a view to encourage them to apply, as usefully as he anticipates, the extraordinary effort he is now making, and to adopt other measures for the future, his Majesty is under the

necessity of notifying them, that there is no appearance of his being able to support for a long time the expense to which the Canada war subjects him. He is unwilling, also, to make an absolute gift of the 39,894ll on the one part, and the 34,337ll on the other, which they requested to be made good. They must save those sums out of the annual grants, from which must be deducted the munitions drawn from the magazines at Rochefort.

His Majesty has authorized the funds demanded for the expense of the masts already sent and yet to be sent. Their length is not proportionate to their circumference. He orders a memorandum thereof to be sent from Rochefort.

He has likewise ordered the repayment of the expense incurred for the fly-boat *la Charente*, and being unable to do what they have proposed for the maintenance of the ship *la Bouffonne*, he wishes that they send her back to France this year, and that she proceed to Placentia to carry thither, early in the season, some plank and other materials necessary for the construction of platforms.

Having seen the return of the expense incurred for the reëstablishment of fort Catarakouy, and the estimate for its support, his Majesty finds it difficult to imagine how they can expect to be able to maintain it. Wherefore he desires that they examine anew the reasons in support of that course by comparing them with those for the destruction and abandonment of that fort in the present conjuncture, with a view to adopt then what Sieur de Frontenac will find most advantageous for the Colony, and best adapted to the means of carrying on a more vigorous war against the enemy and obliging them to sue for peace.

The defection of the allies must have given them sufficiently to understand what little reliance can be placed on those Indians, whenever their interest will lead the latter to break with the French; especially after the succor extended to them by Sieur de Frontenac, and the assistance Sieur de Champigny and he have induced his Majesty to bestow on them. It is evident that this has tended only to maintain in greater licentiousness the Canadians who are in the depth of the forest, as remarked in the commencement of that Memoir, and to furnish occasions for its perpetuation; to favor private interests and foment every disorder consequent thereon, under pretext of the war; surreptitiously to establish prohibited posts beyond the limits of the Colony, contrary to his Majesty's continually expressed intentions. Wherefore he is persuaded, from what he has learned from said Sieurs de Frontenac and Champigny [of] the treachery of the Indians, that being unable to destroy the Iroquois, they must make peace for themselves independent of the allies, should they not be able to get the latter included therein, in case the Iroquois demand, or they can lead them to ask for terms.

They must, pursuant to his Majesty's invariable orders, observe as their main rule in all departments of the government of that Colony, to concentrate it, and to make it derive its support from the employment of the settlers within its confines, and from their trade with the kingdom and with the Indians who will necessarily bring peltries into the Colony in order to procure there those goods of the Kingdom which they require. Such was their wont before the Canadians were permitted to go into the depths of the forest, where they contract every debauched and vicious habit which renders them useless and a burthen to civil society; leaving out of consideration the extortions they are guilty of towards the Indians in the excessive prices of the merchandise they carry thither, and the irregularity on account of the bad beaver they accept indifferently from them, because they are sure of being equally paid for it. So that the remedy his Majesty intended to apply to the depreciation of the price of beaver, by placing

the trade in the hands of his Farmers in 1765[1] with a view to its stability and the increase of its value for the advantage of the Colony, has become worse than bad, and appears to have been constantly aggravated, since unlimited ranging in the interior of the country has been permitted. This has been productive of an immense superfluity and ruinous supply of beaver, partly of a bad quality, which has augmented in an astonishing manner year after year, and within the last, much more than in the preceding years.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Done at Versailles, the 26th of May, 1696.

Count de Frontenac to Louis XIV.

Sire.

The blessings which Heaven has been accustomed to shower upon your Majesty's arms, have extended even to this New World, and we have ocular proofs thereof in the expedition I have just terminated against the Onondagas, the chief and principal of the Iroquois Nations.

I projected this expedition long since; but the immense distance from Montreal to their country—amounting to nearly 150 leagues—the difficulty of transporting and preserving all the provisions and munitions necessary for so long a march; of navigating lakes scarcely differing from the sea, and rivers full of continuous falls and rapids; finally, the impossibility of concealing from the enemy my movements, which would afford them the means of promptly collecting together all their Nations and calling even the English to their assistance, caused me always to look upon this undertaking as a thing much more rash than prudent. I should never have determined on it, had I not reëstablished, last year, a retreat and an entrepôt, which facilitated my communication to the Onontagues, and had I not known, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it was the sole and only feasible means that remained for me to prevent the conclusion of the peace between our allies and the Iroquois, for which they were immediately to give hostages and afterwards introduce the English into the country—a step that would inevitably accelerate the entire ruin of the Colony which cannot subsist except by the trade it carries on with the Upper Indians.

However, by a stroke of good fortune entirely unexpected, the Onontagues, who were reckoned the masters of the other Iroquois Nations, and the terror of all the Indians of this country, were struck with a species of consternation which could fall on them only from on High, and became so panic-stricken at beholding me march against them in person and cover their lakes and rivers with more than four hundred sail, that, without thinking of taking advantage of the facilities they possessed to dispute with us the passages, in which one hundred men could easily hold four thousand, a long while in check, they dared not prepare an ambuscade against me, and contented themselves with waiting until I was within five leagues of their fort when they set it and all their cabins on fire and retreated thence, with all their families, twenty leagues into the woods with such precipitancy that they would hardly burthen themselves with two days' provisions; on reaching their village I, therefore, found merely a heap of dust and ashes.

[1] See 1665.

The Oneidas, who are their neighbors within a distance of fifteen leagues, and who were not less scared, sent next day to me to ask for peace, which I granted them on condition that they would abandon their village and come and reside among the Indians here in our French settlements; and in order not to allow them time for reflection, I detached thither Sieur de Vaudreuil with a strong force, and directed him to burn their fort, to bring me their principal chiefs, until the remainder could follow, and to lay waste all their grain as I was then doing to that of the Onontagues. He executed these orders with incredible celerity having been only three days on that expedition.

In order to add brilliancy to the affair, it were desirable that they would have remained firm in their fort, as we were in a condition to force it, and to slaughter a great portion of them; but they will not escape destruction the less, for the misery to which they are at present reduced through want of provisions, will cause more of them to perish of hunger than we could have destroyed by fire and sword.

Sire, I can state to your Majesty that never did troops evince more zeal than did on this occasion as well officers, soldiers, militia as Indians, despite the almost inexplicable labor and fatigues they experienced; every one having perfectly performed his duty particularly Chevalier de Callieres with his usual care and attention, which was no small help to me.

I know not whether your Majesty will be of opinion that I have done mine, and whether, if even so, you will consider me deserving any mark of honor that may enable me to pass the few remaining days of my life with some sort of distinction.

Whatever judgment may be formed, I most humbly supplicate your Majesty to be persuaded that I will sacrifice in your service the remainder of my days with the same ardor I have always displayed, and that I shall be, until my latest breath,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, most obedient,

Most submissive and most faithful

Servant and Subject

Quebec, this 25th October 1696. FRONTENAC.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1695, 1696.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1695, to the beginning of 9ber 1696.

It will not be difficult to fill this Relation with facts of importance. The occurrences of this year in Canada furnish ample material so as to exclude every thing that is not essential; and though the intention is to be very succinct, it will perhaps be difficult to adhere to such a rule, for never has a year, since M. de Frontenac's return to this country, been so fully occupied, nor the war waged with greater vigor.

The Court is already advised by the despatches transmitted on the departure of last year's fleet, of the plans concluded for a considerable expedition against the Iroquois, and

principally against the Onontaes,[1] which is the principal Nation, where the councils of the other five are held; the most devoted to the English, and the most strenuous opponent of the negotiations for peace in preceding years. It became of importance to crush them, and the winter appeared to many persons the best adapted for operations than any other season, because we are certain, said they, of finding at least in the village all the women and children whose destruction or capture would have drawn ruin on the warriors, or obliged them to come and submit to us.

The necessary preparations for the expedition were begun at the commencement of last Autumn, but the vast quantity of snow produced a change of plan, the rather as it was impossible to transport the Militia of the south shore and Island of Orleans in the government of Quebec, the river having been absolutely impassable from the sailing of the fleet to the beginning of this year.

This caused the adoption of the resolution to proceed against the Mohawks with whatever troops could be collected capable of traveling on the snow, with the militia of Three Rivers and Montreal and the Indians. This had always been the plan of Count de Frontenac who foresaw the difficulty of executing the other project in winter. But this design also aborted, because news was received that a Mohawk prisoner who had escaped from us, had communicated our intention, and that his Nation, united with the English of Orange, was waiting for us with a firm foot. This consideration, however, would not have prevented us going in quest of them had the continuance of the season permitted a large body of men to make so long a march and to carry munitions and provisions necessary for subsisting there. This large force dwindled down then, to 300 picked Frenchmen and Indians who marched to that triangular tract of country between the river of the Ououtaouas and that of the Iroquois, the usual hunting ground of the latter.

This party was commanded by Sieur de Louvigny, Captain of Marines, accompanied by Lieutenants de Manteth, d'Auberville, de Sabrevois and several other officers. They were storm-stayed within three days' march of Montreal by a fall of snow which continued 13 days during which time they were obliged to lie by. Mons^r de Callière being informed thereof, sent them fresh supplies to replace those that had already been uselessly consumed.

They continued their route as far as Gannanokouy, six leagues from Fort Frontenac, where they fell in with a trail that was, however, very old. Sieur de Louvigny thought fit to detach some Indians only in pursuit, and to wait with the Frenchmen the return of those whom he had sent to the Fort to learn news of that place. Every thing there was in good order; a single soldier was sick there, and is since dead.

Sieur de Louvigny arrived at Montreal on the 20^th of March after having set out very late in consequence of the want of provisions as well as of the badness of the roads; he found throughout the entire of the forest as much as seven feet of snow, a circumstance never before witnessed in this country.

The Indian detachment fell in, after a march of seven days, with a cabin in which they found three men asleep whom they made prisoners; at noon, next day, they took two more, and in the evening found a cabin in which were only a man, a woman and a young lad whom they mastered after some resistance. Three of the same hunting party remained; they were killed defending themselves like brave men.

[1] Onondagas. — Ed.

The four Onontaes who were found among these prisoners were burnt at Montreal on their arrival. Two Senecas had their lives spared in return for the kind treatment that nation manifested of late years to our prisoners, and were presented to Totatiron, chief of the mission at the Mountain who happened to be the uncle of one of them. The young lad was given to the Indians of the Saut. He is grandson of the famous Garagontier, formerly chief of the Onontaés and who, during his life, had been very much attached to the French. The Indians of Loretto, near Quebec, who had been also of this party, got the woman as their share.

Chevalier de Grisalfy, captain of a troop died at Montreal about this time. His illustrious birth was not the only quality that caused him to be regretted. He possessed every personal merit that could be desired in an officer, united with great courage and consummate prudence.[1]

A party of Indians belonging to the Saut brought to Montreal in the beginning of May two scalps; one of a Mohawk, the other of an Englishman taken near Orange. We were informed by this same party that the Mohawks had retired into their fort, under the apprehension of our visiting them.

Two prisoners belonging to the same nation were brought in by our Indians a few days after; they said the Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas were coming with a considerable force to attack us during seed time. They doubtless, did not consider it expedient to execute this project, and planting was effected very quietly.

Totatiron, whom we have already mentioned, brought in, on the 21st May, an English prisoner taken at the gates of Corlard after having killed three others. His first intention was to go to the Mohawk country but he was prevented doing so by the desertion of one of his party. This prisoner reported that the English and the Iroquois were on their guard fearing that we should go and attack them; that the first had refused the others the assistance they required, under pretext that they had to defend themselves; that, besides, no preparations were perceptible on their part, for an attack on our settlements.

Two other Mohawk prisoners were taken near the village of the Saut; some hostile Iroquois appeared at La Chenaie where they carried off two men; and some others wounded one also at Longueil, on the south shore.

The Count received letters at Quebec from Mr de Thiery,[2] Missionary of Acadia dated 21st of May, in which he gave an account of what passed at Fort Pemkuit between the Abenakis and the English. It was proposed to make an exchange of prisoners; Sieur de Saint Castin took charge of the business alone in the name of Count de Frontenac. A more attached or intelligent agent could not be selected.

Some Frenchmen had undertaken to deliver to the Boston government the letters which were to bring about this negotiation; but as they could not execute the trust, it became

[1] Chevalier de Crisasy, *supra*, p. 307, Lord of Messina, was cousin german of the Prince of Monaco and thus allied to one of the most illustrious houses in Italy; he was also Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and had made his "Caravans" with all possible distinction. In the revolt in Sicily the design of which was to deprive the King of Spain of that country, the family of Chev. de C. was the first to declare for the French. The project having failed, he was obliged to expatriate himself, and with his brother, repaired to Versailles, in the expectation of some recompense for his attachment to that Court. But he was doomed to disappointment, and at length, after much solicitation, found himself reduced to the alternative of accepting a company in Canada. He possessed all the qualities that could elevate a military man to the highest rank, but after many gallant actions, after having displayed talent of the first order both in Council and in War, and though recommended by the Governor and the Intendant, his merits were utterly neglected, and he at length died of grief and a broken heart in March 1696. His death called forth universal regret, that merit such as his should have been doomed to obscurity. *Charlevoix.* — Ed.

[2] *Sic.* Thury.

necessary to employ Indians, who delivered the letter the English prisoners wrote to the officer in command of fort Pemkuit. That officer knew so well how to turn the heads of the Indians that he persuaded them to come to his fort for whatever they required, promising that the trade would be carried on there in good faith.

Tayoux,[1] an influential chief of the Abenaquis Nation was the first to fall into this snare. He was followed by a number of others who altogether repaired to the English fort, despite the remonstrances of M. de Thiery[2] who represented to them the dangers into which their credulity was leading them, and who even separated from them and withdrew into the woods with the greatest number he could persuade to accompany him.

They traded there undisturbed for some days, but, finally, their Missionary's prognostications were verified. The English perceiving the principal chiefs grouped under the guns of their fort, began by killing Edzorunce[3] a famous chief and his son by pistol shots. Taxoux was seized by three soldiers, and some others were laid hold of in like manner, one of whom was carried alive into the fort. Two more armed with knives liberated themselves from three of the enemy who had each a hold of them, and four Englishmen lost their lives. One of our Indians was killed by the shots which were fired from the fort; another saved Taxous after having killed two more of the enemy with his knife. Thus, we lost four, and the enemy six, men by this treachery. It is to be hoped that the Abenakis will not place any confidence hereafter in English promises.

Some Micmacs and other Indians from Kinibe[c] surprised a detachment belonging to the garrison of Pemkuit in some islands opposite the fort, and killed twenty-three of them.

The same letter stated that about the end of April last, Guyon, a Canadian privateer, had, after capturing an English prize, been himself taken by the frigate with which Sieur de Bonnnaventure had fought last year. The forces were not equal, and he contended longer than was to be expected from the inferiority of his vessel and the small number of his men.

On the 9th of June, the Royal frigate *la Bouffonne* weighed anchor before Quebec for a cruise at the entrance of the gulf. Her repairs were begun in the fore part of April; they could not be effected without expense, this ship being in very bad condition, and requiring considerable caulking. Some sailors that had returned last year from the wreck of *les Deux Frères* were added to the crew she brought from France. She was commanded by Sieur de La Vallière, captain of the detachment of Marines and of Count de Frontenac's guards, who is thoroughly acquainted with this river and with all the harbors dependent on this government. He had as Lieutenant Sieur de Beaubassin, his son, and for Ensign Sieur de la Potterie his other son, and was accompanied by Sieurs de Fouville, de La Durantaye, Beaumont, de Saint Lambert, Ensigns of the Troops all of whom aspire to the Marine service. Two soldiers per Company were shipped on board of this frigate and of a brigantine commanded by Sieur Outlai, an Englishman resident a long time among us, under whom Sieur de la Perade, a reduced lieutenant, acted as Lieutenant.

Shortly after the departure of this vessel, Count de Frontenac started for Montreal. At length arrived the time for that Great Kettle (to make use of the mode of expression common among Indians) so repeatedly demanded by them. The Negotiations for peace, hitherto fruitless, showed conclusively that the Iroquois would never be reduced to terms except by force of arms. We have already stated that the Onnontagué Nation was the most mutinous and that which ought to be first reduced. The Count had entirely divested himself of those

[1] Taxous. *Charlevoix.* [2] *Sic* Thury. [3] Edzermet. *De la Potherie*, III., 258. Compare *Williamson*, I., 642. — Ed.

humane sentiments which still remain in the heart of a good father notwithstanding his children's repeated faults. Severe chastisement became now necessary, mildness having been hitherto useless; but this great remedy should not be applied except efficaciously. The occasion was favorable, and the indispensable entrepôt of fort Frontenac invited us not to defer operations any longer. It appeared almost impossible to accomplish a voyage so difficult and so long as that from our settlements to the Iroquois country, without having a safe place to deposit the sick, and to store provisions and munitions of war. The experience acquired in this campaign must prevail over the speculations of certain individuals little instructed as to the situation of the country, and I believe there are scarcely any in Canada endowed with the least degree of sense, who do not admit that it is impossible to dispense with this fort in time of war; no person questions its utility in time of peace. The Intendant had caused the necessary preparations to be commenced as early as the beginning of Winter; nothing could be added to the care he applied to that work. M. de Callière, as usual, kept every thing in readiness at Montreal, and on the 16th June the Count set out from Quebec preceded, some days, by the Militia of that government; by the Abenakis and by the Hurons of Loretto.

From Three Rivers to Montreal the army proceeded in a body *(en corps)*, and the Count and Intendant reached the latter place on the 22nd of June.

A canoe arrived three days afterwards, from Missilimakinac, bringing letters from Sieur de La Motte the commandant, which contained various news, good and bad. It is necessary to dwell somewhat on the affairs of that country. Those who will give themselves the trouble to read this Narrative, will draw such information from it as they will think proper, and see if, in the present conjuncture, Nations, so difficult of government, can be left to their own discretion, without endangering the total loss of all Canada, since all the skill of those on the spot can, with great difficulty only, divert them from their evil designs.

It was remarked, at the close of last year's Relation, that the Deputies from the Iroquois had been received, through means of the Hurons, by the five Nations of Missilimakinac and their allies; their belts accepted and peace almost concluded between them.

Those Deputies set out on their return, on the 10th of October, after a number of Councils and other private conferences to which Sieur de La Motte was not invited. He, however, found means to learn all that transpired from Onaské, Chief of the Kiskakons — [that various business presents and Belts had passed] besides several merely of thanks. The principal present was a Calumet of red stone, of extraordinary beauty and size, by which all the Lake tribes, namely, the Outaouas and others, invite the Five Iroquois Nations to smoke the same Calumet and, whilst smoking, to recover their senses, and to assure themselves that Missilimakinak and their allies will remember Anick's belt; let them not on their side forget, that this present is not made them in vain.

Anick's belt was explained by Onaské. It comes, he says, from the English through the Iroquois and invites us to eat White meat,[1] and I see that, when these Deputies had left, all the Nations had agreed to it. However, you can rely on their eating me, also.

The Indians who had been down to Montreal arrived a few days after at Missilimakinac, and gave out that all the French were dead; that the Quebec river was stopped up and that we dare not make our appearance on the Great Lake, i: e. the Sea; that we had neither Wine,

[1] i. e., The French. *De La Potherie*, III., 261. — Ed.

nor Brandy nor any merchandise; that they were returning with their old shirts and—what grieved them more—without having had a drink.

Sieur de La Motte's embarrassment, on receipt of this intelligence, was by no means small, but he was reassured by the arrival of a solitary Frenchman who had embarked in the Indians' canoes, and who was entrusted with letters from the Count.

He made the most, to the Indians, of the blow which Sieur de la Durantaye had inflicted on the Iroquois, and promised them that the scarcity of goods, which arose merely from the delay of the ships by the winds, would not prevent the distribution among them of what remained in the stores at Missilimakinac at the usual prices, even on credit, in order to assist them in their winter encampments.

Had it not been for this foresight he never would have succeeded in appeasing the Indians whom interest alone governs, and whom neither difficulty nor fatigue will ever prevent going in quest of a cheap bargain, wherever they will imagine it is to be found.

After having thus soothed them, he called them together on the 24th of 8ber in a general Council and thus addressed them:—

Brothers. From all time have rebellious children existed, and in all time have some been seen to hear with joy the voice of their Father. Suspicion has spoiled the hearts of some among you, but many have remained firm and have not wavered. I see your thought; your endeavor to conceal it from me is vain. I speak, then, to those whose hearts waver, and who suspected that the Governor wished to conclude peace for himself alone, without including generally all his children in it. Let them reflect on all that has been done, and reject the evil designs malignant spirits have induced them to adopt. See with what fury he is striking and fighting at present; he has cast away his body—an Indian expression—and will no longer listen to the Iroquois for whose utter destruction measures have been taken.

Behold with joy Catarokouy, i. e. Fort Frontenac; That is the Great Kettle from which the whole world will take what it wants to keep alive the war unto the end. Be not impatient; that Kettle has not yet boiled; it will boil soon. Then will Onontio invite all his children to the feast and they will find wherewithal to fill them. The tears and the submissions of the Iroquois will be no longer received as in times past. They have overflowed the measure; the patience of the common father is exhausted; their destruction is inevitable.

The proud[1] Onnaské answered in these terms:—Brothers: I hear the words of my father; he is fighting, he does not let the Iroquois go. I wish to imitate him; those who are unwilling to follow me have only to remain quiet and on their mats. It is vain for you to attempt to divert me from my purpose; I will execute it at the peril of my life; I have some young warriors who will not abandon me; I urge no one to follow me; let every one act as he will think fit, and let me do as I like.

Big Head, the most influential of all the nations, spoke thus: Father, I perceive for a long time that you are grieving at our misconduct. I have suffered from it as well as you, without saying a word. But 'tis time to relieve you. I tell you publicly and no longer conceal my thoughts, that if I have been, in any manner, concerned in the peace proposed to us, whilst the Iroquois were here, it was unintentionally. You could have seen that my son Mikinac was mourning for it; he has not washed his face, neither has he combed his hair. You will see his face painted and his hair dressed; his heart feels glad; he is determined on war according to

[1] Faithful. *De la Potherie*, III., 264. — Ed.

your wishes; 'Tis my thought; 'tis his. Who is there on this earth that will look me in the eyes, and find fault with what I shall do?

As these two chiefs are the most considerable among the Nations, none other presumed to contradict them, and all sung the same song.

Two days after, they demanded some Frenchmen to accompany them on the war-path whom Sieur de La Motte furnished; but it was impossible to get them to start without giving them a little Brandy to sing the War song: They even broke into some French cabins where they thought to find a supply.

This could not be prevented, and a Commandant who is at all times greatly embarrassed to get them to act, could never absolutely effect his purpose had he persisted in refusing them what they so passionately love. Are they not, in like manner, but too much disposed to go in search of some to the enemy, if they should not procure it from us?

Onaské, despite the belts presented to him by people belonging to his own Nation, and the considerable presents they offered him and he obstinately refused, organized a party whereof means were found to debauch a great number, and faction ran so high that his canoes were cut in the night. Notwithstanding all that, he departed and at Detroit joined Mikinak, Big Head's son, of whom we have already spoken.

The Iroquois had been hunting the whole of the winter, living on very good terms with the Hurons.

The Outaouacs, who were there, having disposed of a quantity of goods the English had intrusted to them, one of them had been arrested, but even he was set at liberty. The arrival of Onnaské changed the face of affairs. Wilameck, chief of the Poutouatamis, who left his country expressly on a war excursion, joined him with 30 of his Tribe. The Hurons gave intelligence to the Iroquois that Onnaské, Mikinac and Wilamak were preparing to go and attack them. On receipt of this news, they bundled up their packs and our people did not pursue them until some days afterwards, but they made such speed, marching day and night, that they overtook them at last. The attack was vigorous and well sustained, but most of the Iroquois, after a rough fight, were obliged to throw themselves into the water. According to the report of those who have been taken, over 40 warriors were drowned on this occasion. They have brought back to Missilimakinac thirty scalps and thirty-two prisoners, men, women and children. The plunder amounts to between 4 @ 500 beavers,[1] exclusive of several goods, the remainder of what the English had given them. Some Hurons who were following the Iroquois, were taken at the same time, and have been since given up to their own tribe.

This blow was of so much the more importance that it entirely broke up the inceptions of peace between the Iroquois and Upper allied Nations. We are under every obligation to the address of Sieur de La Mothe who knew how to find means to move Onaské, Big Head and Mikinac his son. It is not probable that the English will confide their goods to the Iroquois and employ them as their Agents, as long as they will be apprehensive that we might get our Indians to strike similar blows, and all are of a very fickle disposition; allow themselves to be carried away by the first gust of wind, and pass easily from one extremity to the other. The returns they will make them for this venture will be too poor. But may we not fear, on our side, when no one will be at Missilimakinac to take advantage of these circumstances; to encourage good, and divert bad intentions; to make use in fit season of firmness or presents; that this trade so successfully interrupted in its inception will not be entirely reëstablished to

[1] which may be valued at fifteen thousand francs. *La Potherie*, III., 266. — Ed.

the loss of Canada? That of the Beaver, though constituting the sole support of the Colony, would not be the most serious. It is to be apprehended that the English and the Nations who would abandon us, forming a common interest, may turn their arms against us; or at least, that we should be entirely deprived of their aid against the Iroquois, the moment we should cease to hold communication with them. What chiefs could we gain over? What intrigues discover? And how, at three hundred leagues' distance, divert the execution of their evil designs, when those who are present, notwithstanding all their care and application, experience a great deal of difficulty ere they succeed?

To believe, however, and to assure the Court, as has been done, that they come every year in quest of our goods to Montreal, is an indication either of malice, or consummate ignorance in regard to the Savages. Interest alone governs them; their sole desire is to live comfortably and to be clothed. Every thing turns on these two points, and is it to be presumed that they will undertake a voyage to Montreal of more than 500 leagues in search of their necessaries, at a time when they will be supplied at a lower rate at home by the English or the Iroquois? They used to come there formerly, 'tis true; but the road on the English side was neither opened nor known to them, and our retreat from Missilimakinac would render it absolutely free.

That, should they continue to wage war against the Iroquois — a thing not to be expected — they would dare totally to abandon their villages, as they used to do in the time of the ancient fairs, and leave their wives and children at the mercy of their enemies? They would then find themselves under an absolute necessity to make peace, and that peace would be our ruin.

It is also alleged that the French traders cause considerable injury to the people of Missilimakinac who alone were in the habit formerly of carrying on the trade, and distributing among the most distant Nations what they used to draw from us. That is true; but did they furnish any to the Nations with whom they were at variance? Were we acquainted, in those times, with that multitude of Allies who are more attached to us than even the Outaouaes, and all of whom regard the King and his representatives as their Father? Missilimakinac will still carry on the trade, but the Beaver will go to Orange. The Nations will assemble there, but they will lose all recollection of Onontio, and in future regard only the English who will clothe them and make them drink Brandy at discretion.

Will Missionaries be in security in their new Churches; and, how fervent soever be the zeal with which they are animated, will they dare preach the Catholic religion in sight of Protestants? Even though they would, will the latter permit them?

Public interests have required this digression which is long, 'tis true, but too short for the importance of the subject. Those who read this Narrative are at liberty to make such reflections on it as they will think fit.

Onnaské, on his return, presented the scalps and a little prisoner he had brought along, to Sieur de La Mothe; adding, thereunto, these words:—

Father. I shall not tell you what I have done. The French, who have wintered at the Saguinan, have doubtless informed you of it. I believe that you are aware that my arms, my legs and my waist have been tied; that guns and kettles had been suspended to stop me; I passed over them all. I listened to you Father; I have performed thy will; I have fulfilled thy word. Retain, I request you, what you have given me. Let the warriors have some Brandy to drink; I pledged myself that they should have some; I will not taste any of it; I promised it to them. They did as you desired; they told you no lies; they have killed the

Warriors and made no prisoners. Do not lie to them. Give them to drink. This was the song of all the rest.

Sieur de La Mothe was under the necessity, then, of ordering ten pots of brandy to be distributed among those who had returned from that expedition. It was but little among two hundred men who were very dry, and unused to drink. They found means to get some [more] from the French [so as to continue] singing through the night, but there was no disorder. The Missionaries, however, found fault, and complained of it to Sieur de La Mothe who answered, That the action the Indians had achieved ought to serve as their excuse; if a little hilarity grieve you so much, how will you be able to endure the daily exposure of these Neophytes, for whom you feel so much affection, to the excessive use of English Rum and to the imbibing of Heresy?

Sieur d'Argenteuil, lieutenant of the troops, who had arrived last year with the Hurons and Outaouaes when the vessels sailed, and could not return, repaired, in the month of June, to Missilimakinac with 17 Frenchmen and the remainder of the Indians.

Sieur De La Mothe caused all the Nations to meet in Council, and declared to them that Count de Frontenac was preparing to march with a numerous army against the Onnontagués; that the heavy snow had prevented him doing so in the Winter; but that the time had come for that great Kettle which they had so often solicited; he invited them by Belts to join it, although Count de Frontenac did not manifest great anxiety to have them. Onaské answered first: He willingly accepted the broth his Father wished him to drink, but he could not go to see him at Fort Frontenac because he was under the necessity of repairing his fort in order to place his women and children under cover. The other Chiefs answered in like manner.

A few days after this Council, it became necessary to hold several others on a most important affair. A chief of the Outaouaes *du Sable* named Kitchinabé organized a party of twenty men to go against the Iroquois, and was joined by a young Huron, a son of the Rat, the famous chief of that Nation. After several days' march, the Outaouaes met a Huron canoe with a man, two young lads and seven women or children in it. They massacred them remorselessly and the Rat's son shared the same fate. He [Kitchinabé] returned to Missilimakinac bearing as a trophy the scalps he brought back, as if they had belonged to the enemy. The Hurons entertained some suspicion of this blow, and dispatched two canoes to collect the facts concerning it. On their return, whilst the council was sitting, six other canoes of the same nation set out, and proclaimed that they were going in quest of the enemy who, they said, were near. Sieur de la Mothe adjoined to them 90 Outaouaes and 20 Frenchmen, suspecting that it was quite another thing than the Iroquois that caused the Hurons to depart. The spot was discovered where the dead, cut into pieces, had been interred, but through the influence of the French, every thing passed off quietly.

Sieur de la Mothe made the requisite speeches and presents to soften a blow of such dangerous consequences. The Outaouaes did the same on their side, and the Hurons referred themselves as regarded the whole affair, to the decision of Count de Fontenac, promising to forget that act, and not to revenge it.

The answer Onnaské and the other Chiefs gave Sieur de la Mothe that they would not be able to join the army that was going to Onnontagué, did not prevent him intriguing, and he expected that 400 Indians at least would proceed to Fort Frontenac. But the effect of their design was prevented by this occurrence combined with visions of some among them who announced in their villages that the bad weather which prevailed was evidence that Jesus

disapproved of their going to war. It appeared very extraordinary that these Indians, who invoke this sacred name so seldom and hold it only capriciously in veneration, should make use of it merely to justify their disloyalty.

Such trifles are capable, sometimes, of causing the miscarriage of good designs. It is not known by what instigation a girl of the Island of Orleans, pretty well metamorphosed into a boy, came to present herself to Count de Frontenac two days before his departure from Quebec, saying she had highly important news to tell him of the English of Boston whence she had come. She was interrogated in presence of the Intendant, and said that she had witnessed the arrival at Boston of eight men of war, four of whom had, without anchoring, proceeded to the lower part of our river to await the English fleet which was to be composed of forty @ fifty ships that were to arrive immediately here; that Sieur d'Hiberville had been taken prisoner at Hudson's bay, and that she assisted in burning him at Boston. She related a hundred other extravagancies with an assurance capable of imposing, but their lack of probability caused her to be examined more closely. Her sex was discovered, and three days afterwards she was whipped through the town.

Her brother and sweetheart were commanded to march; that perhaps, was the sole motive of her action, and she said she had no other. However, it is not at all likely that a girl would have adopted so bold a trick of her own mere motion.

The news which we stated, Count de Frontenac had received from the Outaouas obliged us to interrupt the account we had commenced of the preparations for the Onnontagué voyage. Every thing was put in readiness during his short stay in Montreal, and he set out for la Chine, where the main army had arrived, on the 4th of July. Ten Outaouas had arrived there on the same day from the neighborhood of Onnontagué; they had ranged around the village a long while without having been able to make any prisoners, and perceiving that they were pursued by a considerable party, took refuge in Fort Frontenac. They thanked the Count for not having deceived them, and for having saved their lives by furnishing them at that fort wherewithal to eat and especially to smoke.

On being informed by Sieur Dejordis, a reduced Captain who was in command of that fort, of the Count's march, they said they were going to meet him, and intended to accompany him.

6th Provisions having been delivered to the Indians, the entire army proceeded to encamp at Isle Perrot, and was arranged, next day, in the order of battle intended to be observed throughout the expedition.

The Indians, to the number of 500 were so divided that the majority of them were always with the van-guard which was composed of two battalions of Regulars consisting, each, of two hundred men. They were followed by several detached bateaux of settlers which were conveying the provisions and the baggage belonging to the Count, and to Messrs de Callières, de Vaudreuil and de Ramezay.

M. de Callières commanded the van-guard having two larger bateaux on board which were two brass pieces; they carried also the Commissary of artillery, and the mortars to throw grenades, the fire-works, and other necessary munitions of war.

Next to the van-guard marched the Count surrounded by the canoes of his Staff, of Sieur Levasseur, Engineer, and of several volunteers. The four battalions of Militia, which were stronger than those of the regular troops, composed the centre. M. de Ramezay, governor of Three Rivers, commanded the whole of the Militia. The rear-guard, under the command of

M. de Vaudreuil, consisted only of two battalions of Regulars and the remainder of the Indians who brought up the rear.

Sieurs de La Durantaye, de Muy, de Grays and Dumesnil, veteran Captains were in command of the four battalions of Regulars. Sieur de Subercaze acted as Major General, and there was an adjutant to each battalion of regulars and militia. Sieur de Saint Martin a reduced Captain, commanded the Quebec battalion; Lieutenant de Grandville that of Beaupré; Sieur de Grandpré, Major of Three Rivers, was at the head of the Militia of that district, and Sieur Deschambaux, Attorney-general of Montreal, commanded the battalion belonging to that place. The only officers that remained behind were those whose infirmities prevented them undertaking such a voyage,—and it was difficult to find any to garrison the principal posts, where such were required.

Captain de Maricourt was at the head of the Indians of the Saut and of the Abenakis who formed one corps.

Lieutenant Gardeur de Beauvaire,[1] those of the Mountain and the Hurons of Loretto; and Lieutenant de Beaucourt,[2] commanded the Algonquins, Socoquois, Nipissirinens and the few Outaouaes present. These formed another corps.

The order of battle was not broken during the expedition, and the forces that formed the van one day, retired on the morrow to the rear. As nearly thirty leagues of rapids were to be surmounted, progress was very slow, and it is inconceivable how many difficulties were encountered in making the portages, as the men were frequently obliged to unload the bateaux several times a day of the greater portion of their freight.

Those unacquainted with the country cannot understand what we call *Cascades* and *Saults*. Falls are often met seven @ eight feet high, over which fifty men have plenty to do to drag a bateau; and in the least difficult places, it is necessary to go into the water up to, and sometimes beyond, the waist, it being impossible to stem the current even with the lightest canoes by the aid of poles and paddles.

On the day of the departure, a portion of the army encamped above the rapid called Le Buisson; the remainder filed along the day following, and the rain obliged them to halt there.

9th July. Passed the Cedars rapid.

10th The army separated into two divisions to ascend that of Coteau du Lac; a part went along the North, and another portion along the South shore. The same course was pursued next day and a junction was re-formed at the mouth of Lake St Francis which sheet of water is over seven leagues in length. It was crossed under sail and in the order of battle.

In the evening our Indian scouts reported that they had discovered some ascending and descending trails. A detachment was formed of Indians and some Frenchmen to go a few leagues ahead of the main body, and to look out for ambuscades.

12th Before decamping, nine Abenakis joined Count de Frontenac. The Intendant and the King's lieutenant at Quebec observed in their letters that these Indians had stated that they learned the English were to come to Quebec. These false rumors which are but too prevalent in these parts, did not interrupt the voyage, and the army encamped at the foot of the Long Saut.

13th However long and difficult, it was all passed to-day.

[1] De la Potherie. III., 272, and Charlevoix, II., 168, make of this Officer two persons whom they designate as "Le Gardeur and de Beauvais, brothers."— Ed.

[2] Beraucour, *De la Potherie;* Bekancourt, *Charlevoix.*

14th July. Arrived at the foot of the Rapide Plat. Lieutenant de Manteth was detached with fifty Frenchmen and Indians to make the necessary discoveries.

15th Came to the Rapid des Galets.

16th After repairing several bateaux it was impossible to advance more than three leagues above the place called La Galette,[1] where the difficult navigation terminates.

At those places where portages had to be made, several detachments used to march by land to protect those who were hauling.

17th The rain prevented much progress.

18th Proceeded to within 4 leagues of the Fort. Over twelve leagues were made to-day, and arrived at Fort Frontenac at noon on the day following; so that of 70 leagues, the distance from Montreal to that fort, the passage of the smooth water including the crossing of lake St Francis occupied only four days, and the Rapids thirty, though the latter do not constitute one-half the navigation.

The provisions for the garrison were first landed and the interval until the 26th, when the Outaouaes were expected to arrive, could not, it was considered, be more profitably employed than in cutting and hauling the fire-wood necessary for the winter; the other materials for the proposed carpentry and masonry and three barks which had been scuttled when the place was abandoned and were drawn two feet out of water, and in raising the best of the three. But perceiving that the Indians were not coming, and that the troops after having taken some rest, were the best disposed in the world to go to the enemy,

26th Started and encamped on Deer Island, *(Ile aux chevreuils*[2]*)* the Scouts keeping always ahead of the army. Captain Du Luth was left in command of the fort, with a garrison of 40 men and the masons and carpenters necessary for the buildings which he was recommended to urge forward. Only 26 sick were left in the fort, the most part of whom were wounded in the legs ascending the rapids.

27th Came within three leagues of Famine river, and on the

28th Reached the mouth of that of the Onnontagués. Our scouts informed us they had seen the trails of nine men.

29th As this stream is extremely narrow, 50 scouts were detached along each bank, and the army advanced only according to their reports. Some had discovered the trail of thirty to forty men; others, a canoe just abandoned. Only two leagues could be made this day, and three, the next. The Count and M. de Vaudreuil with the troops and a battalion of Militia, occupied the Northern, and Messrs de Callières and de Ramezay, with the remainder, passed along the South bank.[3] It would be idle to describe the rapids of this river. An idea may be formed how difficult they are, for after marching from dawn 'till dark only five leagues can be made in two days.

30th Began making the portage of all the bateaux, canoes and baggage, it being impossible to pass the falls in any other way. Count de Frontenac who was expecting to pass on foot like the rest, was borne in his canoe by some fifty Indians singing and uttering yells of joy.

[1] Prescott, C. W.

[2] Which the English have named Carleton, after Lord Dorchester. *Rochefoucault-Liancourt's Travels through the United States*, &c., 4to., I., 280.

[3] As the Oswego river flows in a northerly, or rather a northwesterly direction, it can naturally, have only an Eastern and Western bank. Charlevoix says Count de Frontenac took the left, which would, as the Expedition traveled, be the Eastern, side of the river. — Ed.

The battalions that could not accomplish the portage passed it the next day. Made four leagues, the way being less difficult.

1st of August. Detached one-half the army beyond the Oneida river; they marched over five leagues, more than knee deep in mud. Monsr de Vaudreuil and the most part of the officers were at their head. This precaution was the more necessary as at a place called *Le Rigols*[1] the stream is no more than half a pistol shot in width as far as the mouth of lake Ganenta.[2] Nothing was met this day except the descriptive drawing of our army on bark, after the manner of the Indians, and two bundles of cut rushes, indicating that 1434 warriors were waiting for us. We passed the Lake in the order of battle. Mr de Callières, who on that day commanded the left, because it was exposed to the enemy, made a considerable circuit, under pretence of landing on that side, whilst Monsr de Vaudreuil with the right hugged the shore to clear away whatever of the enemy he might fall in with. The vigorous manner this landing was effected, sword in hand, showed that had the enemy been met there, he could not have long maintained his ground. M. de Vaudreuil's detachment made a circuit of half a league, and landed at the place M. de Callière was waiting for him. The entire army landed.

2nd. Sieur Levasseur, the Engineer, traced out a fort which was nearly completed the same day notwithstanding the timber had to be drawn nearly half a league.

The Scouts continued actively engaged. They reported to us that they had discovered trails, proceeding from the Village of the Onnontagués to Cayuga and Oneida, which circumstance induced them to believe that the Women and Children had repaired thither, and that the warriors of these two Villages had come to the assistance of their brothers.

On the same night a bright light was perceived in the direction of the Village; it was hence concluded that they burned it; some pretended even that they fired cannon.

3d. The fort was completed this morning. An Outaouaes Indian named the Cat, returned from a scout. He had some days previously accompanied a Seneca who had been taken prisoner last winter and whose life had been spared. They at first discovered two women whom they neglected to capture, and subsequently seized a man who was bathing with his wife. The Outaouac wished to bind him but the Seneca opposed it, and released him on pretence that he would bring in others. This began to make the Outaouac suspicious, but he had still more reason to be so when the Seneca left, saying he wished to eat some new corn, and having wandered aside for that purpose, he uttered the ordinary warning cry to detach some young Onnontagues who would have intercepted the Outaouac, the swiftness of whose legs saved him. Half a league was made that day.

Captain the Marquis de Crissaffy was left in the fort with Captain Desbergères and some other officers and 140 Militia and Regulars, to guard the bateaux, canoes, provisions and other heavy material that could not be transported. Their loss would have absolutely caused that of the entire army; and although every one wished to share the glory the Count was expected to reap, the latter was of opinion that he could not leave too good officers at that post. The other Seneca, the comrade of him just alluded to, deserted the night of the same day in order to advise his nation of the danger which menaced the Iroquois. Inconceivable difficulty was experienced in transporting over the swamps and two considerable streams which had to be crossed, the cannon and the remainder of the artillery stores, having been obliged to carry them on their carriages and parapets *(épaules)* which occupied a very great number of the Militia.

[1] Outlet of Onondaga Lake. *Clarke's Onondaga*, I., 323.

[2] Onondaga. — Ed.

We encamped at a place called the Salt Springs, which in truth they are. They produce enough of Salt to make us wish they were near Quebec. The Cod fishery would then be very easy in Canada.

4th August. The order of battle was formed at sunrise, the army being in two divisions. The first was commanded by M. de Callières who kept on the enemy's left. The centre consisted of two battalions of Militia and the two battalions of Regulars composed the wings; the artillery being in the middle preceded by the two centre battalions. The major part of the Indians of the first division had been thrown on the right wing as they desired. From time to time forlorn hopes of the most active Indians and Frenchmen were detailed for the purpose of scouting and to receive the first fire.

The second division was commanded by M. de Vaudreuil who placed himself on the right wing; it was composed of an equal number of battalions of Militia and Regulars.

The Count, preceded by the cannon, was borne in a chair between the two divisions, and in a position to place himself, whenever he thought proper, at the head, through the interval of the two battalions of Militia of the first division.

Each battalion was only two deep and showed a very great front. Near the Count's person were his guard, his staff, his canoe and bateau-men.

In some places, during the march, defiles and pretty large streams were met where it was very difficult to transport the cannon, or where the order of battle was interrupted, so that we were from sunrise 'till sunset in getting to the site of the Village, after an infinite number of quarter wheelings and other evolutions sufficiently difficult of execution in woods.

But Major Subercaze's activity supplied every requisite; ten others could not have effected what he performed alone, and though he was assisted by excellent adjutants he yet considered it his duty to be every where. This campaign furnished him an opportunity to signalize his activity and zeal on several occasions, but as this is the principal, mention of it cannot be avoided. No man ever executed with more promptitude than he the prudent orders issued by the general.

Were we not apprehensive of being considered rather a panegyrist than a historian, we would speak in suitable terms of the conduct of Messrs de Callières, de Vaudreuil, Ramezay and other principal officers, but the confidence the King reposes in them is a sufficient proof that he deems them worthy of the posts they occupy in this country, and it is unnecessary to enlarge in their praise to demonstrate that they are truly so. His choice alone justifies it.

The wigwams of the Indians and the triple pallisade around their fort was found entirely burnt. It has since been ascertained that it was in a tolerably strong state of defence. It was an oblong, flanked by four regular bastions. The two rows of stockades that touched each other were of the thickness of an ordinary mast, and outside, at a distance of six feet, stood another row of much smaller dimensions, but between 40 and 50 feet in height.

If the flight of the Indians saved the army the trouble of forcing them in their fortifications by trenches, as had been determined, having all the necessary tools, it robbed it also of the glory of entirely destroying them. But it must not be expected that Indians will ever stand against a considerable opposing force. The expense attendant on this expedition must not, however, be regretted.

Some alarms occurred on the night after arriving, and a soldier on duty at an outpost was wounded by our people.

5th. Early in the morning arrived two Squaws and a child belonging to the Mountain near Montreal, who had been a long time prisoners. They told us that they had fled five days ago,

with the other women and children, who were withdrawn on the report of our approach. Another aged woman was captured in the woods; she was unable to follow, and our soldiers broke her skull. In the afternoon a Frenchman, a prisoner among the Oneidas arrived with an Indian. They brought from that nation a Belt whereby they solicited peace from Count de Frontenac. He sent them back immediately, and promised them peace on condition that they would come and settle with their families among us, assuring them that they should receive lands and sufficient seed. He added, if their wives and children were not ready, that they should bring five of the most influential of their chiefs as hostages; that the army would follow without delay, in order to oblige them by force to submit to the conditions imposed on them.

7th August. On the next morning a young Frenchman who had been seven years a prisoner among the Onnontagués arrived in the camp. He had escaped from those who were out, the night preceding, on the scout, and reported that the enemy had retired with their families twenty leagues from their fort, having scouts continually around in order to fly further off, if pursued. He added, that a great number would, probably, perish, having fled in such haste that they took with them scarcely any corn, some caches of which they hurriedly made, and that they already began to want.

Almost all these caches were discovered; the grain and the rest of the plunder, consisting of kettles, guns, hatchets, stuffs, belts and some peltries, were pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians.

The destruction of the Indian corn was commenced the same day, and continued on the two following. The grain was so mature that the stalks could be cut without difficulty by blows of the sabre and sword, without the least fear that any could sprout again. Not a single head remained standing.

The fields extended from a league and a half to two leagues from the fort. The destruction was complete. A lame girl was found concealed under a tree, and her life was spared.

An old man, also taken prisoner, did not experience the same fate. The Count's intention, after having interrogated him, was to grant him his life on account of his great age; but the Indians who had taken him and to whom he was given up, were so excited that it was not deemed prudent to dissuade them from the desire they felt to burn him. He had, no doubt, prepared himself during his long life to die with firmness, however cruel the tortures he should have to endure. Not the slightest murmur escaped his lips; on the contrary, he exhorted those who tormented him to remember his death, in order that they may display similar courage when those of his nation should revenge his murder on them. And when a Savage, weary of his harangues, gave him some cuts of a knife; "I thank thee," he said, "but thou oughtest rather complete my death by fire. Learn French dogs! [how to suffer,[1]] and ye Savages, their allies, who are dogs of dogs, remember what you have to do when you will occupy a position similar to mine."

Such sentiments as these will possibly be considered as ebullitions of ferocity rather than of true valor; but there are heroes among barbarians as well as among the most polished nations, and what would be brutality among us, may pass for virtue in an Iroquois.

9th M. de Vaudreuil returned from Oneida at 8 o'clock in the morning. He had departed on the morning of the 6th with a detachment of six to seven hundred of the most active of the whole army, Regulars, Militia and Indians. Under him were Captains de Louvigny and de

[1] *De la Potherie*, III., 279. — Ed.

Linvilliers; Messrs Desjordis and Dauberville, reduced Captains; Soulange and de Sabrevois lieutenants of infantry and several other subaltern officers. Lieutenant de Villedenay acted as his aid-de-camp.

As very great diligence was required, they did not march in as exact order as the army, M. de Vaudreuil contented himself with causing some scouts to march about a quarter of a league in advance, and he placed on the wings, between the scouts and the main body, a detachment of 50 as a forlorn hope, commanded in turn by a lieutenant. They arrived before sundown, on the same day, within a league of the Village, and would have pushed even further if the convenience of camping on the bank of a beautiful river had not invited them to halt.

They were at early dawn within sight of the Village, and as they were about to enter the fields of Indian corn, they met Deputies from the entire Tribe.

Who requested M. de Vaudreuil to halt, fearing that our Indians would spoil their crops, assuring him they would execute in good faith the orders the Count had given their first delegate.

Determined on his side to obey punctually the commands he had received, M. de Vaudreuil told them it was useless to think of preserving their grain, as according to the promise of [Onontio] their father, they should not want for any thing when settled among us; that, therefore, he should cut it all down; that their fort and wigwams would not be spared, either, as some were quite ready for their reception.

He found in this Village only 25 @ 40 persons, almost all having fled at the sight of this detachment; the most influential chiefs, however, had remained. M. de Vaudreuil permitted two or three men to go after these fugitives to endeavor to bring them back.

On entering the Village, a young French woman was discovered who had just arrived from the Mohawk; she reported that that nation and the English to the number of 300, were preparing to come and attack us. A Mohawk who had deserted from the Saut last winter—the same who had given intelligence of the proposed attack against his Tribe—was taken whilst roving around the village. He said, he had come there intending to surrender himself to us, which it was pretended to believe. An eye was kept on him, notwithstanding. He confirmed the report of the young French woman.

Another Indian, also of the same Tribe, but who had been captured with a party of our people belonging to the Saut where he resided, assured M. de Vaudreuil that the English and the Mohawks had, in fact, set about coming; that several of the former had moved out of Orange, but that they had contented themselves with remaining some hours outside on parade and had returned; that general consternation prevailed among the one and the other.

This last news caused M. de Vaudreuil's detachment as much regret as the first had afforded joy. It was received with a thousand yells of satisfaction, particularly by the Abenakis who said that they required only knives and hatchets to destroy the English; it was useless to burn powder on such a set.

M. de Vaudreuil had resolved to await them in the woods without shutting himself up in the fort, which he left on the eighth, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, after seeing it burnt and the corn entirely cut.

He came the same night and encamped within two leagues of Onnontagué. The celerity of his movements cannot be too highly praised, since he occupied only three days in going, returning and executing what he had to do, although from one Village to the other was fourteen good leagues through the woods, with continual mountains and a number of rivers or large

streams to be crossed. He was, therefore, not expected so soon, and the Count was agreeably surprised to see him return in so short a time with 35 Oneidas, among whom were, as we have stated, the principal chiefs of the Tribe, and four of our French prisoners.

But we are accustomed in Canada to see him perform so many gallant acts, and he has the King's service so much at heart, that those acquainted with him will not be surprised at this, however extraordinary it be.

The Mohawk deserter was burnt before the departure of the army, which encamped, on the same day, midway to the Fort where the bateaux had been left. Some Indians having remained behind in the hope of finding more plunder, received the fire of a small party; three of them were killed without the enemy daring to advance near enough to scalp them.

10th August. Reached, and destroyed this fort.

11th The army encamped below the Portage; and on the

12th, at ten o'clock in the morning, on Lake Frontenac at the mouth of the river.

It was time to quit that river, and if the waters had been as low as they are, usually, in the month of August, a portion of the bateaux would have to be, of necessity, abandoned. A very violent gale from the West detained the army until the

14th Though not altogether calm, ten leagues were made to-day under sail notwithstanding we did not leave until noon.

The navigation is pretty dangerous for canoes and bateaux; the waves extraordinarily high, and the landing very difficult, there being numerous shoals in some places, and in others head lands against which the billows dash to a stupendous height. We camped in a river where the wind was less violent, and next day

15th Arrived at Fort Frontenac.

16th The Militia and Regulars were engaged hauling fire-wood into the fort, and in cutting and transporting what was needed for the planks and boards that were required.

The masons who were left there had erected, during the Count's absence, a building of 120 feet along one of the curtains, not so high, on that side, as the parapet. The carpentry work is put up, and along the garret is a range of loop holes as in the remainder of the fort. This long building contains a chapel, the officers' quarters, a bakery, and some stores at present filled with provisions for the subsistence of the garrison for more than eighteen months, exclusive of refreshments and necessaries for Indian parties which will happen to pass there.

The two pieces of artillery employed in the campaign and a quantity of grenades were left there.

17th The army rested.

18th Came to camp at La Galette; and on the

19th In Lake Saint Francis. On the same day, the enemy attacked some canoes of our people who found means to precede us. One of ours was drowned; one wounded: the enemy lost three men, and could not be captured by a detachment sent in pursuit of them.

20th Arrived at Montreal. Some bateaux upset in descending the Rapids, and three of the Militia were drowned. We were obliged to make good to the others, whatever arms and baggage they had lost by upsetting.

The Narrative of this campaign might be extended to greater length, but as we should be obliged to make use of terms unknown to those unacquainted with Canada, this slight sketch was considered sufficient.

It would have been more advantageous to the King's arms, and more glorious to Count de Frontenac, had the Onnontagués adhered to their original design; it would have, no doubt, cost the lives of some brave fellows, as the Iroquois do not fight with impunity. There might have been between six @ seven hundred men in their fort, including those who had come to reinforce them, scarcely any of whom would have escaped; but their loss did not fail to be considerable. After M. de Denonville's campaign in the Seneca country, we know the difficulty to subsist that Nation experienced for several years. The Iroquois were powerful and are since diminished. Assistance from the English, particularly in provisions comes forward less abundantly. Wheat is worth as much as twenty-five francs the *minot*[1] at Orange; the pound of powder a pistole. Lead and other articles are, indeed, cheaper than with us.

The Mohawks have very little Indian corn; the Oneidas are ruined, and it is impossible to say whether the Seneca will not recollect the high price the Onnontagués placed on provisions at the time of his discomfiture, inasmuch as he was obliged to give most valuable belts for supplies.

The Cayugas, only, remain capable of succoring their neighbors; and it is not known whether they alone will suffice for that purpose.

Their hunting and fishing will doubtless, be interrupted by different small parties now in the field. In fine, it is certain that by continuing the war as it has been begun, and as Count de Frontenac determined, the Iroquois will be reduced to the necessity of perishing of hunger, or of accepting peace on such conditions as we shall conclude to impose; and should they continue, as they appear, almost invincibly obstinate in their hostility towards us, we should not despair of reducing them if this blow, struck without the participation of our Upper Allies, and which they thought could not be done without them, could put courage into the latter and engage them to make as great efforts on their part, as we have on ours. It will be easy to urge them to it as long as the French remain at Michilimakinac and other posts, but when the fatal moment for the return of our people shall have arrived, and the Indians see themselves abandoned, the little good-will they might have entertained towards us will be at once terminated.

Perhaps they will be considerably cooled down even this fall, seeing neither powder, nor ball, nor goods arriving in their country. How are they to be persuaded to wage war, if not furnished with the means? How complete the destruction of the Iroquois without their aid, should they withdraw to a distance from us, and retire into the woods?

Count de Frontenac learnt, on his arrival, that an Onnontagué who had been taken at the fort at the upper end of the Island of Montreal had committed suicide in prison.

22nd August. Thirteen Algonquins brought in two Mohawk scalps, and one woman and two girls prisoners.

Seven Indians belonging to the Saut and the Mountain, who had separated from M. de Vaudreuil at Oneida, brought in one of that Nation a prisoner who was burnt at Montreal.

Some small parties of the enemy appeared along the south shore, but did not make any attack, and the harvest was saved very quietly.

25th The Count on returning to Montreal, also received news from France, which came both by way of Acadia and by the ship *le Vespe*.

The King's orders were to the effect that Sieur d'Iberville should be furnished with 80 Canadians and some officers, so as to proceed to Placentia, which was done; and if *le Vespe* did not leave as soon as she ought, the blame must be attached to those whom Sieur d'Iberville

[1] A measure equal to three Bushels. — Ed.

employed to dispatch her; as the detachment put on board her, was fifteen days waiting at Quebec until private business had been arranged.

Sieur d'Iberville would have wished to have only Canadians, but it would have taken much more time to muster them; and the two soldiers per company that have been furnished him, are capable of any undertaking with the officers that have been placed at their head.

Private letters received by the Count from Sieur de Villebon, commander at Acadia, and from Sieurs d'Iberville and de Bonaventure, state that the two last had captured, at the mouth of the river Saint John, an English frigate carrying twenty-four guns and eighty men, after a fight of two hours, without the loss of a man on our side.

She was accompanied by another of thirty-six guns, the same with which Sieur de la Bonaventure had fought the preceding year, and which would have certainly been captured had the fog not separated our vessels, as she did not dare to stand more than two volleys from our guns.

The provisions for the fort on the river S[t] John were landed, and orders issued to the Indians to repair to fort Pemkuit.

The two men of war *l'Envieux* and *la Profonde* with [the prize[1]] Newport proceeded to Pentagouet where [repairs] having been completed and the King's presents distributed among the Indians, they embarked to the number of two hundred and forty under the command of Sieur de Saint Castin, along with twenty-five Regulars detached from Sieur de Villieu's company, with their Captain and Sieur de Montigny, his lieutenant. They anchored on the 14[th] of August before Pemkuit. Sieur d'Iberville summoned the fort at once to surrender; the commander refused to do so. Two field pieces and two mortars were landed; the batteries completed in a short time, and the assailants contented themselves with throwing four shells, which were fired even over the fort.

They were next summoned and told peremptorily that they should receive no quarter if they persisted in depending on circumstances. They accepted M. d'Iberville's offers to go out with their clothing only on condition of being sent back to Boston and exchanged for French Indians and Abenakis who might happen to be prisoners there.

Sieur de Villieu took possession of the fort. An Abenaki, taken at the same time as Edzerimet, was killed, as we have already informed you. The garrison consisted of ninety-two men, exclusive of some women and children. There were in this fort fifteen pieces of artillery. The muskets and other munitions of war were abandoned to the Indians as an indemnity for the losses this fort had caused them.

Its capture afforded them great joy, and it were desirable if, as certain people pretend, it could protect the French fishermen on the coast of Acadia and the river of Canada, and prevent the parties who may make inroads on our south shore, whether Englishmen, *Loups* or Iroquois. This would be somewhat like the observation, that his Majesty's conquests in Piedmont secure those of Catalonia. The result of the exchange of prisoners is waited for.

8[th] September. The Count prepared to leave Montreal and on the

12[th] Arrived at Quebec.

13[th] The Canada fleet commanded by M. Des Ursins, anchored at that place. He fell in with Sieur de la Vallière in the frigate *la Bouffonne* and with the Brigantine at the islands of Kaouy[2] on the 26[th] of August after having cruised in the gulf and throughout the river,

[1] *Hutchinson*, II., 92; *Charlevoix*. — Ed.

[2] Canary ?

[Since his] departure he met only one of the enemy's ships between the Islands of Percée and Bonaventure. She first appeared inclined to approach him, but he gave her chase for several hours without being able to overtake her, his ship making no headway. He reached Quebec with the remainder of his fleet on the same day.

Mr. de Lagny to M. de Pontchartrain.

Plan of an Expedition against Boston and Manatte, presented to the Minister.

Paris 20th January 1697.

My Lord,

I have arranged, in conjunction with M. de Chenvy, the annexed Memoir for the execution of the project that I submitted, by your order. The knowledge we possess of its contents, especially in regard to places, has been furnished by officers of experience when it was formerly designed to put this expedition on foot; that regarding Boston in particular, by Mr de Menneval, Governor of Port Royal, who after his capture resided there a considerable time at full liberty, possessing the confidence of Mr Dungan and Mr Nelson at whose house said Mr de Menneval lodged; so that he saw and examined every thing.

The arrangement for its execution is entirely Mr de Chenvy's who has served a long time in France and abroad, with the reputation of an able infantry officer.

I have taken the liberty to submit this project to you, My Lord, because M. d'Iberville drew it up during the voyage he made last year to Acadia for the capture of Pemkuit.

The confidence entertained by Sieur D'Iberville in this expedition might create the idea that it would be more certain in his hands than in those of the best naval officers unacquainted with those parts, and that what would appear easy to the first, would, possibly, appear monstrous to them. It is not so certain that the latter would agree with the Canadians and Indians. If he could be dispensed with at Hudson's bay, he might be appointed only second in command on board the fleet with such admiral as you would select, who, in such case, would not land for the attack. Mr de Vaudreuil on the one, and Mr d'Iberville on the other side, might command the two attacks; but as there is no one for Hudson's bay but the latter, he can be replaced in some sort, as far as the Indians are concerned, for Sieur de St Castin may be expected to do that, and you will doubtless find, My Lord, among the many brave men belonging to your Navy, a suitable commander of the fleet.

The views that originally directed attention to New England and New York were suggested by the proposition submitted by Chevalier de Callières, when here in 1689, to the late Marquis de Seignelay for the attack of New-York, which, owing to circumstances, could not then be executed.

Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, a gentleman of Gascony who had previously served in France, then a resident in Acadia and at present Captain in Canada and commandant at Missilimakinac was, at the time, here. He had frequented all parts of those coasts; returned thence in 1689, and on the representation of M. de Frontenac and Chevalier de Callières, was afterwards invited to attend a conference for the consideration of these expeditions, the execution whereof

it was considered proper to postpone until his Majesty could dispose of the necessary number of ships and men, without affecting designs then of advantage to his service. The propriety of attacking New-York and New England in the same campaign was considered; a good infantry Officer and an effective force of Regulars for a landing party were to be granted, all to act in concert with Canada and the forces of that country.

As regards the English and the Iroquois, it appears to persons conversant with Canada, that the invasion of Orange was preferable to all other destinations to be given to the Canada forces.

Chevalier de Callières was to proceed from Canada against Orange with at least two thousand men, to occupy that slightly defended post.

He was to leave five hundred at Orange, and proceed thence by, or along the river that leads to Manhatte in order to attack the latter place in conjunction with the sea forces and a landing party of five hundred men; a plan whereof was drawn up, which we have not yet been in a position to execute.

I am under the necessity, My Lord, to report these facts to you in answer to the order I received from you on the idea you entertained of attacking New-York also.

I do not think, My Lord, that that can be effected with four vessels separated from the four others intended for the expedition against Boston. The [two] thousand men from Canada are necessary to both; and the coöperation of that country as well as the season of the year, are matters for consideration. I maturely considered these points when I had the honor to submit the Memoirs respecting Boston to you, and to propose to you, My Lord, the sending precise orders to Canada for the arrangement in advance of matters there so as to proceed to Orange early in the spring, and to Manhatte next year at the time the fleet arrives there.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that there would be more certainty for both expeditions were the largest forces combined. The only question is regarding the season. That in which we now are, admits of no plan except to commence with Boston and proceed thence to Manatte, because to return in order to be embayed in the harbor of Boston at the north, at an advanced season, is out of the question, whilst, were the fleet to sail in good season from Boston southerly to Manatte when the sea is in the finest order, it would admit of more time for those expeditions and for other convenient arrangements.

It appears by the Map, that Boston is only fifty leagues from Manatte by land, whilst it is about one hundred by water, in consequence of the necessity of doubling Cape Mallebarre or Cod, (which juts very far out,) in order to reach the New-York Coast and the Bay and River of Manhatte and Long Island.

Wherefore, My Lord, in order to respond to your wishes, I am of opinion that by leaving France and Canada a little earlier than the time indicated for the Boston project, these two enterprises could be executed with the eight ships, if you think proper; and the remainder, after you have examined what I am about to propose to you for that purpose,

To wit:—

To dispatch the news-boat for Pentagouet at latest on the 15th of February; the sooner the better. Its arrival there may be expected towards the end of March, or, at farthest, in the fore part of April, and the orders would most assuredly be received at Quebec direct from Pentagouet, and even the duplicate from the River Saint John, in all April.

Were a second news-boat dispatched for greater certainty, which is necessary in an affair of this consequence, the delay, or failure of the first would still allow to the first of May at farthest for the arrival of the orders at Quebec; six weeks at least for the Canada preparations, so as to leave there on the fifteenth of June at the latest, and arrive at Pentagouet.

It would be, likewise, necessary that the fleet sail from the ports of France precisely on the first of May at farthest, and if possible on the 20th of April, in order to arrive at Mount Desert

Bay, which is the Pentagouët roadstead, where it would meet the troops from Canada and the Indians from Acadia, so as to leave there for Boston in the beginning of July. The execution of the enterprise may be calculated on in all July, and that the fleet would be at liberty to sail for Manatte about the 10th of August at the farthest.

They could leave Boston probably earlier than the 10th of August.

Previous to starting for Manatte the fleet would assist the Canadians and Indians in the reduction of Salem and other places along the coast, as far as Piscatoé, which is the last place on this seaboard inhabited by the English, our Indians having destroyed all the others.

If by any unforeseen accident the Boston expedition should detain the King's ships until the 20th of September at latest, it is the opinion that it would not be proper to proceed to Manatte after that time. In that case the ships could go to Placentia to retake and refit it in case the enemy may have captured it.

Piscatoé is the point for the reëmbarkation of the Canada forces, and for the dismissal of the Acadian Indians, who would return in safety in their canoes to Pentagouët.

Should the enemy be still there, and My Lord should consider this fleet to be superior or equal to them, as is apparent, it could attack them.

In fixing the time for these expeditions and rendezvous as now proposed, favorable seasons for the one and the other may be looked for.

In regard to the Canada forces, two ways are open for their return; One, by conveying them back to Pentagouët, where they would have left their canoes; the other, to go back by the river as far as Orange, as would be found most convenient.

In the latter case, orders might be sent to M. de Frontenac to go, or dispatch another party of troops from Canada as far as the neighborhood of Orange, to meet those that might be on the Manhatte expedition in order to form a junction with them, and to drive the English from Albany. This would entirely disconcert the Iroquois to whom Orange serves as a retreat.

Although the fortifications of Manhatte, on the land side, are bad, and it was so admitted at the time the expedition was discussed, the latter is, nevertheless, more difficult than that against Boston; that is to say, it requires more art and skill. In other respects, the dispositions of the attack by land and sea are nearly similar. There is hard by an unfortified island to be occupied; shells can be thrown from it into the fort and town. The landing can also be effected from the river above the fort. A sketch of the attacks, similar to that which is sent for Boston, will be annexed to Mr de Chenvy's and my Memoir and to the plans.

When the attack of New-York was projected, it was proposed to embark a superior Infantry Officer. Sieur de Villebon, who is acquainted with Manatte, could be had at Acadia. Sieur Baptiste who has lived a long time at Boston and who is acquainted with Manatte, could be taken on board. He is a very good sailor, and a brave man. Four or five good Acadian pilots could likewise be calculated on; Sieur de Villebon might be instructed to have them come to the river St John in advance.

The second newsboat could be left for Baptiste; it would remain on the spot at his Majesty's expense; and he would follow the fleet in that vessel. Sieur de Bonaventure can be regarded as well qualified for these two expeditions.

The expedition against Manatte deserves particular consideration and is of more importance as regards Canada exclusively.

New-York, which the English took from the Dutch, has been ceded to the former by the Treaty of Breda in exchange for Surinam which the Dutch had taken from the English.

New-York is inhabited by Dutch people and it is to be considered whether Manatte should be retained or razed.

The design against Boston has special objects as regards Canada in general, and for the preservation of Acadia in particular, and the establishments to be necessarily founded there. Its execution is of greater utility than [that of] Manatte, and of infinitely more importance for the State and of incalculable injury to old England and to all the Western and Southwestern Colonies.

But were both designs executed, it is thought that no other enterprise can be of the same consequence to the State.

I should have been well pleased, My Lord, could I have explained myself more concisely, with a view to the economy of your time which I always bear in mind. Be pleased to permit me to request you to accept my good-will and most ardent desire to deserve, by my unreserved fidelity and attachment, the honor of your confidence and protection.

(signed) DE LAGNY.

M. de Pontchartrain to Count de Frontenac.

Versailles, 28th of April 1697.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your long letter of the 25th of October, and of the others. I read to the King the one you had sent me for his Majesty, who has expressed himself entirely satisfied with your expedition against the Iroquois of Onontagué and Oneida, and with your whole conduct. He hopes that by applying yourself, as you have invariably done, to the execution of his orders, you will experience still greater success, and that you will reduce the Iroquois sue for peace. I shall take the liberty on the favorable dispositions his Majesty has manifested in your regard, to remind him of your services on occasions which will possibly offer to reward them.

You are not to regard the nomination of regular officers to vacant commissions as any want of his Majesty's confidence. He has reserved such appointments to himself every where as well as in Canada.

On the contrary, you may be assured that he would pay great regard to your recommendations in favor of those you will propose. Meanwhile he approves the choice you made before the knowledge of his orders, of Sieur Du Luth to command the company vacant by the death of Chevalier de Crisaffy.

Although his Majesty admit the serious disorders in the use of the licenses he has thought proper to be issued for the purpose of trading with the Outawas and others, he cannot impute any to you, and had'nt you in view when he resolved to suppress those licenses and all sorts of permits, without any exception, for the transportation of merchandise to, or carrying on any sort of trade in, the interior of the country. His Majesty's declaration to that effect, and for the return of all the Coureurs de bois, has been issued as the sole practical remedy to put a speedy stop to the war and accomplish his Majesty's views for the firm establishment of the Colony and its commerce.

I informed you, last year, that in order to confirm him more strongly in the principle always kept in view—to prevent carrying on trade beyond the limits of the Colony—his Majesty had taken the advice of all those who were best acquainted with Canada and its history, since the French penetrated into that country. The suppression of this trade which has been subject to deplorable consequences, will restore the Indians to the custom they formerly had of bringing their Peltries down to the Colony, with more benefit to themselves and greater advantage to the people of the Colony. I shall not repeat to you any thing his Majesty has explained to you in his orders and in those of preceding years. The best means of keeping the Upper Nations divided and at war with the Iroquois, is for the French not to disturb the

former in their trade with those Nations that are beyond them. The English do not go to trade into the interior. They leave that to the Indians, and have always waited For them at New-York and New England, as was their practice at Fort Bourbon whilst in possession at that post. We have had proof that the private interest of those who follow and prosecute this internal trade; whether those who go thither and those who employ people on their own account, or those who advance goods to them; whether officers of the Regular army and others who participate in it personally and otherwise, would foment objections and complaints. It scarcely appears possible that the Coureurs de bois could return to this mischievous trade, if pains had been taken, as was your duty, to deprive them of the means of so doing, and to execute the Ordinance issued by his Majesty; and if any wished to retire to the English, they would not find any more profitable employment there than in Canada, and would have to settle with the Iroquois on their road.

I cannot add any thing to what is contained in his Majesty's Memoir respecting the posts of Missilimakinac, the Miamis, and Fort Frontenac, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to preserve on your Remonstrances, unless it be that you cannot take too many precautions to assure yourself that no trade will be carried on there, either directly or indirectly, and to avoid the recurrence of any complaint to his Majesty in this regard.

I have been obliged to enter into some details with M. de Champigny respecting the remarks made on the expenditures contained in the accounts and estimates he has transmitted, in order that he apply himself to their retrenchment and reduction. I request you to bestow, likewise, your attention and to extend all the facilities in your power to aid him therein to the end that, by a more strict economy, you may have more means to wage a vigorous war against the enemy. You will see that his Majesty refers himself to you for the manner in which you are to prosecute the war. I shall only add here, that if the results you anticipate from the expedition you organized for the purpose of attacking with the greatest part of the forces of your government, the Onontagué and Oneida settlements, have not been commensurate with your expectations, you will have to consider as regards similar undertakings, whether, not being able to keep them a secret, the enemy will not again fly before you, as they already have done, without it being in your power to derive any advantage from such expedition.

It is well for you to examine whether it would not be easier to attack the Iroquois in the neighborhood of Orange, more especially as, in addition to the evil that might be inflicted on them, there would be an opportunity to do some damage to the English.

I communicate these observations to you, in order not to omit mentioning every thing to you, being well assured that you will adopt the best measures.

Until his Majesty have it in his power to bestow on you more marked proofs of the satisfaction he entertains of your services, he has granted you his Military Order of S[t] Louis, and you will find herewith his permission to you to wear its Cross.

His Majesty not being disposed to appoint any new Commissaries of the Navy *(Commissaires de Marine)* nor to grant any such commission except to persons who have taken the degrees, I will have not been able to procure the appointment of M. de Monseignat, your secretary.[1] You will find me disposed, when occasion will present, to be serviceable to him on your recommendation.

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 491.

The interest you take in Sieur de Bonnaventure whom you recommended again in your last despatches, has obliged me to direct his Majesty's attention particularly to his services; and he has been pleased to bestow on him a commission of Captain of a Cutter *(fregate legere)*.

In the choice his Majesty leaves to you to accompany the Boston expedition as commander of the attack, I have to request of you to consider your health and the state of your strength above all things relating to his service.

Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1696, 1697.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, from the departure of the Vessels in 1696 to the 15th of October 1697.[1]

The first news received immediately after the sailing of the ships last year came from Sieur de Villebon, commandant of Acadia, who sent an account of what took place at fort Nachouat[2] on the river Saint John, and how six or seven hundred Englishmen from Boston, or Indians their allies, had made a fruitless attack on that fort. We shall not dwell further on this action, Sieur de Villebon having taken care to inform the Count of the particulars thereof.

He learned, a few days after the departure of the enemy from his fort, that they had been at Chigniton, or Beaubassin, and had carried off and pillaged, all the movables belonging to several settlers who confided in their promise, burning the houses of those that had fled into the woods, and killing all their cattle that they could catch, although a treaty of Neutrality had been signed between the poor people and the Governors of Boston.

It was nearly in [the same] good faith that the commander of the frigate, which came last year to Pentagouët to affect an exchange of the prisoners taken at Pemaquid by Sieur d'Iberville, made himself master of Sieur de Villieu who had been left there to execute that exchange, and of twenty-two soldiers and other Frenchmen who accompanied him.[3]

Sieur de Villieu is not to be accused of having allowed himself to be taken by his own fault; for though he should have accepted the English Commandant's offer of a passport for eight days, he would have required many more to go, coastwise, from his place of departure to the river Saint John, in a boat full of people and which dared not go far from the shore; besides, his passport would be useless to him after the expiration of the term, and would not have obliged the English any longer to respect the Law of Nations which they have absolutely violated in his regard; they have detained him in a very confined prison, and allowed him no communication with any person whomsoever, unless what Sieur de Villebon might have written them, and the reprisals with which they were threatened had caused them to relax somewhat before this. Whether the communication Count de Frontenac has since sent them by some Englishmen who

[1] Embodied in Letter VIII., of 3d Vol. of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale.*

[2] Fort Naxouat (note, *supra*, p. 548) was besieged by Colonel Hawthorne with a force from Massachusetts on the 18th October, 1696, who, two days after, found himself obliged to raise the siege. *Hutchinson*, II., 94, 95; *Charlevoix*, II., 182–185.

[3] Charlevoix *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, II., 181, 182, mistakes *Villebon* for *Villieu*, and finding the former soon after at the river St. John defending his fort, takes it for granted that he must have been released by the English, whose prisoner he had not been. *Hutchinson*, II., 91. Relying on the correctness of Charlevoix, the mistake is copied in note, *supra*, p. 240. — Ed.

were taken at sea, and forwarded to New-York, will be productive of any better effect, remains to be seen.

It became necessary, immediately after the departure of the fleet, in consequence of the excessive price the farmers put on the wheat, to fix the rate of it at 4ll 10 sous country currency per *minot*. It was, nevertheless, impossible for Mr de Calières to find means to subsist all the companies that were to winter in his government, and he caused the less efficient in each of them to be detached to Quebec and Three Rivers.

Meanwhile so great a scarcity of grain prevailed throughout the whole of Canada, that it would have been almost impossible to send out any considerable party on the ice, as had been proposed. The project was entirely abandoned on the arrival of thirty or forty Oneidas who were preceded some days by Tatahsisséré of their Nation who has been for a long time at the Sault. They arrived on the fifth of February[1] at Montreal and were very kindly received.

They presented several Belts which did not say much; merely that they have performed the promise they gave their father Onontio to come and settle on his lands; that if the whole nation has not come, 'twas because they were prevented by the Onnontagués and Mohawks who retained them right and left; but on the first message from Onnontio, they will not fail coming to Montreal.

They demand by another Belt to be furnished with land and help to cut down the timber in one particular spot where they can form a village, so that the name of Oneida may be preserved, and that they have the same Missionary; that is, Father Millet,[2] a Jesuit, who is actually with them.

They represent, in private conversation, that the Onontagués were hunting on the river of the Andastes[3] within three or four leagues of their ancient village; that the English had made them some presents, to console them for their losses, and that they were saying they intended to return for the purpose of planting their fields which we had laid waste last year.

The Chief of the Oneidas requested to return to the rest of his Tribe for the purpose of informing them of the cordial reception he had experienced, and of bringing them down with him.

Two Mohawks arrived at Montreal in the middle of February, with Mdme Salvaye and her daughter, who had been taken in the course of the preceding summer at Sorel, and to whom the governor of Manatte had given a passport and these two Indians as guides. They presented two Belts to M. de Frontenac at Quebec.

[1] 1697.

[2] Rev. Pierre Milet arrived in Canada in 1667, and was sent the following year to Onondaga where he received the Indian name of Teharonhiagannra, or The looker up to Heaven. He was removed to Oneida in 1671 and labored there until 12 July 1684, when he left and joined De la Barre on Lake St. Francis on 1st of August. At the request of the Marquis de Denonville, he was appointed Chaplain to Fort Frontenac in 1685, where he acted as interpreter in 1687; and in 1688 succeeded de Lamberville as Chaplain of the fort at Niagara. He returned to Fort Frontenac in 1689, and being lured outside the pallisades to attend a dying Indian, was taken prisoner by the Oneidas, and his life saved only by having been adopted by one of the Squaws. During his captivity, the English made many efforts, though in vain, to get him in their power, for which purpose Governor Fletcher sent Dirk Wessels to Oneida; Father Milet continued in captivity until the fall of 1694, when he returned to Quebec. He asked again to return as Missionary to those Indians but the aspect of the times did not admit it. Charlevoix who was in Canada from 1705 to 1722 "lived several years with" Milet and speaks of him in terms of high esteem. — Ed.

[3] The Susquehanna. See *supra*, note 2, p. 227.

By the first they asked what was Onnontio thinking of, and whether the road which formerly led from the Mohawk to him was entirely closed. This Belt was presented in the name of the entire Mohawk Nation.

The second Belt was only from the Speaker who said that he came in quest of his son who had been taken by the Indians of the Sault some time ago, and whom he demanded back by this Belt.

The Count answered, that he was astonished that they should dare come to him with sentiments expressive of so little submission as those which they appeared to entertain; that they ought to be aware that he had threatened to put into the kettle such Belt-bearers, whom he pardoned only because they had brought M^dme^ Salvaye and her daughter, whom he was very glad to see again; that in future none of the Iroquois must presume to appear in his presence except perfectly resigned to his will and accompanied by all the Frenchmen they had in their country.

These two Mohawks were detained a considerable time at Quebec, and were not allowed to leave until the opening of the navigation, lest they might inform the enemy of the place where our Indians of the Sault and Mountain were hunting.

A party of twenty-one Frenchmen, Militia and Regulars, with one Indian of the Sault had proceeded as early as the month of October towards Orange, and had separated on being discovered; but not meeting at the rendezvous they had appointed, eight or nine set out on their return to Montreal and were attacked by another party of our Indians of the Mountain who were on their way to strike a blow on the English, and who supposed them to be enemies. Two of our soldiers were wounded and are cured, but as they made a brave defence they were so unfortunate as to kill Tatatiron,[1] principal war Chief of the Mountain, who is a very serious loss, on account of his bravery and the affection he bore our service.

The other portion of the French party was still more unfortunate: After having been victorious in a battle against several Indians of Hudson river *(Loups)* and Mohawks, who were in pursuit of them, the man named Dubeau, who was, as it were, in command of the party, finding himself wounded and unable to follow his companions, surrendered himself with two others, at Orange,[2] and on their report, some Englishmen and Indians set out in pursuit of the rest, who were so enfeebled by hunger and fatigue, that all were killed or captured with the exception of two or three who probably perished in the woods, and of whom no account has been received.

As it was absolutely necessary to obtain intelligence from fort Frontenac from which no news had been received since the fall, M^r^ de Callière sent thither Ensign de la Chavignerie with two Frenchmen on the ice. Every body there was in good health except Captain Dulhut, the Commander, who was unwell of the gout. No Iroquois had appeared there since those who captured a soldier in September, and who, though in considerable numbers, were so cowardly as not to dare pursue two or three who retired into the Fort.

Some Regulars and Indians captured at the gate of Schenectady a very influential Onnondaga Chief. They were not able to make any prisoners, as recommended, having been pursued immediately after striking the blow, by a number of the enemy half again as strong as they.

Some Outaouacs and Hurons feeling a desire to set out from Missillimakinac on a visit to Montreal, M^r^ de Lamotte Cadillac, commanding at that post adjoined to their party the

[1] Tiorhathatiron. *De la Potherie*, III., 287. — Ed. [2] Dubeau subsequently died of his wounds. See IV., 233.

Frenchman named Mahous to carry his despatches to Count de Frontenac, to whom he gave an account of every occurrence in the Upper Country, since the receipt of the last intelligence.

Affairs were in great confusion on account of the war that the most of our Indians were waging the one against the other, and which could not be prevented in consequence of the want of people and presents.

These things will be detailed more at length when treating of what transpired in the Council holden at Quebec by Count de Frontenac with those Tribes.

The Hurons presented three Belts the object of which was to confirm Onnontio in the good-will he always entertained towards them, and to assure him of the fidelity of Sataressy (that is, the name of the whole Nation in general) despite the secret intrigues of the Baron, one of their chiefs, and of his family.

Count de Frontenac answered, That his heart was always the same towards them, and that he should never break the bond that united them; that he would repair the injury some others of his Children might have done them; that he exhorted them not only to remain at Missilimakinac, but even to take up lands nearer him, at such place as they would prefer, where he could more readily defend them, and furnish them whatever they required.

About the end of May, Sieur de Vincelot, a Canadian, who had embarked at Rochelle on board the frigate commanded by Sieur de Gabaret, arrived here; he had been put ashore at Mount Desert in Acadia, and had traveled with extreme diligence.

He brought us orders from the Court which excited new thoughts, and changed all the plans that might have been projected against the Iroquois, for the purpose of thinking only of receiving the English, should they dare to come here, or of attacking them in their country according to the orders which may be received from his Majesty as he has given to understand.

As the principal operations, whether for defence or attack, were to be at Quebec, Count de Frontenac had the Staff officers of the place, and the captains of the garrison assembled, and communicated to them what might be understood of his Majesty's orders at the present conjuncture; to wit, the menaces of a great expedition against Canada, or should that not be successful, some enterprise on our part according to his Majesty's pleasure. It was resolved, in this council to order down to Quebec a portion of the companies that had wintered in the government at Montreal, and Count de Frontenac dispatched one of his Secretaries to M^r^ de Callières to give him communication of the news received from France, and to adopt in conjunction with him some efficient measures both for defending the country and attacking the enemy.

The man named Prémont, an inhabitant of the island of Orleans, arrived in the interval of M^r^ de Callières' answer; he had been dispatched by M^r^ de Villebon and was bearer of duplicates of the orders from Court, the original whereof had been brought by Sieur de Vincelot.

This Prémont had been taken prisoner with Guion, the Canadian privateer, and he assured us that there was no appearance of the Bostonians being in a condition to undertake any thing against Canada this year; that in addition to the prevailing scarcity of provisions and munitions of war, there seemed to exist a very bad understanding among themselves; that they were fortifying themselves, and never omitted any occasion to menace us.

That Sieur de Villieu's prison was narrower and ruder than could be imagined; he did, in fact, bring from that gentleman a sort of letter of credit written on a wretched scrap of paper with blood for want of ink and other necessaries.

This was about the same time that we received intelligence of the recapture of fort Nelson last fall by five English ships, in spite of Sieur de Sérigny who was unable to render the garrison any assistance with his two vessels.

Captain Lamotte who was in command of one of them, whilst sailing through the Straits of Belleisle, between Anticosti and the main land of La Brador, on his way to unload at Quebec, struck, in coming out of the Strait, on a shoal of rock four leagues from land which had not been previously known. The ship and half the crew were lost. Lamotte and some twenty men reached Mingant, the establishment of Sieur Jolliet,[1] and arrived here after a partial fast.

Nine companies belonging to the government of Montreal arrived in the beginning of June, and the Intendant found means to subsist them during the remainder of the campaign. Six that wintered near Quebec, were subsisted for a month or two on the wheat furnished by the citizens of that town in commutation of the Corvées[2] for the fortifications to which one per family was subject. The settlers of the Côte de Beaupré, the Island of Orleans, the South shore and others, also, in the neighborhood of Quebec furnished each one man per house during fifteen days, and the work was energetically pushed forward.

Nothing contributed so much to its perfection as the care of Captain Levasseur, the Engineer. It was impossible to effect more in less time and at so little expense.

He will himself give an account of the former state of the town, but in its actual condition the Governor dare assert that it is entirely beyond insult, if attacked only by expeditions that can naturally come here either from Old, or New England, provided he can muster the forces that can be thrown, within eight days, into Quebec.

The fortification occupied the troops during the remainder of the summer; the artillery was rendered effective, and by means of well arranged orders, provision was made to protect the settlers of the lower end of the river against surprisal, and to remove the cattle from the islands into the interior of the forest.

Count de Frontenac ordered several of the Colonists on the seaboard, dispersed beyond the settlements, to be on their guard, and to give instant notice of any thing they may discover.

[1] Louis Jolliet, whose name is now imperishably connected with the discovery of the Mississippi river, was the son of Jean Jolliet, wheelwright, and Mary d'Abancour; he was born at Quebec in the year 1645, (*a*) and lost his father when he was only five years of age. After completing his studies at the Jesuit College of that city, he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, received Minor orders on the 10th of August, 1662, and finished his Philosophy in 1666; but he turned his attention, a few years afterwards, to other pursuits and repaired to the Indian country. In 1673 he was selected by Count de Frontenac to proceed in search of the Great River which, 'twas said, flowed into the Gulf of California. Father Marquette, who was invited to accompany him, says that Jolliet was eminently qualified for such an important undertaking. He possessed good conduct, wisdom, courage, experience and a knowledge of the Algonquin languages. The success of this expedition is matter of history. On the 7th of October 1675, Mr. Jolliet married Clara Frances Bissot, also a native of Quebec. In 1680 he was appointed hydrographer to the King, and "as a reward for having discovered the Country of the Illinois, whereof he has transmitted a Map to my Lord Colbert and for a voyage he made to Hudsons bay in the public interests," he obtained a grant of the Island of Anticosti in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which on account of the fisheries and the Indian trade was, at the time, one of the most profitable Seigniories in Canada; in connection with it he had an establishment also at Mingan, on the Main land or opposite shore. He built a trading post and visited the Island every year, and it was on the way back to Quebec in 1690, from this establishment that his wife, his mother-in-law, and some sailors in his employ, were taken prisoners on the river St. Lawrence by Sir Wm. Phips. *Supra*, p. 483. On 30th April 1697, he obtained a grant of the Seigniory of Jolliet, on the river Etchemins, south of Quebec, which is still in the possession of some of his descendants. Mr. Jolliet died between the year 1700 and the year 1702, leaving a widow and four children. *La Hontan*, 1728, I., 336; *Notes sur les Régistres de Notre Dame de Québec par le Rev. M. Ferland*, 36–41.

(*a*) This is the date of the Record of Baptism (*Ferland*, 36) who states however that in the census of 1681, Mr. Jolliet is entered as being 42 years old, which would fix the date of his birth at 1639. The record of baptism is no doubt the most reliable. — Ed.

[2] See note, *supra*, p. 564.

He dispatched eight Abenakis on a scout towards Boston, who promised to bring back a prisoner of distinction, but they could keep only half their word, and the Englishman they brought hither was found to be unfortunately so stupid, that no information could be extracted from him.

Mr de Callières had done the same thing. More than fifty Indians of the Sault and Mountain with some Nepisseriniens started from Montreal to go to the Mohawks near Orange, Corlard and Esopus, to try to make some prisoners there. Sieur de Batilly, Ensign of foot, who scarcely misses any of these sorts of detachments, and is well adapted thereto, and Sieur de Belestre, a reduced Ensign, joined them.

Mr de Callières' reasons for not having sent the number of companies, required by Count de Frontenac, was quite valid. Irrespective of the necessity which may exist for troops in the government of Montreal, for the pursuit of small parties that ordinarily make their appearance in the settlements, certain movements among the Coureurs de bois rendered it necessary that we should be in a condition to resist their mutinies. However secret they endeavored to keep their practices, these could not escape his penetration; and though it may be expected from his ability that he would easily destroy these little cabals, it was at the same time necessary that he should appear to have the power at hand to offer them open opposition in case of need.

The parties which we mentioned above, arrived at Montreal on the twenty-fourth. They brought some scalps of settlers belonging to Orange and Corlard, and two prisoners who were so beaten by the Indians of the Sault, in revenge for the sufferings experienced in London as they were told, by their comrades, who had been carried off from Hudson's bay, that the elder of the two was unable to reach Montreal. The younger reports that news had been received of negotiations of peace in Europe; that they were expecting an attack from us at Orange at the same time that a French fleet would appear before Manatte. Mr de Callières had a minute search made for all the bark canoes to be found in his government, and the Intendant thought proper to have them paid for.

Mr de Ramesay did the same thing at Three Rivers, and the Frenchmen of that town constructed several for which they, also, were paid. Those within the government of Quebec were merely impressed, and agreeably to orders from Court, every preparation was made for any expedition it should please to direct.

On the 2nd of July, a party of six Iroquois made their appearance, about seven o'clock in the evening, at the prairie of Saint Lambert,[1] and killed one man and his daughter, and mortally wounded a young lad.

Joseph, Chief of the Soquokis residing among us, having gone to make some prisoners in the direction of the English, caught one of them whom he was obliged to knock on the head, having refused to march, and alarming the entire neighborhood by his cries.

He met on the way a party of [Hudson river] Indians *(Loups)* and having talked with them for the space of two days, they authorized him to inform Count de Frontenac that they would return to settle among us, as in former times, were they not apprehensive of his displeasure and merited chastisement for the blow they struck on us at St Francis.

Joseph was permitted to tell them, that they would be willingly received, on condition that they should behave themselves and bring in their wives and children.

An Iroquois Squaw taken near Corlard was brought to Montreal at the end of June, when a young warrior of the Sault returned, who, not having struck a blow with any of our parties,

[1] Immediately opposite Montreal. — Ed.

had separated and went to the Mohawk village for the purpose of learning some news. The English did all in their power to oblige him to go to Orange, which he positively refused to do. He said that Teganissorens, an Onondaga Chief, had assured him that the Iroquois were thinking of forming a general deputation from the Five Nations to conclude peace with us; that, in reply to an English Minister who was at the Mohawk and had reproached them that they were negotiating without the participation of the Governor of Orange, these Indians answered that they were imitating the English who were doing the same thing; and, in fact the Mohawk Chiefs intrusted a Belt to this Indian, to tell their Brothers of the Sault, that they were weary of fighting and had resolved to come and reside with them; let them manage, then, to obtain the Governor's consent thereto, but secretly, lest their coming be prevented by the English.

The Squaw prisoner assured that thirty Hurons of Missillimakinac had been at Orange, and that the Governor had given them lands to form a village apart. This turned out partially true.

We forgot to state that Sieur Aubert, of Mille Vaches,[1] on his return from Bayonne to this country had captured about the latitude of the Azores a small English vessel, which was sold for nearly 80,000[ll] this currency.

Captain de Muy[2] of the Regulars, arrived in the end of July in a ship taken from the English, and purchased for the King, at Placentia. He brought back a part of the detachment of Militia and Regulars who had been sent thither last year from this place, and had been in the expedition against Saint John and other English posts on the island of Newfoundland. No mention of it is made here, the news thereof being known in France earlier than in Canada.

Eight days after, a small bark, also from Placentia arrived here. The one and the other of these vessels brought additional copies of the orders received by Sieur de Vincelot.

Nearly about mid August, Count de Frontenac took a hurried trip to Three Rivers, and received on his way thither some letters from M[r] de Callières, informing him of the return of Otachecté, an Oneida Chief, from his Nation; he gave assurance that they were all seriously preparing to come and live with us, and as a mark that they would keep their word, they sent back in advance a young Frenchman, who was a prisoner among them.

On the news of this Otachecté's return home, the Onondagas had sent a man express to learn from him how he had been received. He himself gave an account of it, and they resolved to depute two Indian chiefs with Belts in their name.

This embassy was turned aside by the broils of some young men who were desirous to avenge the death of a Chief of their Nation that had been killed by one of our parties, of which we have already spoken, and of six others whom some Algonquins had treated in like manner. The Chiefs thought proper to give Otachecté three Belts.

The first explains the cause of the delay of the projected embassy. By the second, they say, that they are groaning since those two blows inflicted on them, but that, notwithstanding, they do not lose courage, and that the sack of Belts and provisions of their people was still on their mat, ready to come.

By a third, they inquire whether they will be well received, and request an answer by three Oneidas who have accompanied Otachecté; that they have postponed the departure of the

[1] Thirty leagues below the Saguenay, on the N. side of the St. Lawrence.

[2] This officer who had already served with some distinction in the present war, was ordered to proceed to Newfoundland in 1696, to coöperate with Iberville against the English settlements in that quarter. He was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1707, but died on his way to assume that government. — Ed.

others until they learn Onnontio's will, so that the deputies of the four other Nations may go down with them.

They address a fourth Belt to the Jesuit Fathers who have formerly been with them, and who have baptized so many, requesting them to intercede in their behalf with their Father Onnontio, and to pray to God for the preservation of peace.

Possibly all those Belts were only to amuse, and postpone the departure of, the Oneidas who appeared sincerely desirous to come and settle among us.

Three of them were sent back, as the Iroquois demanded, to say to them by a single Belt, that they could come provided it were by the end of September at latest, and by previously performing what their Father had ordered them to do; then they would treat of peace in earnest.

Otachecté said, that the English had sent a large Belt to the Iroquois to assure them that they were preparing seriously to make war on us.

An Indian who had accompanied him, gave still further and most positive assurance on this head; but he did not believe that many of the Iroquois would heed that Belt, all of them being truly disposed to come to an accommodation with us.

A small party of Iroquois struck a blow at La Prairie de la Magdelaine, killed one man, and scalped two others, one of whom has survived. He revenged himself honorably of his wounds having killed two Iroquois who had in like manner lost their scalps.

A Mohawk named Couchecoucheotacha, settled at the Sault, was deputed by those of his village, with the permission of the governor, to carry to the Mohawks the answer to the underground belt, which we have already mentioned; and to assure them that they would be welcome should they settle among us; but it must be soon.

M[r] de Lamotte-Cadillac[1] arrived at Montreal on the twenty-ninth of August, with a number of Indians belonging to the Upper Nations and several canoes of Frenchmen; he repaired to Quebec four or five days after, with the principal Chiefs.

[1] Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Lord of Bouaguat and Mount desert, in Maine, was a native of Gascony. He held a commission of Captain of Marines and had served in France before coming to Canada. Having resided some time in Acadia, he returned to France in 1689, and obtained in 1691, from Louis XIV., a grant of territory from which he subsequently took his titles. On coming to Canada a second time he succeeded M. de Louvigny in 1694 as Commandant of Michilimakinac, which post he filled until 1697. In 1701 he was sent to lay the foundation of Fort Ponchartrain, in the present city of Detroit, where he remained, with his lady, until 1706 when he left for Quebec. He returned to Detroit in the fall of the same year, and in 1707, marched against the Miamis and reduced them to terms. In 1712, he was appointed Governor of Louisiana, and arrived there in the month of June of the following year. Being a partner with Mr. de Crozat, who had obtained a grant of the exclusive trade of that vast country, M. de la Mothe endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to open a commerce with Mexico. He subsequently visited the Illinois country, where he reported having discovered a silver mine, afterwards called the La Mothe mine. He next established a post among the Indians of Alabama. The Natchez evincing hostility to the French, M. de la Mothe dispatched a military force against them, when the guilty were punished and peace was concluded. A fort was thereupon erected in that country, anno 1714, which was called Fort Rosalie, in compliment to Mde. de Pontchartrain; another fort was built at Natchitoches to prevent the Spaniards approaching the French colony. M. de la Mothe administered the government of Louisiana until the 9th March 1717, when, according to Charlevoix, he returned to France. M. du Pratz in his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, I., 23, says that he died previous to 1719. In 1691, as already stated, M. de la Mothe had obtained a grant from Louis XIV. of Mount desert Island and of a large tract of land on Frenchman's bay, in the present State of Maine, whence he subsequently took his titles. In 1785, nearly a century afterwards, Madame Grégoire, his granddaughter, set up a claim to the whole of that island, and having proved her descent, the government "to cultivate mutual confidence and union between the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty and the citizens of this State," naturalized this lady, and her husband Barthelemy de Grégoire, and quit-claimed to them in 1787, all the interest the Commonwealth had to the Island, reserving only lots of 100 acres to actual settlers. *Williamson's Maine*, I., 79; II., 515. Thus M. de la Mothe Cadillac became identified with the early history of Maine, Michigan, Illinois, Lousiana and the Southwestern States of the American Republic. — Ed.

Affairs were in great confusion throughout all those countries, and the different Nations allied to us seemed disposed to wage war among themselves.

The Scioux had made two attacks on the Miamis; these same Miamis had been attacked by the Sauteurs, and it appeared that the four Outaouais Nations wished to take the part of these latter.

The Baron, a Huron of Missilimakinac, but who is not, however, of the family of Sataretsy, which gives the name to the Nation, had gone with three or four families to settle among the Miamis, and continued his negotiations with the Iroquois for the introduction of the English into those countries; and those Hurons who, we said, had made application to form a village near Orange, were of his family.

Nicolas Perrot, a French voyageur, well known to all those nations, had been plundered by the Miamis, who would have burnt him had not the Outagamis and the Foxes opposed such a proceeding.

The four Outaouais Nations, the Poutouatamis, the Sacs and the Hurons had, at the request of M^r^ de Lamotte, organized different parties against the Iroquois, and more than one hundred Seneca Warriors were computed to have been killed or captured in the course of the Spring.

M^r^ de Lamotte had received intelligence of the last blow struck on Lake Erie, where fifty-five Iroquois were killed after a fight on the water of more than two hours' duration. Our allies lost four men on that occasion.

This defeat is the more important as it broke up the measures the Baron had adopted with these same Iroquois for the utter destruction of the Miamis under cover of negotiating peace with them. After the engagement, the Huron Chief, the Rat, who commanded on the occasion, notified the Miamis to be on their guard, and not to trust the Baron.

The following are the speeches of the Outaouacs and other Indians whom we have named. Longuant,[1] Chief of the Kiskakons, the first Tribe, spoke for all.

Father! We are come to pay you a visit. We are rejoiced to see you in good health at your time of life. What did the inland Nations *(gens des terres)* pretend to do when they killed us? They were mistaken in attacking us. I am selected by our four Tribes to represent the matter to you.

Father! I pass over this affair in silence in order to tell you, that the Miami hath robbed Perrot; and hath despised you. I participate in the resentment you may feel on this subject, and, as the Miami behaves insolently, our Village will possibly embroil the earth. As for the Fox he acted well towards him *(il en a bien usé)*.

Children present themselves before their father, to learn his will. We are, to-day, apprehensive that the Miamis, who boast that they know how to manufacture powder and arms, will come to throw down our cabins by introducing the English into their country, as some had already attempted to do had we not spoiled their game by the blow your children have just inflicted at Lake Erie on the Iroquois. It is for you to deliberate, and to communicate your thought to us on what I now submit to you.

Father! Formerly you furnished us powder and iron to conquer our enemies, but now we are in want of every thing, and have been constrained to sacrifice ourselves[2] (meaning to fight with sticks) in order to fight those whom we have just destroyed. They have powder and

[1] Longecamp. *De la Potherie*, III., 299.

[2] "Abandonner nos *coups*," *Text;* Abandonner nos *corps*, *De la Potherie*, III., 300 — To throw away our bodies. It is an Indian form of expression. — Ed.

iron. How can we sustain [ourselves]? Have compassion then on us, and consider that it is no easy matter to kill men with clubs (meaning, Tomahawks.)

Father! You have rebellious children; there's the Sauteur who has raised his tomahawk against the Miami, and is going to kill him. If he be revenging himself, can we avoid taking a part in his vengeance? Tell us what we ought to do.

We are not come here to trade, but to hear your word. We have no beaver; you see us entirely naked; have compassion on us; it is late; the season is advanced; our wives and little ones may be in trouble if we delay longer; therefore, tell us your mind in order that we may take our departure to-morrow.

Onanguisset, Chief of the Potouatamis, observing that Longuant had not thoroughly explained what they had agreed upon among themselves, took up the Word and said:—

Father! Since we want powder, iron, and every other necessary which you were formerly in the habit of sending us, what do you expect us to do? Are the majority of our women who have but one or two beavers to send to Montreal to procure their little supplies, are they to intrust them to drunken fellows who will drink them, and bring nothing back? Thus, having in our country none of the articles we require and which you, last year, promised we should be furnished with, and not want; and perceiving only this—that nothing whatsoever is yet brought to us, and that the French come to visit us no more—you shall never see us again, I promise you, if the French quit us; this, Father, is the last time we shall come to talk with you.

Father! We forgot to ask you what you wish us to do in regard to the death of Lafourche—meaning, a Chief killed by the Canceas, a very distant Nation. We shall not adopt any resolution without knowing your will.

The speech of this Indian, and the boldness with which he spoke, closed every one's lips, and the strongest opponents of the Beaver, the sole staple of this country, were unable to conceal their astonishment, notwithstanding the dissimulation so natural to them. The country ought to pray that the threat of this Indian may not be soon fulfilled. But it will be absolutely impossible to prevent it, if the King himself, in that extreme benevolence which he feels for all his subjects, apply not a prompt and effectual remedy in the premises.

The entire loss of the trade is not the sole evil we have to apprehend. The garrisons which might be stationed in the respective posts in the Upper Country, will run daily risk of being slaughtered by those brutal Tribes, who are so difficult of management; it will be impossible for them to live there; the Commandants will be without authority, having no means to enforce it as formerly by the occasional muster of the Voyageurs who, conjoined with the Regular troops, would impress the Indians with fear and respect; the enemy will take advantage of the coolness of our allies who, in consequence of this abandonment, will lose all the confidence they once reposed in us; the latter will not fail [to go over to] the English; they will soon become friends, and those same Indians, who were the main stay of Canada, will be seen coming hither to procure scalps and to compass its destruction.

Will it be possible to prevent the disbanding of our Coureurs de bois, who, being themselves deprived of a trade to which they have been accustomed from their infancy, will, most assuredly, leave without permission, despite the orders of King and Governor? If any escape, notwithstanding all the care taken to prevent them, who will be able to arrest them in the

woods when they will be determined to defend themselves [and] to carry their peltries to the English?

The Chief of the Foxes had only one word: What shall I say to my father? I have come all naked to see him; I can give him no assistance; the Sciou ties my arms; I killed him because he began; Father, be not angry with me for so doing. I am come here only to hear you and execute your will.

Count de Frontenac had them all assembled again on the tenth of September and spoke to them in this wise:—

A Father loveth his children, and is very glad to see them. You afford me pleasure in being rejoiced at my health in my time of life. You see I love war; the campaign I made last year against the Iroquois is a proof of it; I am glad to repeat to you that I love my children, and that I am pleased to see them again to-day.

The tribes of the interior *(gens de terre)* had no sense in killing those of your Village; but you do not tell me precisely what nation it was that struck that wicked blow. Whilst waiting for that information, do not spoil the road between Missilimakinac and Montreal; the river is beautiful; leave it in that condition and do not turn it black.[1]

I am aware that the Miami has been killed by the Sioux, and that the former afterwards lost his wits; he has not hearkened to the advice of M^r^ de Lamotte; he would have done well had he listened to it; he would not have been killed as he has been; he has robbed Perrot, 'tis true; I shall obtain satisfaction for that; but you of Missilimakinac, who have but one and the same fire, do not think of creating confusion in the country; turn your Tomahawk only toward the land of the Iroquois. You perceive that there are French chiefs and warriors among the Miamis; it may have evil consequences. You live in peace in your wigwams; your wives and children ramble fearlessly and without danger through your prairies *(déserts)*; If you redden the earth of the Miami, you will run the risk of frequently seeing your wives and little ones scalped. Pay attention, then, to my word. The Miamis are, also, my children. I order the Resident Chief among them to get the principal men of the Miamis to come and see me next year; do not block up the road on them when coming to visit me, and if they have done you any injury, I shall see that satisfaction be made you. Communicate my words to the Sauteurs, and as they and you form but one fire, prevent their making disturbances in that direction.

You four Outaouais Nations, and you, too, Poutouatamis and Hurons—I am pleased with the blow you have inflicted on the Iroquois; to strike the Iroquois in that way is what is good; that's the direction in which all the Tribes should throw their forces. I will effectively prevent the English supplying the Miami with aid, even were the latter disposed to invite them thither. But I know the Miami was not informed of it. It was the Baron, and *Quarante sols*[2] who invited the Iroquois to go and devour the Miami, and then to promenade in your prairies *(déserts)*. I shall be soon informed of this affair. I always had you supplied with powder and iron. I continue still disposed to supply you; but imperative reasons prevent me sending this year my young men to your Country in such large numbers as I would do were it not for the vast designs I have formed against my enemies and yours. I cannot now open my mind to you respecting the operations I have concluded. When the leaves are red you will probably

[1] Ne la noircissez point, *Text;* Ne la rougissez point—Do not turn it *red*, *De la Potherie*, III., 304.—Ed. [2] Forty Cents.

learn what my plans are. I am always laboring to annihilate the Iroquois and am meditating his destruction, and you shall soon see the earth united in that direction.

In regard to the articles you require for yourselves, your wives and your little ones, I shall have them soon conveyed to you; but as I am resolved to think only of war with the Iroquois, I retain my young men because I want them. When they will have returned, they will visit your Village, and I shall send thither whatever you will require.

La fourche must still be left undisturbed. I have already told you that it was I who should avenge him. I close the road on you, because it is I and my young men who will visit his bones. Revenge his death, meanwhile on the Iroquois.

To the Foxes.

Fox! I now speak to you; your young men have no sense; you have a bad heart, but mine was beginning to be worse disposed than yours, had you not come to hear my word and do my will. I was resolved to send M^r^ de Lamotte with a party of my young men on a visit to your village; that would have been unfortunate, for, no doubt, your women and children would have been frightened by them. I hope you have sense now, and that you will smoke in peace out of the same Calumet as the French who are about to go and see you.

I am pleased with you of Missilimakinac; M^r^ de Lamotte is well disposed towards you; I am very glad of it; act fairly towards him who is about to fill his place; he it is who will communicate my thoughts to you; he knows them; do as he will desire you.

I am not willing that you should all return home naked, as you would have, probably, done, had you not come to see me. I shall be in Montreal next year when you will come down, and you will not be at the trouble of traveling so far. Here are some guns, some powder and ball that I give you. Make good use of them; not in killing your allies; not in killing buffalo or deer, but in killing the Iroquois who is in much greater want of powder and iron than you. Remember that it is war alone that makes true men to be distinguished, and it is owing to the war that I, this day, know you by your name. Nothing affords me greater joy than to behold the face of a warrior. Here's what I give you. You can depart when you please.

After the distribution of these presents among them, he added: No more powder and iron will be conveyed to the Scioux, and if my young men carry any thither, I will chastise them severely. He then caused to be brought two blankets, two belts, and some other presents for the relatives of the two Chiefs who were killed by the Iroquois, and said—

Coutakilmy, I collect thy bones in this blanket in order that they keep warm until thy Nation hath avenged thee.

Pemas. I mourn thy death; here's what I give to dry the tears of thy relatives, so that they may be careful to avenge thee.

The two Belts are to hang in the Cabin of the Dead and to remain there until this vengeance be consummated.

It will be seen, by these answers, that the Governor was desirous of gaining time, in order to withdraw the Voyageurs and garrisons next year, without allowing the Indians to discover the King's intention not to send any more Frenchmen or goods to their country.

M^r^ Desursins anchored in this harbor on the morning of the 8^th^ of September with the King's frigate *l'Amphitrite*, the flyboat *la Gironde* and two merchantmen, after a voyage of four months. Our joy would have been complete had he been accompanied by two other Merchantmen, one of which was of four hundred tons burthen.

It is very probable that they have been captured by the enemy, according to the report of the crew of a small English vessel, taken near S[t] John, Newfoundland, by Chevalier Roussy, whom the Marquis de Nêmont caused to be minutely examined.

Count de Frontenac after having taken the advice of the principal officers of this Country, ordered Lieutenant D'argenteuil to place himself at the head of the Soldiers about to proceed to Missilimakinac and the Miamis. Sieur de Vincennes was to commmand at the latter post. These officers and soldiers have precisely only what is necessary for their subsistence, and are very expressly forbidden to trade in Beaver.

The Voyageurs who came down last year without peltries to assist in the Onondaga expedition have been sent back for their effects; they carry goods to the amount only of 250[liv] this currency, which is merely sufficient for their support during the winter.

Sieur de Tonty the younger,[1] a reduced Captain who, pursuant to Count de Frontenac's orders, was keeping himself in readiness at Montreal to leave immediately on the arrival of Sieur de Lamotte, and to go and command at Missilimakinac, had preceded his convoy some days.

Our Indians of Acadia are constantly making some attacks on the English. M. Deschambault,[2] the missionary at Panaŧamské[3] has sent two or three of several scalps that have been taken; and those of Father Bigot's Mission have quite recently killed a man of consequence with a young lady and several gentlemen who accompanied her.[4] One of their Chiefs having been killed, they burnt an Englishman, a practice which had not previously obtained among them, so that now they are more exasperated than ever, the one against the other.

The Indian of the Sault, named Couchecouche-Otacha whom we stated had been to the Mohawks intrusted with a Belt in answer to that they had secretly sent to the chiefs of his Village, returned on the third of October and reported that a Chief had at first denied that they had stated by that Belt their willingness to come and settle among us; that they had merely asked to treat of peace and when that would be concluded, they would see what they should do; this Chief, or Sachem added that he himself would come to converse on the subject of an arrangement.

The same Couchecouche Otacha says, that during his sojourn among the Mohawks, some Oneidas had come to say that Otachecté had returned, and that they were invited to attend the Council about to be held.

Count de Frontenac learnt all these particulars by Chevalier de Callières who repaired to Quebec on the ninth, where his arrival was ardently desired.

He had left the necessary orders at Montreal for the revictualing of Fort Frontenac. Captain de Longueuil was to conduct thither a hundred and fifty men who acted as an escort to the garrison and the convoy of provisions for the entire next year. Lieutenant de Lagemerais will act as Commandant there, and news of their departure had been received.

It is not yet known whether the ships, that are to convey the necessary supplies to Sieur de Villebon, have arrived at the river Saint John. Some Indians from Acadia have assured us that they had not. These Indians continue their incursions on the English and carry off some people every day.

[1] Younger brother of Tonty, the companion of La Salle. *La Potherie*, III., 309.

[2] Rev. Louis Honoré Fleury Deschambault belonged to the Seminary of Quebec. He was only four years in Orders when he died on the 29th August, 1698. *Rev. Mr. Taschereau. MS.* — Ed.

[3] See note 2, p. 571.

[4] Supposed to refer to the murder of Major Frost, his wife and party, 4th July 1697. *Hutchinson*, II., 95; *Williamson*, I., 647.

This year has passed rather in projects than in acts. The King's orders would have been punctually obeyed had time permitted; but it must be observed, that an expedition against Manatte is much more useful to Canada and more feasible, than that against Boston, which could hardly sustain itself, if we were masters of the first mentioned city.

The recommendations of persons on the spot ought to be followed instead of those furnished by certain interested persons, who have in view only their private advantage and not that of a Colony already established; who speak but very loosely, not being thoroughly conversant with the subject nor with the condition of the places which are to be passed, nor with various other circumstances the least of which may mar a design, and cause the loss of all the money expended on it.

Quebec, 18th October 1697.

M. de Pontchartrain to Count de Frontenac.

Versailles 12th March 1698.

Sir,

The King having given peace to Europe, I profit by the occasion of a vessel sailing from Rochelle for Quebec, and of the departure of *l'Envieux* which his Majesty is sending to Acadia, to greet you. You will see by the annexed despatch his Majesty's intentions respecting the *Te Deum* to be sung in Quebec, and the public rejoicings he desires to be observed on that occasion.

His Majesty's plenipotentiaries and those of England have agreed on the nomination of commissioners on both sides to regulate the boundaries of the possessions belonging to the two Nations in America; that however, cannot yet be executed. Meanwhile, whatever agreement will be concluded with the English respecting the Iroquois, as they are not to afford the latter any aid for the purpose of waging war against us, I doubt not but these Savages will come to sue for peace from you. His Majesty approves, in such case, that you should grant it to them, and desires even that you endeavor to induce them to solicit it of you because it would relieve us of an embarrassment, could it be concluded before we had terminated the differences we shall have with the English on the question of dominion over these Indians. In case you conclude it a long time previous to the usual departure of the ships trading to Canada, dispatch an express with the news thereof to me and, if you have any information to give me on that point, you can send it by the same conveyance.

Meanwhile, until I shall communicate to you his Majesty's intentions on the Ordinance issued by you to stay the execution of the judgment that M. de Champigny has rendered on the prize captured by Sieur Aubert, I must tell you that your proceedings in that case are untenable and that I doubt not but his Majesty will annul them. I am very glad to notify you thereof beforehand, in order that you may prevent as much as possible the unpleasant circumstances that it will possibly create in the country. You ought to take care not to compromise your authority as you have done in this case, and for their own sakes, you ought to send to a distance from you those who induced you to do so.

By the vessels the King will dispatch to you next May, I shall answer the letters I have received from you by the frigate *l'Amphitrite*, and the ships that arrived at the same time.

M. de Pontchartrain to Count de Frontenac.

Versailles, 21 May, 1698.

Sir,

I have received the letter you took the trouble to write me on the 15th of October last, and reported to the King its contents.

* * * * * * * * * * *

People have wished to make us again apprehend a junction of our Indian allies with the Iroquois for the purpose of waging war against us, should we cease trading with the former in the woods. I avow that I do not clearly comprehend the reason; and it seems to me we ought to expect a contrary effect, provided pains were taken to explain to the Indians that his Majesty, in making this prohibition, did intend that they should obtain the goods of the French from the first hand; that they should sell theirs with entire freedom, and receive the profit accruing from the trade with the Indians beyond them. You know too well the history of Canada not to be aware that the war we have sustained for so many years against the Iroquois with so much care and expense, arises only from the desire of the late Mr de la Barre to carry on a trade with the most distant Nations. Those Indians who are now allies of the English, would not be long in declaring against the latter, if they wanted to pass them by to go and trade directly with the other Indians. Besides, in the Treaty to be made in London between us and the English on the subject of Colonial boundaries, it will, without doubt, be admitted that the countries of the Outaouats, Hurons, Miamis and Illinois shall remain under his Majesty's dominion.

To these considerations must be added the sacrileges, impieties and abominations perpetrated by the French with the Indians, and the inconveniences which attach to a trade injurious to the Nation; instead of attending, as the English do, to the cultivation of the soil and to the fisheries, whereby the Colonies are rendered rich and prosperous. All these reasons will induce you, no doubt, to execute strictly the orders which have been sent to you on this subject.

Narrative of the most Remarkable Occurrences in Canada. 1697, 1698.

An Account of the most Remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1697 to the 20th 8ber 1698.[1]

When the fleet sailed in October 1697, we began to despair of the return of Otacheté, an Oneida Chief, of whom frequent mention has been made in the preceding Relation. He was commissioned, as may be seen, to engage the hostile Iroquois to agree with the opinions entertained by himself and apparently by a portion of his Tribe, and to inspire them with the sentiments of submission they ought to feel for their father Onontio.

At length, after a long delay, he arrived at Montreal in the beginning of November, accompanied by two other Oneidas, by Arratio, an Onondaga Sachem, and by a young War

[1] Embodied in Letter X. of the 4th Volume of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique.* — Ed.

Chief of the same nation whose family possesses some influence among his Tribe. They repaired within a few days to Quebec, and Arratio speaking for the four Upper Iroquois Nations — namely, the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas — after apologizing for having been so long in executing what Ottacheté had recommended in order to reëstablish themselves in their father Onontio's favor, which delay arose from the Senecas being engaged in bewailing the death of their Chief whom the Outaouas had killed, presented five Belts by which he said:—

First Belt.

Father! your children, the Iroquois, principally the Onondagas, in the desire they feel for peace have just opened the road with the Oneidas who have already begun [to break it], in order to permit people to go and come freely both by water and by land for the purpose of concluding negotiations.

Second Belt.

Father Onontio. By one-half of this Belt I administer to you a cordial, to expel from your heart all the sorrow we may have heretofore caused you.

By the other half, I assure you that I have arrested all the hatchets of my young men, so that I have not allowed any party to go out since the campaign to Onnontagué.

Third Belt.

The four Upper Nations acknowledge their fault; the chastisement they received in last year's campaign has restored them to their senses; they promise in future to be wise, and not to give any more cause for a similar punishment.

Fourth Belt.

Following the example of my Ancestors who always maintained peace with Onontio, I entertain no longer any thoughts but those of peace, and with this view I with this Belt nail fast the Sun in order to dispel the fogs of past misunderstandings.

Fifth Belt.

I have resolved on peace; though many of my chief men have been killed, that does not deprive me of my senses, and by this Belt I dig a trench to inter these Dead without wishing to avenge them.

The Onontagués and Oneidas promise to make all the Iroquois Nations accept what they advance by these Belts.

Addressing the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who were present, they added: We also adopt the resolution to embrace the Faith according to the instructions we have received from you, whilst residing in our Villages.

Were Count de Frontenac not as much accustomed as he is to the fair promises of the Iroquois, the performance of which is so rare, he might have believed that they were, indeed, disposed to conclude a solid peace, and were speaking in good faith. But his expectations not being realized, and no French prisoner appearing with these envoys, he told them, after having administered some sharp reproofs, and threatening to detain them all and to treat them as spies rather than as Negotiators, That out of respect for his son Ottacheté, who served them as a safeguard, he would suspend for some time yet, his just resentment; that they should

determine among themselves what guarantee they would give him for the Word they brought him; that he would hear them on the morrow; Let them endeavor to adopt a wise resolution during the night which he would allow them for deliberation.

On the next day, Ottacheté spoke for all the four Nations. He enlarged more fully than Arratio on their grief for the loss of so many Chiefs and Warriors that the French, or their allies, had killed since some time. Perceiving that he was favorably listened to, he attempted to establish the sincerity of the Iroquois, and offered to remain with Onontio as a hostage for their honesty.

Count de Frontenac rejected this proposition, and told him, in answer, that, as regarded him personally he doubted not his fidelity and that of some other Oneida cabins, but he entertained quite different sentiments of the rest of the Iroquois. His friendship for his countrymen and the desire he felt to bring things about were blinding him, inasmuch as it was not a hostage such as he that was required; that his cabin was at the Saut and that he had become a real Child of the French; that when Onontio demanded a guarantee for the Word of the Iroquois, he meant that it should be one in whose breast he could suppose still remained some bad impressions, and not a Child like him Otacheté that was obedient to his father.

Let them be careful then to give an answer to the proposition he had submitted on the preceding evening. If they had nothing else to say, the road was open to them to return; he should see what further he had to do.

The coldness of this answer obliged them at last to come to the point required of them, and Ottacheté said that Arratio, the most considerable of the Onondaga Ambassadors, would remain as a hostage on the part of the four Nations; that he and the others would forthwith return to the Village, to make known there, Onontio's will, and that they expected to come back shortly after the breaking up of the ice.

Some presents were made them on pretence of protecting them from the cold during their journey, and they set out on the 15th of November on their return to Montreal.

As Arratio and Ottacheté had declared when presenting the five Belts, that they spoke not for the Mohawks, and that these had no share in them, Count de Frontenac resolved to send four @ five hundred men thither on a visit under the command of Captain de Louvigny. The Officers who were to accompany him were named and the detachments of Militia and Regulars already made, but the heavy fall of snow, and the impossibility of getting the people over in season from the islands and the south shore, caused this expedition to abort, and it was postponed to the fore part of the navigation.

The arrival from Orange of Mr Abraham,[1] an officer of militia appeared to justify the breaking up of this party. He arrived at Montreal towards the close of the month of January in company with a Frenchman who was twenty-six years a resident with the Dutch; another Dutchman of Corlard, a Mohegan *(Loup)* and a Mohawk. He brought a letter addressed by Colonel Peter Schuyler, commandant of Orange, and Mr Dellius, the minister at that place, to Mr de Callières, governor of Montreal, notifying him of the peace between France and England, the articles of which he sent in English.

On Count de Frontenac receiving the news at Quebec by express from M. de Callières, he judged it advisable that the latter should state in reply to those who had written to him, that he was very glad to learn the news of the peace between the King of England and the King

[1] Schuyler. — Ed.

his master, the confirmation whereof on the part of France he was impatiently expecting; that the same reasons that prevented them sending us back the French prisoners they might have on their hands, namely the difficulty of the roads and the great quantity of snow, obliged us to postpone sending them theirs, until the opening of the navigation; that meanwhile our Indians would go out hunting whilst waiting for the confirmation of the news they had brought.

These messengers stated, that a new Governor-General called the Earl of Bellemont, was coming to them from Europe, whose arrival was daily expected at New-York; they added that they had arrested the hatchet of their Indians, to which it was not deemed proper to make any answer, and the preparations for a canoe party were continued, according to the steps the Iroquois would be seen to adopt and the other news that might be received from the English.

The former had called at fort Frontenac to the number of thirty or forty on their way to hunt, under the command of the famous *Chaudière noire* an Onondaga Chief. All his company belonged to the same Nation. Sieur de La Gemeray, Ensign of the Marine and Lieutenant of Troops who was in command of that post, dispatched a canoe to advise Mess^{rs} de Frontenac and de Callières of what the Iroquois had told him.

They gave assurances that the Chiefs were to leave immediately for the purpose of concluding peace with Onontio; meanwhile, their young men were to go to fight the Outaouaes in order to avenge the death of more than a hundred of their people who had been killed during the year.

The contradiction of peace with us, and war with our allies, obliged Count de Frontenac, who could with justice doubt the sincerity of the Iroquois, to order Sieur de La Gemeray to keep on his guard, and to adopt measures to secure, quietly, some of the head men who may trust themselves in the fort, and who might serve as hostages for the rest. Neither *La Chaudière noire* nor any of his band could do it; they were hunting behind fort Frontenac towards Quinté. Thirty-four Algonquins encountered them and were attacked after they had captured a Squaw at some distance from the place where they were encamped. The Iroquois were equal in number, and after a pretty obstinate fight, twenty men remained on the field, and six men and two women were taken prisoners. The Algonquins lost, on this occasion, six of their bravest men, and had four wounded. *La Chaudière noire* four other chiefs and his Wife were among the dead. Their scalps and the prisoners have been given up to M^{r} de Callières, and are still actually in the Montreal prisons.

This blow, which is of more importance by reason of the quality, rather than the quantity, of the dead, spread consternation throughout the whole of the Iroquois Cantons and served as a pretext for deferring the promise they had given to come in the spring to conclude what Arratio and Ottacheté had proposed in the fall. Whether true or false, it is always certain that the death of one of their great chiefs disconcerts all their projects; that they require time to recover from it, and that they appear, in their sorrow, to forget what they have previously proposed.

Shortly after the receipt of this news at Quebec, the faithful Oroaoué came hither. He had not seen his father Onontio for more than a year; all that time he had spent at fort Frontenac or its environs, and had hunted with the Cayugas, his nation, who, he assured, were really disposed to peace. He did not long enjoy the caresses of his father. Three or four days after his arrival at Quebec, he was seized by a severe pleurisy, and died in a very short time, a worthy Frenchman and a good Christian.

The Count was of opinion that his fidelity deserved some mark of distinction, and he was interred with the ecclesiastical and military honors ordinarily bestowed on officers. This Indian is a loss, as he has been much attached to us since his return from France.

The English of Boston sent back to Port Royal at the end of April, the French prisoners that remained in their custody, and left with Sieur de Castin a copy of the treaty of peace similar to that brought from Orange by M^{r} Abraham. Our Abenakis felt great surprise that on occasion of a general peace, their people were not restored, and they would have continued their usual forays from that time, had it not been for the orders they received from Count de Frontenac to hang up for a while their hatchets. Since the beginning of the fall, they have struck some considerable blows, took a number of scalps and even a great many prisoners.

We have received some from Orange by Mess^{rs} Schuyler and Delliuse, who had signed the letter brought by M^{r} Abraham in the winter to M. de Callières. They were accompanied by some twenty French of all ages and sexes. Besides Latin and English copies of the Treaty of Peace, they brought a letter from the Earl of Bellemont, governor-general of New England and New-York, addressed to the Count de Frontenac, which they delivered to him in the beginning of June at Quebec.

They remained there only five or six days, and had no cause to complain of the treatment they received as well in this city as in Montreal. The English and Dutch that could be mustered during their brief sojourn in Canada, and who were disposed to return to their country were placed in their hands. They would have carried back very few, had regard been paid to the tears of a number of children who were not considered of an age to qualify them for choosing their place of residence.

As the Earl of Bellemont wished to insinuate in his letter that he would take possession of the French prisoners who may happen to be found among the Iroquois, Count de Frontenac, agreeably to the intention of the Court, answered him that accommodation between those Indians and us being commenced as early as last autumn, irrespective of the peace of Europe, the conclusion whereof was not yet known, it was unnecessary for him to give himself the trouble of inducing the Iroquois to surrender our people to him in order to send them to us, as it was from themselves that we should wish to receive them; that the pretended domination of the English over these Indians and other tribes was a chimera which fell to the ground of itself by the length of time that elapsed since the French had taken possession of those lands, both by missions and garrisons, and that those Indians had recognized the King as their protector; that, nevertheless these difficulties, which were capable of adjustment only by the Kings, our masters, and the commissioners deputed expressly on their behalf, should not affect in any way the good intelligence which ought to exist between the two nations; that he requested him, moreover, to cause justice to be done to the Abenakis for several of their people detained at Boston; that he was prevented thereby obliging them to surrender several Englishmen they had; that he would do all in his power to stop them, but he knew they were so irritated that he could not absolutely promise himself to prevent those of Acadia continuing their hostilities.

He wrote to the same effect to M^{r} Stoughton[1] Lieutenant-governor of Boston.

[1] William Stoughton was the second son of Colonel Israel Stoughton who commanded the Massachusetts troops in the Pequot war. He was born in Dorchester, in 1632, and graduated at Harvard in 1650. His father being a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parliament's Army, Mr. S. spent some years in England. After the restoration in 1660, he was ejected from a fellowship in Oxford and returned to New England in 1662, where he was some years a preacher. He was chosen magistrate in 1671, and in 1677 went to England as the agent of the province; was afterwards Chief Justice, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in 1692; and acted as Commander-in-Chief from 1694 to 1699. Mr. Stoughton was a generous benefactor of

Three or four days before the arrival of Messrs Schuyler and Dellius, news arrived from Michelmakinak. Sieur de Tonty, a reduced Captain, who commands that post, advised Count de Frontenac of the designs which two of the Outaouais tribes entertained to leave that place; the Sinagos alone being willing to remain there. This would be of dangerous consequence hereafter, these Indians being more easily overcome by the Iroquois, or seduced by the English when they will be separated.

Changouossy, Chief of the Sinagos, repaired to Quebec on the 10th of July with some Deputies from the two other Tribes, the Kiskakons, and those of the *Sable*. He presented a private Belt to Count de Frontenac without the participation of his companions, and said:—

Father! I have come here to hear and obey you, and hope that those who have accompanied me—the *Culs-coupés*[1] and *Sables*—will not, after hearing your word, persist in their resolution of quitting their fire at Missilmakinak to go and build it elsewhere. I, as well as all my Tribe, are resolved to continue to build our fires near that of the French, and to die with them, and as I am opposed to those who wish to carry their fire elsewhere, I fear that there are some evil-minded persons who wish to poison me; wherefore I present you this Belt to request you to give me an antidote against the medicine they may give me.

Count de Frontenac assembled them all, two days after, and thus addressed them:

Children. I am very much pleased that you are come to see me and hear my word. I have heard a rumor that there are evil-disposed persons who are doing all in their power to have the fire removed from Missilimakinac, and to separate you, one from the other.

I do not believe that loyal men entertain this bad thought. Mine is always that you should remain where you are at present, until affairs be arranged and you be beyond danger; then I shall look out with you and select a piece of land where you will find conveniences for living and trading and where your children may live in peace.

You perceive that since your fire has been lighted at Missilimakinac, you have always had the advantage over your enemies; your youth have increased there, and if you separate one from the other, you will find yourselves weaker; your enemies will devour you without any difficulty, and will go in pursuit of you whithersoever you fly. It is not distance that deters them; it is the number collected together that prevents the enemy approaching your villages.

You, Kiskakons; you Nation of the *Sable;* and you Sinagos who are come here on behalf of your Village, to listen to my voice; here is a Belt I present to each of you. I bind you all three together; these three Belts tell you to abandon the idea of removing the fire from Missilimakinac, and not to separate nor disunite yourselves, the one from the other, until affairs be better.

Bestowing Presents on them:

Here is what I give you in return for your coming in search of my word. When I shall be at Montreal, I will invite you to the Council, and speak to you and the others that are there. I set out to-morrow; I shall be very glad if my children accompany me so far.

I do not lay aside the Tomahawk against the Iroquois. On the contrary, I am determined to strike them harder than ever, if they do not soon perform what they have promised me, that is, to bring me back all my prisoners and yours, and you may be assured that I shall

Harvard College; erected Stoughton Hall at his own expense in 1698, and left a tract of land the annual rent of which is applied towards the support at that College of a scholar from Dorchester; also another tract for the support of Schools. He died 7th July 1701 and was never married. The inscription on his monument is printed in *New England Genealogical Register*, IV., 275. — Ed.

[1] Queues coupées. *Relation*, 1668. The Kiskakons were so called.

never conclude Peace with them unless all my children in general be included therein. Always distrust the Iroquois; he will deceive you if he can; keep a good look out on your route; look well before and behind you.

The Count on his arrival at Montreal, where he landed on the 20th of July, repeated the same thing to Longekan Chief of the Kiskakons and the other Chiefs who had not accompanied Changouossy to Quebec. He took the said Longekan aside, and this Indian appeared to have entirely forgotten the design of abandoning Missilimakinac.

The Senecas and some Huron deserters had struck a blow at that place last fall, and killed two farmers and a child in the prairie. The faithful Hurons felt piqued at this boldness, and used such expedition under St Souaune, one of their war chiefs, that they overtook their enemies in the Michigan river and killed or captured all, except four who escaped in a canoe. One of the prisoners was given to Sieur de Tonty who had him burnt; the lives of the others were spared by the Tribes to which they were presented.

The Outaouaes, Hurons, and others of the Upper Indian allies, have since sent out several parties against the Iroquois which we shall not particularly specify. The admission of the latter which will be stated by and by, will show the number they have lost in 6 or eight months.

Count de Frontenac thought proper to notify the Outaouaes beforehand of the recall of the French generally, as well Officers and soldiers as Voyageurs, whom he again ordered to repair to Montreal by the end of October at farthest; and told them that they must not be astonished at this withdrawal, as he made them return only to oblige them to pay what they owed the merchants a long time, the latter having complained to him of the loss of their property by the protracted stay of the Voyageurs in the Upper Country.

M. de Montigni,[1] vicar-general to the Bishop of Quebec, accompanied by two other ecclesiastics and some hired men, took advantage of the escort of those Indians to go up to Missilimakinac, whence he proposed to descend the river Mississippi, to announce the Gospel to some Nations who had not yet seen any Missionaries. This undertaking is highly worthy of this young Clergyman, who is so much the more to be admired as, in addition to the fatigue he will undergo, the risk of life he will run, in a thousand divers ways, he sacrifices to it an income exceeding two thousand écus. Messieurs De Laval and de Saint Vallier, Bishops, and the Society of Foreign Missions contribute also on their part to the design, in the sole view of the Propagation of the Gospel, since they absolutely renounce whatever trade in Beaver &c. they might carry on with the Nations to whom they are about to introduce the faith.

Changouossy and Longekan, previous to their departure, had cause to be acquainted with the intentions of the Iroquois, and the correctness of their father Onontio.

A young Indian of the Onnondaga nation, named Tegayesté a resident for some years at the Saut, who had accompanied Ottacheté and the others on their return last fall to the Iroquois for the purpose of conveying to them the ultimatum of their Father Onontio, arrived at Montreal with a Belt from the Council of the Onnontagués, whereby that Nation said that it was occupied only in bewailing the death of *La Chaudière noire*, and their people who had been killed or captured by a party of Algonquins; that it has not strength to travel; that it requests

[1] Rev. François Jolliet de Montigny was a native of Paris, but ordained at Quebec on 8th of March 1693. After having been in charge of the parish of L'Ange Gardien, and served as Chaplain to the Ursuline Convent of Quebec, he proceeded to the Mississippi, where he established a mission among the Akanzas. In July of the following year he visited Mobile. The period of his stay in that country is not known. He is said to have been Superior of the Seminary of Quebec from 1716 to 1719, and to have died in Paris in 1725, at the age of 64. *Shea.* — Ed.

Onontio not to lose patience, for all their chiefs and wise men are dead and they have no one who is capable of giving them sense. They entreat him to send back to them Arratio their hostage and the prisoners taken in this last affair, as well as to dispatch Sieur de Maricour to their Village to bring back the French who are prisoners there. This young Indian added, that the Iroquois had appeared to him resolved to make peace with us, but that he did not consider them disposed to conclude it with our allies.

Count de Frontenac, in presence of the Outaouais Chiefs, flung this proposal and Belt in the face of him who had brought it, and told him, since the Iroquois were weeping over so trifling a blow, he would soon give them another sort of reason for crying, and would again make them feel the weight of his Tomahawk. Then addressing the Outaouais—You can perceive by this Belt, my Children, that it merely depends on me to conclude peace for myself alone; if I continue the war, it is only on your account I do it; I do not act [secretly]; and will never conclude any good business without including you in it, and recovering your prisoners as well as my own. Keep the Tomahawk, then, always, in your hands; there's powder and ball that I give you to fight on the way, and to go to the Iroquois.

In this manner were this young Indian and the Outaouaes dismissed.

But another Onontagué named Blassia,[1] a resident at the Mountain, who married a Frenchman's widow, requested Count de Frontenac to send the same Tegayesté back again to his nation, on his (Blassia's) account merely, without it appearing that he came from Onontio. He addresses them by three strings of Wampum.

The first is to wipe the eyes of the Onontagués, and to request them to cease weeping.

The second is, to cleanse their throats.

The third, to wipe up the blood which is spilled on their mats; and having joined a Belt to these three strings of Wampum, he instructs Tegayesté to say to the Onontagués, by the first half of this Belt:—I order you, as soon as the bearer will present this Belt, to send word to the several Iroquois nations to bring in all the French and Indian prisoners in those parts, and that those who will not listen to this message are dead.

By the other half:—I advise you, Onontagués, though the other nations should not be willing to come, to descend immediately to Montreal and to bring all the prisoners; be not afraid; no harm will be done you, and hearken not to the English who advise you only to your ruin. If you hear not my word, I will be the first to wage war against you.

Towards the end of July, Count de Frontenac received advices at Montreal, by a canoe dispatched to him by M. Prevost, deputy-governor[2] of Quebec, of the conclusion of a general Peace in Europe, the Treaties of which My lord de Pontchartrain sent, with sealed orders[3] addressed to him, to the Bishop of Quebec and the Sovereign Council, to return thanks to God by a solemn *Te Deum*. These despatches had been sent from Acadia by Sieur de Bonnaventure, captain of a frigate who arrived at Pentagouest with the ship *l'Envieux*.

Several Indians belonging to the Saut, whom curiosity, or a desire to see their relatives at Mohawk had led to Orange, arrived from that place on the 21st August, and related as news, that the Earl of Bellemont had held a council there, which was attended by all the Chiefs of the Five Iroquois Nations of whom he inquired what pleasure he could confer on them, and what troubles they had, so that he might gratify them, and apply proper remedies thereto. The Iroquois asked him to entreat Onontio to suffer their relatives at the Saut and Mountain to come and visit them in order that they may see them and renew former friendship; that

[1] Egredere. *De la Potherie*, IV., 100. [2] Lieutenant du Roi. [3] Lettres de cachet. — Ed.

they must mutually forget all the unkindnesses they had done each other, and they presented him, with this word, three Belts tied together.

That they had sent back several prisoners to Onontio on several occasions, without his having restored any of their people.

That Onontio had killed 90 of their people since the winter, when word had been sent them that peace had been concluded.

The Mohawk, speaking with the other nations, told the Governor that he claimed to be master of his land, that he was born on that soil before the English, and he insists, were only one Mohawk remaining, to be master of the places they occupy; and to show that these were their property, they threw all the papers in the fire, in order that it may not be said, that they had pledged or alienated their lands.[1]

The Mohawk having concluded, the Onontaé spoke and requested the governor, as he had heard those, to listen to them also. We it is, said they, who tied and fastened the English ship to a tree on the Hill of Onondaga in order that it may be seen afar off, because it was badly moored to the Lake shore. In that ship we all assembled; there was no fire on board; we had only leaves to cover us; there it was that we made a league, and acknowledged ourselves Brothers, uniting ourselves together with iron bands so that we may not be separated.

All the Five Nations resumed, and told the Governor to retain the Iroquois belonging to the Saut, until they returned from Montreal after seeing how their prisoners fared, and until Onontio should restore the latter to them.

M^r^ de Bellemont rejected their word, and told them he would not listen to them on that point. That they must not be surprised if their affairs prospered so badly; that they were talking of peace, and were visiting Onontio one after the other without concluding any thing, but that if they would succeed in this matter, they must bring him all the prisoners, whether French or Indian allies of Onontio; let them be placed in his hands to be conveyed all together back to Onontio. That the Governor told them he was aware they had constantly waged war against Onontio's Upper Indian allies; that he left them masters to continue it or to make peace, but that he forbad them waging war on Onontio's Children and on the Indians settled in his neighborhood.

Then addressing those of the Saut, the Governor said — He was very glad to see them in his country; they would be always welcome there; that the past must be forgotten; that he kindled a fire in order to cast into it all unfortunate affairs; when they would return home, let them also kindle one to throw into it, as he did, all bad transactions. I make you a present of three red jackets and one package of strung Wampum to engage you to do this. After which the Saut Indians thanked him for his present, and told him they had no answer to give, as they had not come to Orange to palaver.

The Indian who brought the news added, that the River Indians *(Loups)* said to them after the adjournment of this Council, in case war should happen to be renewed between Onontio and the English, do not meddle with it as that is our intention also; let the hatchet pass over head.

Count de Frontenac having inquired what reply the Iroquois had made to M^r^ de Bellemont's request, to bring him in all the French and other prisoners, they said that 'twas granted, but that no time had been specified for their being brought to him.

[1] Referring, probably, to the Extravagant grant to Dellius, &c. — Ed.

A few days after, four Frenchmen taken many years ago by the Mohawks, returned to Montreal with a pass from the Earl of Bellemont. There still remain in that village 7 @ 8 more, who, have completely forgotten both their country and language and whose return home may be despaired of.

Some Mohawk families came on a visit to their relatives at the Saut, and possibly some will settle there. They are left at perfect liberty, and walk daily in the streets of Montreal with as much confidence as if Peace were perfectly ratified. We do not wish to alarm them, and possibly their example will serve to bring the others to their duty.

The news Count de Frontenac received at Montreal in the latter part of August of the arrival at Quebec of the Men of War *le Poli* and *la Gironde* with some merchantmen that accompanied them, obliged him to wind up all his business at the former place, which he left on the 4th of September. He arrived on the 8th of the same month at Quebec where he received his Majesty's despatches which were handed to him by the Marquis de Contré,[1] Captain of the ship.

A few days after, the brother of Mr Peter Schuyler commandant of Orange, arrived in company with five other Dutch, or English, men sent to Count de Frontenac by the Earl of Bellemont to communicate by his letters of the 13th and 22nd of August that he had had a conference with the Five Iroquois Nations who requested to continue under the King of England's protection, and that they complained that ninety-four of their people had been killed or carried away since the publication, and in contravention, of the Treaty of Peace, in which they believed themselves included, considering themselves the King's subjects. This Governor adds that he was informed that Count de Frontenac had sent two Renegade Indians of the Onondaga Nation to tell the latter that if they failed to come within forty-five days to demand Peace of him, he would march against them at the head of an army to constrain them thereunto by force; which obliges him to declare to Count de Frontenac that he has the interest of his King too much at heart to suffer the Iroquois to be treated as enemies; that he orders them to be on their guard and in case of attack to kill the French and the Indians who should accompany them; and that to afford them the means of defence, he had furnished them with a quantity of arms and munitions of war, and had sent his lieutenant-governor, with the regular troops of the King of England to join them, and to oppose any act of hostility that may be attempted against them, and in case of need, that he would arm every man in the provinces under his government for the purpose of repelling all attacks and making reprisals for the injury that may be inflicted on his Iroquois.

Count de Frontenac let him know by his answer of the 21st September, that the Kings of France and England had resolved each, on his side, to nominate Commissioners for the settlement of the boundaries of the countries over which they were to extend their dominion; that, therefore, he ought to await their decision, and not think of presuming to obstruct an affair already commenced, and which may be regarded as domestic, inasmuch as it was between a father and his children whom he (the Count) was endeavoring by every means to bring back to their duty, being resolved to make use of the greatest severity, should those of mildness not avail.

Adding, that pretexts are apparently sought for by the Earl to contravene the treaties of peace concluded between the two Crowns, and that 'tis doubtful if his Britannic Majesty authorized his intended projects, inasmuch as, he asked nothing of the Iroquois so far as concerned himself, but that they should perform the promise they gave him to restore generally all the prisoners

[1] Contré Blenac. *De la Potherie*, IV., 106. — Ed.

in their possession, whether French or Indian allies—for the performance of which they had left hostages with him before it was known that peace had been concluded in Europe.

Besides, the pretension the Earl had set up of dominion over the Iroquois, appeared novel and unfounded, being sufficiently well informed of their sentiments to know that not one of the Five Nations pretended or desired to be under England; that there was no proof to convict them of it, whilst those we shall place in the hands of the Commissioners who will investigate this question, will be so clear, so old and so incontestable, that there is reason to doubt whether it will be possible to reply to them; that, therefore, he (the Count) was resolved always to pursue his course, notwithstanding all the protection and succor the Earl may promise them, and that, so far from being intimidated thereby and producing any change in those designs, it would induce him to press them forward the more.

These Ambassadors from the Earl of Bellemont left Quebec on the next day, and were not half way to Montreal when Count de Frontenac learned that the brother of Tegayesté, who had left Montreal in the latter part of July to visit the Onontagués, as already related, had returned with a young man of that Nation, who brought back two French women and a child who had been ten years in captivity among them.

They stated that they were sent by the Onontagués to tell their Father Onontio that the Chiefs of the Four Nations were to follow them in ten days with the French prisoners, except the little children who are become almost Iroquois since their captivity.

These Indians report that they (the Chiefs) had kept Tegayesté to come down with them, and when they will have come to Garonkoui or the Long Saut, they will dispatch him in advance to give notice of their march, notwitstanding the Earl of Bellemont had announced in his letter of the 13th of August, that the Iroquois had desired to put in his hands all the prisoners whom they took from us during the War, on condition that Monsieur de Frontenac would assure him of the release of their people whom we have prisoners. These two Indians inform us that the Iroquois have come to the conclusion to solicit peace of us, unknown to the English, to whom they refused the French Captives in their possession, and when Mr de Bellemont so required them, they haughtily made answer, We are their Masters, and will conduct them back ourselves when it pleaseth us.

This answer shows that those Indians are not very submissive subjects. Teganissorens, an influential Onondaga Chief, is one of those who are to come down with our prisoners. They are expected immediately, and if they arrive before the departure of the last ships, the Court will be informed of the resolution that will be adopted by Count de Frontenac and those Chiefs of the Iroquois Nations.

The *Te deum*, in thanksgiving for the General Peace, was not sung in the Cathedral at Quebec until the 21st of September. The Governor-general, the Intendant and the Officers of the Sovereign Council and of the Provost's court *(Prevôté)* attended on the occasion. In the evening a salute was fired from the town and ships after a bonfire had been lighted in the Grand Square, and all the citizens illuminated their Windows agreeably to the order to that effect which Count de Frontenac had caused to be issued.

Sovereignty of the King of France over the Iroquois. 1698.

The King's sovereignty over the Iroquois is very ancient, and reverts as far back as the year 1504; but although it be founded on an apparently incontestable basis, it has never been decided, and the English, who, on their side, pretend the same sovereignty over those Indians, have always furnished them with arms and all other munitions and provisions in the wars they had to sustain against the French established in North America.

The preservation of this Sovereignty being so much the more important as these Tribes, who at present disturb the Trade of New France, would no longer be in a condition so to do were they abandoned by the English, His Majesty has recommended to his Commissioners who are to labor in London in the settlement of said American boundaries, to employ all their care to engage the English to cede that Sovereignty to France; or to declare those people independent both of the one and the other Crown, observing on both sides a reciprocal neutrality; or, finally, ceding, if it be absolutely necessary, the Sovereignty to the English, with the stipulation that the King of England will prevent those people making war and disturbing the French and the Indians who are subjects or allies of France.

In the meantime Count de Frontenac's last letters state that the Iroquois, who had promised to send some deputies to Quebec to conclude peace with France, have not yet set about doing so.

It will be seen by the annexed copies of letters written by M^{r} de Bellomont, that this governor not only has prevented these Indians coming to conclude their Treaty, but that he pretends that those people being subjects of the King of England, such peace ought not to be made except through him; and in his last letter he even declared, that if the French be disposed to oblige the Iroquois by force to come and solicit peace, and to bring back the prisoners they had made, he will arm all the men in his government to repel the French; that he has sent in advance to those Indians some arms and ammunition, and has ordered his Lieutenant at the same time, to march with the regular troops of the King of England to their assistance.

The proceedings of this Governor is so much the more unjust and extraordinary as it is in some sort, a violation of the peace established between these two crowns, and as, besides, England has never meddled with the Treaties made with the Iroquois as often as the King has granted them peace.

Treaties of Peace with the Iroquois.

22^{d} May 1666.
12th July 1666.
13th December 1666.

Correspondence between the Earl of Bellomont and Count de Frontenac.

On the question Whether the Five Iroquois Nations are subjects of the King of France or of England.

Letter of the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New-York to the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada.

New-York, 22d April, 1698.

Sir,

The King having done me the honor to appoint me Governor of several of His Majesty's Provinces in America, and among the rest, of that of New-York, I have considered it fitting, whilst paying my respects to you, to inform you also of the Peace concluded between the King, conjointly with his allies, and His Most Christian Majesty, the Articles whereof I send you, both in Latin and French.

Peace was published in London in the month of October last, shortly before my departure from England: but as my voyage has been very long and wearisome, having been driven by contrary winds to the Island of Barbadoes, I have not been able to get here until the second instant. I transmit this letter by Colonel Schuyler, member of His Majesty's Council in this Province, and Mr. Dellius, both gentlemen of character and merit, in order to evince to you the esteem I entertain for a person of your rank. These gentlemen will convey to you all the French prisoners at present in the hands of the English of this Province. As regards those who are in captivity among the Indians, I shall send orders that they be liberated forthwith, with a good escort, if that be necessary, to guarantee them against all insults, and to conduct them in safety to Montreal.

I doubt not, Sir, but you will, on your part, also issue orders for the release of all the King's subjects, both Christians and Indians, who have been made prisoners by you during the war, so that friendly correspondence and an unrestricted trade, the ordinary fruits of peace, may be renewed on the one side and the other, agreeably to the hearty union and good understanding which it has created between the Kings, our Masters. I beg you to be persuaded that I am, with much esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

Earl of Bellomont.

Answer of the Count de Frontenac to the letter of the Earl of Bellomont.

Quebec, 8th June, 1698.

Sir,

Colonel Schuyler and Mr. Dellius presented to me, three days ago, the letter you did me the honor to write me, from which I perceive your disposition to entertain a good correspondence with us in consequence of the peace which has been concluded between the King, my Master, and the King of England.

Although I have not yet received its confirmation by France, I have always observed so much humanity towards your prisoners, that I shall, without difficulty, surrender into the hands of those gentlemen, during their brief sojourn here, those English and Dutch men whom I shall be able to collect together in the several parts of my government, and who will be disposed to depart. This has been my invariable course in the hottest period of the war,

notwithstanding the bad treatment Captain de Villieu and several others have experienced at Boston, contrary to the law of nations, and even to ratified capitulations.

I am persuaded, Sir, that you will not approve that proceeding, and that you will no longer tolerate the detention there, in chains, of Capt[n] Baptist, a privateer, who is treated with great rigor.

I have recently learned that a part of our prisoners, which had been at Boston, has been sent back to Port Royal, and I am much obliged to you for those whom Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius have brought me from you, though they be few in number. But I cannot understand how you could have instructed those gentlemen to require the release of the Iroquois whom we have with us, when promising to have restored to me all the Frenchmen whom they hold; for they having come last fall to negotiate peace with me and having left a hostage with me for the observance of their promise, it remains for them to perform it, and to bring me back my people, if they wish to conclude Peace; and it would be needless for you to give yourself the trouble to interfere in the matter, inasmuch as these are children disobedient to their father, *who have uninterruptedly been subject to the King's dominion, even before the English took New-York from the Dutch. The missions we have had for more than forty years amongst them; the garrisons we have maintained in their villages; their children whom they have given me, and whom I have brought up near me, and many other evidences afford most certain proofs that they have ever been subject to the King's protection.*

I have such precise orders hereupon, that I cannot transgress them until I have received new instructions, and until the Kings, our masters, shall either by themselves, or by Commissioners whom they will send to the places, come to an agreement respecting the difficulties which they may meet there. These, however, Sir, shall not alter the good understanding I profess to entertain with you. I have detained the Indians who are among us, in order that they should not make any new attacks on the English settlements. As soon as I had the first intelligence, by Mr. Abraham, of the peace I gave the same notice to the Abenakis and other Indians towards Acadia; but as they are at a great distance from me, and as I am told they were extremely irritated because divers of their Chiefs, who are prisoners at Boston, have not been sent back to them with the French by way of Port Royal, I fear, if you do not cause them to be released at the earliest moment, that their despair will drive them to undertake some act of hostility, which might cause us regret, both the one and the other.

This also prevents me, in their regard, obliging them to restore, absolutely, the English prisoners they have among them, having been repeatedly deceived by similar proposals of peace, and having, at divers times, surrendered persons without having been able to obtain any of their people in return.

It was impossible to receive your letter by persons more agreeable to me than Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius, who have appeared to me gentlemen of merit. The desire they have to join you, before your departure from New-York, forbids my detaining them any longer here.

The King of England could not send into those provinces a person capable of affording me more joy, in consequence of the reputation I understand you possess, which will engage me to exercise all my care, in order to maintain a good correspondence with you, being disposed to assure you, as often as it shall be in my power, that I am, with great esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient
Servant,

FRONTENAC.

Another letter from the Earl of Bellomont to the Count de Frontenac.

New-York, 13th August 1698.

Sir,

I have just arrived from the frontiers where, among other things, I have had a conference with our Five Nations of Indians whom you call Iroquois. They have most urgently entreated me to continue them under the protection of the King my master, having at the same time protested inviolable fidelity and subjection to his Majesty, and complained of the outrages perpetrated on them by your French and Indians of Canada, in violation of the Treaty of Peace in which they consider themselves included in virtue of the fealty they owe the King as his subjects.

They have likewise represented to me that your folks have killed and carried off ninety-four of their people since the publication of the peace; which greatly surprised me, the rather as the Iroquois or Five Nations of Indians have been always regarded as subjects of the Crown of England, as can be demonstrated to the entire world by solid and authentic proofs but which, as appears by your letter of the 8 June last, would be perfectly useless for me to prove, inasmuch as you tell me positively in that letter, that you have such precise orders on the subject of the Five Nations of Indians, that you cannot exceed them until you have received others; and Messrs Schuyler and Dellius, who have placed your letter in my hands, have assured me at the same time, that you express yourself regarding our Indians plainly and in like terms to those contained in your letter. You are well aware that the proceedings and hostilities of your people towards our Indians before the last war, were the principal cause of the King's declaring war against France, as is set forth in the Declaration. I am, therefore, astonished why you wish to undertake to continue the War with our Indians since it is a manifest infraction of the Treaty. The King, my master, has, God be thanked, too much penetration in matters of business, and too great a soul, to renounce his right; and for me, I have his interests too much at heart to suffer your people to commit the smallest insult on our Indians, especially to treat them as enemies. I have, therefore, given them orders to be on their guard, and in case they be attacked to give no quarter either to Frenchmen or Indians, having promised them assistance each time they require it. Moreover to place them in a condition to defend themselves and to repel those who will attack them, I have furnished them with a quantity of arms and munitions of war. You see, Sir, I make no difficulty in informing you of all my proceedings with our Indians; wherein I am certain of being sustained by the King my master, agreeably to right, reason and the law of Nations which permits opposing force to force.

To show you how little our Five Nations of Indians regard your Jesuits and other Missionaries, they have entreated me repeatedly to expel these Gentlemen from among them, representing to me at the same time, that they were overwhelmed and tormented by them against their will, and that they would wish to have some of our Protestant ministers among them instead of your Missionaries in order to their instruction in the Christian religion, which I promised them. And you will do well to forbid your Missionaries interfering any more with them, unless they desire to undergo the punishment provided by the laws of England, which assuredly I will cause to be executed every time they fall into our hands, the Indians having promised to bring them as prisoners before me.

If you do not cause acts of hostility on your side to cease, you will be held responsible for any consequences which may follow, and I shall leave the world to judge who will be most in the wrong, you or I; you for having recommenced the war, I for defending our Indians against

your hostilities, and bringing your people to reason, having been driven to it by your infraction of the Treaty.

Our Indians were very willing to place in my hands all the prisoners they have taken from you during the war, exceeding in number, as they told me, one hundred, on condition that I should assure them of the liberation of their people whom you retain. I was unwilling, however, to take that upon myself until I had previously known your resolution, again, in that regard.

I have sent back, notwithstanding, with my passport to conduct them to Canada, four French prisoners whom our Indians brought with them to Orange, as the town of Albany was first called in the time of the Dutch. If you consent to an exchange of prisoners on both sides, you will do well to give me notice thereof, in order that I may have collected together those of yours in the hands of our Indians. I learn from New-England, that your Indians have killed two of our English in the vicinity of a village called Hatfield and taken off their scalps, and that it occurred about the 15th of last month whilst those poor people were busy making their harvest being wholly unarmed, thinking themselves secure by reason of the peace; such barbarities cannot be heard of, without exciting a thrill of horror. It is added that your Indians are encouraged hereunto by the reward you pay them, viz. fifty écus for each scalp.

I hope you will not take it amiss that I say, such seems to me in entire opposition to Christianity, or that I have expressed myself with somewhat of warmth and resentment on this subject; too much zeal may be evinced, on some points, in the service of one's master, especially when the interest of the Crown and the repose of its subjects are in question.

I am, as far as I
may be,
Sir,
Your most humble and most
obedient servant
Earl of Bellomont.

Another letter from the Earl of Bellomont of New-York, dated 22 August 1698 in answer to Count de Frontenac's preceding letter.

Sir,

Two of our Indians of the Nation called Onondagas came yesterday to advise me, that you had sent two renegades of their Nation to them to tell them and the other tribes except the Mohawks, that in case they did not come to Canada within forty days to solicit peace from you, they may expect your marching into their country at the head of an Army to constrain them thereunto by force. I, in my side, do even this day send my Lieutenant-Governor with the King's regular troops to join the Indians and to oppose any hostilities you will attempt, and if need be, I will arm every man in the Provinces under my Government to repel you and to make reprisals for the damage which you will commit on our Indians. This, in a few words, is the part I will take, and the resolution I have adopted. Whereof I have thought it proper to give you notice by these presents.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble and most
obedient servant
The Earl of Bellomont.

Reply of the Count de Frontenac to the Earl of Bellomont.

Quebec, 21st September 1698.

Sir,

I should not have so long deferred sending some persons of merit and distinction to receive some intelligence of you, and to return the civilities you were pleased to exhibit in my regard through Messrs Schuyler and Dellius, had the vessels I expected from France arrived here sooner. The delay of the latter is the sole reason that still induces me to postpone the departure of my envoys until next spring, fearing as I do lest the advanced state of the season would prevent their return before the close of navigation.

I learn from the despatches I have received from Court, as you must have learned on your part, that the Kings, our Masters, had resolved to name, respectively, some Commissioners to regulate the limits whereby their dominions in these countries are to be determined in case of difficulty. Therefore, Sir, it appears to me that, before speaking to me in the style you have done in your last letter of the 13 and 22 August, which I have just received by these gentlemen whom you have sent me, you ought to have waited the decision of those Commissioners and not think of thwarting an affair already commenced, and which may be regarded as domestic, inasmuch as it is between a Father and his Children whom the former endeavors in every way to bring back to their duty, beginning by mildness and being resolved to use more severe measures should the first fail of effect.

It is a matter which you must consider entirely distinct from the treaties of Peace and Friendship mutually concluded by the Kings our Masters, in which you cannot interfere without avowing, that, far from employing every means to cultivate that good understanding their Majesties desire may exist between our two Nations, you would, apparently, search for pretexts to prejudice the Treaties of peace which have been concluded, wherein I doubt if you have his Britannic Majesty's authority. For, as regards myself, in wishing to oblige the Iroquois to perform the promise they have given me before it was known that Peace was made between the two Crowns, and for which they left me hostages, I only follow the plan I had laid down; whilst you, by assuming pretensions altogether novel and utterly unfounded, turn aside from the course which you indicate that you have adopted for the preservation of the good correspondence and union which have been so strongly enjoined on us. You really want me to tell you, that I am sufficiently well informed of the sentiments of the Iroquois to know that not one of the Five Nations pretended, or desired, to be under the dominion of England, and that you have not a single proof to convict them thereof, whilst those in our possession, and which will be submitted to the Commissioners to be named for the examination of this question, will be so clear, so ancient and so incontestable that I doubt if they can be answered; therefore, Sir, am I determined to pursue, unflinchingly, my course, and I request you not to attempt to thwart it by what would turn out in your case to be useless efforts; and all the protection and aid you have declared to me you have already afforded, and will continue to give, the Iroquois in opposition to the terms of the treaty, will not cause me great alarm, nor oblige me to alter my plans, inasmuch as they would, on the contrary, rather engage me to prosecute them still more.

Whatever untoward results may follow, you will be responsible for, in the face both of Heaven and of the King your Master, as you will be the sole cause of all the bloodshed that will ensue.

You wish me to tell you that you have been misinformed when you were told that the French and Indians settled among us, had committed this year, some outrages on the Iroquois.

It is very true that the Outaouacs, and particularly the Algonkins made a considerable attack on the Onnontagués, because they as well as the other Nations, had declared they would not make any peace with them. Five prisoners whom they captured in that expedition have been brought to Montreal. I have taken these out of their hands in order to save their lives, intending to restore them on the arrival of their deputies to conclude, according to their positive promise, a peace with me, and to arrange matters better between them and all the other Farthest Nations under the King's dominion.

I have reason to believe that if the Iroquois have not brought me back all the prisoners in their possession, it is because you formally opposed it. When they shall return to their duty, and have performed their promise; I will restore them those who are here; that will not prevent me thanking you for the kindness you manifested to the four other Frenchmen whom you have sent back.

I have sufficiently explained myself regarding some Indians of Acadia, and was always apprehensive that unless those of their Tribe, who are detained in prison at Boston with such bad faith, were immediately restored to them, they might organize some expedition against your Colony. I regret nevertheless, the attack which, as you inform me, they made on Hatfield, where they killed two men. This obliges me to send, now, a second order to these Indians to make them cease hostilities. But I have again to repeat the request that you have their people sent back to them, to which you have not given me any answer.

You perceive that I speak to you with the same frankness and freedom as you address me in your last letters, continuing, however, to protest to you, that no one can entertain a more sincere desire than I do to keep up good correspondence and friendship between both our Nations and that I shall always be, as much as possible,

Sir

Your most humble and
most obedient servant
FRONTENAC.

Count de Frontenac and M. de Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

In the letter we had the honor to write you on the 15th of this month, we advised you of the dispositions of the French who remained at Missilimakinac and in the distant Low Countries *(bas pays.)*

Since that time, Sieur de Tonty, commandant in those places, has arrived here with six Frenchmen only, having departed, according to the orders he received from Sieur de Frontenac in confirmation of those already sent him in consequence of his Majesty's dispositions, after having used every effort, both by exhortations and threats, to induce all those Voyageurs to submit to the orders he had received.

He has reported to us that a portion of the revolted French used as a pretext for their disobedience, that they had left all their effects when they were commanded to go down with Sieur d'Argenteuil for the campaign against Onnontagué, and that they have not been able to dispose of them since their return, as the Indians had hunted but little this year, the greater number having gone to war, so that these French found themselves under the necessity to go to a great distance from Missilimakinac to be able to trade those goods off; but that the other French were entirely disposed to obey and to return to Montreal, and were prevented doing so only by the impossibility of finding Indians disposed to assist in bringing down their peltries, even by paying them triple the ordinary wages, as explained in the petition annexed. Sieur de Tonty adds, that he had the Chiefs of those Indians assembled and desired to make them a present of forty beavers in order to induce them to invite their young men to assist the French. Sieur Arnaud a Montreal merchant who went up to Missilimakinac last year to recover from those Voyageurs some considerable amounts due him, endeavored, a long time, to get down his effects, and not being able to find any sufficiently well disposed persons, could not leave with said Sieur de Tonty. But Sieur de Bouder having arrived with fresh orders from Sieur de Frontenac for bringing down all the French, at whatever cost, Sieur Arnaud adopted the resolution to abandon generally all his peltries rather than disobey the King and M. de Frontenac's orders, and engaged an Indian to whom he paid 500^{ll} in beaver, and hired two Frenchmen to fetch them down, so that this voyage, without bringing any thing back, has cost him more than 1200^{ll} before he returned to Quebec, where he arrived yesterday.

In this conjuncture and under all these circumstances, we considered it our duty to postpone, until new instructions from the court, the execution of Sieur Lesueur's enterprise for the Mines, though the promise had already been given him to send two canoes in advance to Missilimakinac for the purpose of purchasing there some provisions and other necessaries for his voyage, and that he would be permitted early in the spring to go and join them with the rest of his hands. What led us to adopt this resolution has been that the French who remained to trade off with the Far Nations the remainder of their merchandise, might, on seeing entirely new comers arriving there, consider themselves entitled to dispense with coming down, and perhaps adopt the resolution to settle there; whilst seeing no arrival there with permission to do what is forbidden, the reflection they will be able to make during winter and the apprehension of being guilty of crime, may oblige them to return, the one and the other, in the spring. This would be very desirable in consequence of the great difficulty there will be in constraining them to it, should they be inclined to lift the mask altogether and to become buccaneers; or, should Sieur Le Sueur, as he could easily do, furnish them with goods for their beaver and smaller peltry, which he might send down by the return of other Frenchmen whose sole desire is to obey, and who have remained only because of the impossibility of getting their effects down. This would rather induce those who would continue to lead a vagabond life, to remain there, as the goods they would obtain from M^{r} Le Sueur's people would afford them the means of doing so.

The Iroquois who had promised to come and conclude peace and bring back our prisoners, have not yet redeemed their promise, which leaves no doubt on our minds that they are dissuaded from so doing by the Earl of Bellemont, governor-general of New England, who was unwilling that peace should be made independent of him, regarding them as his King's subjects, and we do not believe that there will be, hereafter, any means to bring the Indians to reason except by organizing some expedition against their villages. But as M^{r} de Bellemont has

observed to Sieur de Frontenac that he had seriously forbidden them to make war on us, but should we go and attack them he would be obliged to take their part and to repel force by force; in that case far from thinking to reduce the troops here, we would want some additional men. If, however, you could have the Earl of Bellomont instructed not to meddle in the affairs of the Iroquois, we believe that with the forces we have remaining, our troops, though somewhat out of condition, will suffice to reduce them soon to their duty.

We shall await your orders on this point, so that what we might do may not be ascribed to any infraction of the Treaty of peace; meanwhile we will hold every thing in readiness to be able to execute those commands; and we supplicate you, My Lord, to be pleased, agreeably to our former request, to dispatch an express boat very early, so that she may arrive here in the month of May, as well on this subject as on that concerning the price of Beaver; the mutiny of the Voyageurs who have left Missilimakinac to go and trade the remainder of their goods at a distance; and the continuation of M. Le Sueur's mining project.

We send you, my Lord, a petition presented to us by the inhabitants of Montreal and Three Rivers, who happened not to be here at the meeting held by the King's order, on the proposals which Guigue offered to the Council of State for the regulation of the price of Beaver. It is deserving of attention, my Lord, considering the proposals and offers submitted by Sieur Riverain in the meeting that we caused to be held. We continue to be, with most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble, most obedient and most obliged servants

signed FRONTENAC. CHAMPIGNY.

We forgot, My Lord, to represent to you, in our preceding letters, that Sieur de Vaudreuil's allowances as Captain have been stopped for the year he was in France whither he went only on account of a suit at law of the greatest consequence to his family, and which entailed on him extraordinary expenses during the time of his Lady's sojourn there. We beg you, My Lord, to order M^r^ de Champigny to pay him the money.

(Signed) F. B. C.

25. October 1698.

Louis XIV. to Count De Frontenac.

Versailles, 25 March 1699.

M. le Comte de Frontenac. By the last letters I received from you, and by the copy of those of the Earl of Bellamont that you sent me, I have been informed of what has occurred respecting the Five Iroquois Nations called by the French, *Onnontagué*, *Onnejoust*, *Gojoguen*, *Sonnoutouen* and *Anniez*, and by the English Mohawks, Oneidas, Ondages, Cayugas and Senekers. In order that matters may not proceed to acts of hostility, and until the Commissioners named in execution of the Treaty of Ryswick have made a rule for the future, I have agreed with my brother the King of England that in case acts of hostility be commenced they shall cease on the one side and the other on the instant receipt of this letter, that if my troops have had any advantage over those of England, or the English over mine, whatever it may have been, and what post soever may have been taken on the one side or the

other, things shall be reëstablished on the footing which existed in the beginning of August, [before the letter of the said Earl of Bellamont of the 13th of the same month[1]] had been written to you, and finally to prevent the continuation of the disputes, which have arisen regarding the Iroquois of the Five Nations above mentioned, until an examination of the matter shall be had, I have consented that they, as well as the Indians their neighbors, shall remain undisturbed and enjoy the peace concluded at Ryswick; that in consequence thereof the prisoners and hostages shall be surrendered on both sides, and the Iroquois of the Five Nations as well as the Indians with whom they are at war, and others their neighbors, on the one side and the other, shall by you and Sieur de Bellamont be disarmed as far as you shall consider proper in order to keep them in the tranquillity which it is agreed they shall enjoy; And in case said nations make war on one another, or insult the French or English Colonies,

I desire that you act in concert with said Sieur de Bellamont against them, and oblige them to remain at peace. I address you copy of the orders my brother the King of England gives said Earl of Bellamont, in order that if the ship which carries this to you arrive sooner than that from England, you transmit it to him with all possible speed, and a duplicate of this Despatch is also addressed to said Sieur de Bellamont, to be by him transmitted to you, in case he receive that of the King of England before you receive these presents; which having no other object, I pray God, &c.

Louis XIV. to M. de Callières.

Versailles, 27th April 1699.

Monsieur le Chev: de Callières,

By the last letters I have received from Count de Frontenac, and the copy of those of the Earl of Bellamont sent me by Count de Frontenac, I have been informed of what has occurred respecting the Five Iroquois Nations called by the French *Onnontaguéz*, *Onejoust*, *Goyoguens*, *Sonnontouens* and *Anniez* and by the English, Mohawks, Oneydas, Ondages Cajougas and Senekées. In order that matters may not proceed to acts of hostility, and until the Commissioners named in execution of the Treaty of Ryswick have made a rule for the future, I have agreed with my brother the King of England that in case acts of hostility be commenced, they shall cease on both sides on the instant receipt of this letter; that if my troops have had any advantage over those of England, or the English over mine, whatever it may have been, and what post soever may have been taken on the one side or the other, things shall be reëstablished on the footing that existed in the beginning of August last, before the letter of the said Earl of Bellamont on the 13th of August had been written to said Count de Frontenac, and, finally, to prevent the continuation of disputes which have arisen regarding the Iroquois of the Five Nations above mentioned, until an examination of the matter shall be had, I have consented that they, as well as the Indians, their neighbors shall remain undisturbed, and enjoy the peace concluded at Ryswick; that in consequence thereof, the prisoners and hostages shall be surrendered on both sides as well Iroquois of the Five

[1] *De la Potherie*, IV., 129. — Ed.

Nations, as the Indians with whom they are at War, and others their neighbors on the one side and the other; and the Iroquois of the Five Nations as well as the Indians their enemies shall by you and Sieur de Bellamont be disarmed as far as you shall consider proper, in order to preserve them in peace, which it is agreed they shall enjoy, and in case said Nations make war on one another, or insult the French or English Colonies, I desire that you act in concert with Sieur de Bellamont [against them, and oblige them to remain at peace. I address you copy of the orders my brother the King of England gives said Earl of Bellamont] in order that if the ship which carries this to you arrive sooner than that from England, you transmit it to him with all possible speed; and a Duplicate of this despatch is also addressed to said Sieur de Bellamont to be by him transmitted to you, in case he receive that of the King of England before you receive these presents, which having no other object, I pray God to have you M. le Chevalier de Callières, in his holy keeping.

Written at Versailles, 29th of April 1699.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Callières and de Champigny.

Memoir of the King to Chevalier de Callières Governor and his Lieutenant General, and to Sieur de Champigny, Intendant of Justice, Police and the Finances of New France.

His Majesty has received the despatches of Count de Frontenac and Mr de Champigny of the 15th and 25th of October last which he answers by this Memoir.

The satisfaction afforded by said Chevalier de Callières' services having induced his Majesty to select him as the successor of said Count de Frontenac, His Majesty is pleased to explain to him his intentions respecting the current affairs of this Country, which are contained in this despatch that is addressed jointly to him and Sieur de Champigny, in order to make them understand that it is his wish that they live together in perfect union and correspondence, declaring to them, that he will not place any confidence except in what they will likewise jointly write to him, on the affairs of the Colony, and though his Majesty doubts not but they will always think in that way, as the one and the other ought to have in view nothing but the good of his service, he, nevertheless, wishes to say to them, that in case they happen to entertain different opinions, on any subject, it is his pleasure that they communicate in their joint despatches their respective views, and add thereunto their reasons for these opinions, in order that his Majesty, being in a position to judge of the one and the other, may issue his orders, understandingly, according as he shall deem proper.

Sieur de Callières will find hereunto annexed a despatch from his Majesty, with another from the King of England to the Earl of Bellamont for the cessation of all acts of hostility between the two nations respecting the Iroquois, and for uniting the forces of New France with those of New England in obliging these Indians to remain at peace, and to leave all the other Nations, our allies, undisturbed. His Majesty does not doubt but that will be productive of tranquility throughout the whole country, and recommends Chevalier de Callières to conform himself exactly thereunto on his part.

He will be careful to send to said Sieur de Bellamont the despatch addressed to him by the King of England, unless Sieur de Bellamont have anticipated him and sent him that his Majesty has addressed through him to the late Count de Frontenac, in which case it will not be necessary to forward it. His Majesty approves the surrender by Sieur de Frontenac to the English who were sent by Sieur de Bellamont to communicate intelligence of the Peace, of those of their countrymen who were prisoners at Quebec, and doubts not but the English have on their side, restored, in like manner, all the French. However, in case information has been received of the detention of some children under twelve years of age, from motives of religion, as they must be surrendered according to the rule established by the English themselves, that children of that age ought to be given up as being incompetent to select a religion for themselves, it is his Majesty's pleasure that Mess^rs^ de Callières and de Champigny accept the offer made by the priests of the Seminary to proceed to the spot in order to obtain them back, and that they be furnished with what commodities, orders and letters they shall require for the execution of that pious design.

His Majesty will willingly grant the English Catholics who have remained in Canada and have for Religion's sake refused to return to New England, the letters of Naturalization they demand, and a list of their names have only to be sent, whereupon his Majesty will direct these letters to be issued.

He has perused with great satisfaction the letter addressed by said Sieur de Frontenac to the Earl of Bellomont in answer to that received from the Earl, and desires that said Sieurs de Callières and de Champigny sustain, when circumstances require it, the dignity of the characters with which they are invested, with the same firmness as Sieur de Frontenac has displayed on this occasion.

Although no further War expenses are to be incurred, his Majesty has been pleased to remit, this year, the sum of one hundred thousand livres which he granted when the war was at its height, for the liquidation of outstanding debts, and especially of those accruing from provisions lost, or taken at sea in 1690, 91 and 1692, and of the excess incurred in 1693 over the funds of that year for the fortifications of Quebec. It is his pleasure, also, that from this fund he paid what is due for the munitions furnished fort Missilimakinac in the year 1697, and for the construction of the guard house which Count de Frontenac caused to be erected last year at Quebec.

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His Majesty has approved that the late Sieur de Frontenac and Sieur de Champigny have suspended the execution of the license granted to the man named Le Sueur to proceed with 50 men to explore some Mines on the bank of the Mississippy river; he has been satisfied with reasons which obliged them to act thus. He has revoked said license and desires that Sieur de Callières and de Champigny prevent the said Sieur Le Sueur or any other person leaving the Colony on pretence of going in search of Mines, without his Majesty's express permission.

In regard to the fort of the Illinois and the settlement Sieur de la Forest and de Tonty have there, as they have been established with permission of his Majesty who has been pleased to except them by name from the general prohibition he has issued in the declaration of the month of May of said year 1696, it is his pleasure that they permit said Sieur de la Forest and de Tonty to send thither only two Canoes annually, with the necessary number of men to navigate them, on condition, however, that these do not exceed the number of twelve; and this until further order, and until it shall please his Majesty to direct otherwise.

His Majesty does not consider it necessary to continue presents to the Indians. He was pleased to bestow some on them when they were employed in waging war against the Iroquois, in order to indemnify them in some sort for the loss they incurred in consequence; but he desires that said Sieur de Callière assure them of the continuance of his Majesty's protection; that he inform them of the suspension of hostilities with the Iroquois which includes them as well as the French, and that his orders are to defend them, and to wage war against the Iroquois every time the latter will attempt to attack them. He wishes, also, that he make known to them that his intention, in recalling all his subjects who were in the interior of the country, was to confer on them a considerable advantage, by the low rate at which they will obtain goods at Montreal, on which goods the French were deriving a profit from them.

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His Majesty has been informed that Father Hennepin, a Dutch Franciscan who has formerly been in Canada, is desirous of returning thither. As his Majesty is not satisfied with the conduct of the Friar, it is his pleasure that if he return thither, they arrest and send him to the Intendant at Rochefort to whom his Majesty will communicate his intentions in his regard.

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Encroachments of the English on the Territories of New France. 1699.

Memoir respecting the Encroachments of the English on the territories of New France.

It is not to-day that the English commence encroaching on the territories of New France. It is certain that there is no coast of North America in their possession from French Florida and the Boston country to Acadia, but what the French have first discovered and taken possession of before them. But the English, taking advantage of our civil wars, which gave occupation to the arms of our Kings Francis I., Charles the Ninth and their successors as far as Louis the thirteenth of Glorious memory, founded their Colonies in the new Countries and territories previously discovered by order of our Kings.

The Normans and Bretons first discovered, two hundred years ago, according to the History of Wiflet and Anthony Magin, printed at Douay, the Grand Cod Bank and the Islands of Cape Breton, since called of S^{t} Lawrence, and the Island of Newfoundland. Some Englishmen wishing, some years after that new discovery, to render themselves masters of the Cod fishery and of the said island of Newfoundland, agreed together to proceed to England to obtain an armed force and permission to drive the French from that quarter; but when their ships were on the Grand Bank, God so willing, a violent tempest arose which caused them all to perish and their project to fail.

From the time of Francis the first, King of France, and of Henry the 7th, King of England, the French and the English, the latter by the North, and the former by the Eastern and Southern, Coasts of North America as low down as the Gulf of Mexico, and after them the Dutch

fruitlessly searched for a passage to the East Indies by New Jambe,[1] which the Spaniards had recently attempted by the Gulf of Mexico; whilst Sébastian Cabot, John Davis, Forbichet and John[2] Hudson, Englishmen, explored in various years the Northern regions from the 56th degree proceeding towards the Pole. Verrazano first discovered, in two Voyages, the last of which was in 1523, and in the name of Francis the first took possession of the sea coasts of America from the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Island of Newfoundland, that is to say, from the thirty-third to the forty-seventh degrees of Latitude.

In 1534, Jaques Cartier again explored the Island of Newfoundland, entered the Gulf and River St Lawrence, which he ascended in 1535, and in '41 and '42 explored as high as 200 leagues from its mouth, and began the first French settlements which were afterwards kept up by the Marquis de Roberval, under Charles 9th by whose order and on the petition of Admiral de Chatillon, Sieurs Ribaut and Laudonniere laid the foundations, towards the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico, of a Colony called French Florida, or Carolina, from the name of Fort Charles which they erected on the river May, where they left Captain Albert in command. Here it was that Verrazano had commenced his explorations.

The Marquis de la Roche was sent to those Countries of New France as His Majesty's Lieutenant; next Sieur Chauvin and De Mons, gentlemen of the Bed Chamber, who also governed Acadia for King Henry 4th. In the reign of Louis 13th Sieur Champlain penetrated very far into the interior of the country; he fought twice, according to his own account, with the Upper Iroquois whom he attacked in their principal village.

These Barbarians had never before seen, nor heard the report of, an arquebuse, nor had any communication with Europeans. Champlain says they used only Arrows and hatchets of stone.

Finally, the Iroquois intimidated by the tintamar and execution of those fire arms, sued for peace, and in 1621 made Sieur de Champlain arbiter thereof.

He drew topographical Maps of the Iroquois Country and circumjacent places, so that since that time, the territory of these Indians is seen in the Maps, comprehended within that of New France.

The Iroquois, who waged considerable wars with the Hurons, from whom they took a number of prisoners and whom they finally destroyed in 1648, took it ill, after a sufficient length of time, that the remnant of their enemies should find an asylum in the French Colony, which they insulted from time to time, on the ground that we were protecting the Hurons against them.

The Court was informed hereof, and sent out some troops in 16 . . under the Command of Mr Tracy, viceroy of New France, and of Mr de Courcelles, governor, who obliged the Iroquois to sue for peace and to permit the planting of the Arms of France, with all due solemnity in the Country of these Barbarians. This act of vigor gave peace with these people for 25 years, until 1685, when the French dissatisfied with their conduct, advanced to the neighborhood of their Villages, the deputies from which offered satisfaction to the late Mr de la Barre, notwithstanding all the opposition offered by the English in order to prevent their going to the French camp to treat there of an arrangement. On the English envoy's urging them to obey the orders of their Governor and not to go to meet Mr de la Barre, they declared to the Deputies, that they did not recognize any Master; that they had two arms, whereof one was extended towards their Father, the governor of the French; and the other towards their Brethren the English, and that their body was on their own territory where they acknowledged

[1] *Sic.* [2] *Sic.* Henry. — Ed.

no other Master than the Creator of the Universe, who had granted it to them, and that it was by sufferance they allowed Europeans to come and settle in their vicinity on lands dependant on them, and on which the English did not locate until they paid them the price and indemnity of those lands; that their frontier colony was occupied only by their permission, and that, therefore, they had only to return to him who had sent them and to tell him that they were free and neuter, and that they did not acknowledge the Dominion of any power whatsoever.

Whereupon, the English having invited them anew to recognize their pretended Sovereignty, they answered haughtily and let loose on them some drunken and insolent young men, who insulting them obliged them to take to their heels, without having obtained any of their pretensions.

The English made these movements only from Commercial jealousy, imagining that M^r^ de la Barre was wishing to establish a new post in the neighborhood of the Iroquois. Trade and the peace, between the French and the Iroquois, were thus maintained until Monsieur de Denonville having relieved M^r^ de la Barre, war was declared against the Iroquois in 1687, by the sacking of the Upper Iroquois Villages, beyond which M^r^ de Denonville erected a fort at the place called Niagara, on the South side of the Lake of the Iroquois called Frontenac.

Advantage was taken of this hostility by the English, to whom they promised whatever they pleased provided they would continue to sell them their goods at a cheap rate, especially arms and powder, for carrying on against the French hostilities which still continue.

In regard to the pretension of the English, that the Iroquois have acknowledged themselves vassals and subjects of the Crown of England, and that they ought to treat of peace with the French solely through the English,

The man named S^t^ Germain recently returned from the Iroquois country where he was a prisoner, asserts that the Iroquois publicly maintain that they have no masters, and that they allowed the English to assume that title only in order to enjoy the trade in goods and arms they required; but when they will be inclined to make peace, they will negotiate it by themselves, independent of the English, who are extremely apprehensive that the French will share the trade with them, as was the case before the War; And it is on this account that the English have made some of their people assume Black Gowns in order to instruct the Iroquois in Religion, to the exclusion of the Jesuits from among them, under the impression that they kept up a good understanding between these people and the French Nation which they would willingly see annihilated by those Barbarians, many of whom have followed these Fathers and have embraced and profess the Faith, and have rendered during the War signal service against the other Iroquois and against the English.

Count de Frontenac will have advised the Count in what terms he answered the Governor of New-York's arrogant menace.

Finally, it is of importance that in making Peace, things remain in the state they were in before the war, and that the Iroquois continue neuter, as they have been; otherwise, if a disposition be manifested to take sides with the Barbarians, it will be an eternal cause of hostilities, misunderstanding and division between the French and the English; and it is sufficiently well understood that if war be renewed between the two Crowns of France and England, the English would not fail to let loose on our Colony these Savage Mastiffs who can inflict more injury on it than the English. Besides, it is not reasonable to be dependant on the English for satisfaction for insults these Indians may, eventually, offer the French. This would render them insolent and obtrusive, and affect the union and good understanding between the French and the English.

Letters from Canada dated the eighteenth of September 1698, state, that the English have come on an embassy to Quebec; that they claim to keep the Iroquois Nations, like goslings, under their control; they have told them and caused friendly Indians to say every thing capable of seducing them, and of subjecting them to the yoke of Sovereignty.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Callières and de Champigny.

Despatch of the King to Chevalier de Callières, Governor and Lieutenant-General, and Sieur de Champigny, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in the territory of New France. 5 May, 1700.

His Majesty has seen the letter they wrote on the 20th of October last to Count de Pontchartrain Secretary of State and of his commands on the affairs of New France. It has afforded him lively satisfaction to be assured that they intend to live in perfect intelligence, and to act harmoniously in all matters which will have relation to his service. His Majesty has approved of Chevalier de Callières having employed Sieur de la Vallière and Father Bruyas, Jesuit, to convey to the Earl of Bellomont the letter of the King of England addressed to that Nobleman, and having commissioned them to bring back all the French who are prisoners among the English, and particularly the Children under 12 years; and in case they may not have been able to bring them all, he approves that they accept the offer of the Directors of the Montreal Hospital[1] to go in quest of them.

His Majesty has been quite pleased to learn that the Iroquois have not committed any act of hostility. He is persuaded that on being notified, as they are, of the agreement on the part of the English to unite their forces with those of the French to oblige them to remain at peace, in case they might desire to disturb the public tranquillity, they will not dare to be guilty of any act which may draw down these two Powers on their heads, and this cessation of hostilities must be henceforth regarded as a Peace. And it is his Majesty's pleasure that the trade with those Indians be again carried on as before the War, adopting, however, some necessary precautions against being surprised.

Conference between M. de Longueuil, Commandant at Detroit, and the Indians. 1700.

Council holden by M. de Longueuil Commanding for the King at Detroit, with the four Nations belonging to his post, on the subject of the declaration of War against the English.[2]

Before entering my quarters and seating yourselves on my mat, you have no doubt anticipated the subject on which I call you together.

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Seminary.

[2] Namely of Carolina. See note 4, p. 706. — Ed.

It is your father Onontio who convokes you, and who is about to speak to you through my mouth. All that you are about to hear comes from him alone. I only repeat here what he orders me to say to you.

ONONTIO.

Children, I have an enemy. I am your father, you are my children. Could it be that this enemy would not be yours also?

I call you my children because as soon as I landed on these shores I adopted you as such, and this adoption has been so agreeable to you that I know not if any of the nations beyond the Great Lake, who landed there before or after me, have succeeded in inducing you to disclaim it. It has been so agreeable to me, that none of the seeds of discord which the Evil spirit has been able to scatter could prevail on me to destroy it.

Being your true father, I have always persuaded myself that you entertain for me sentiments which that character inspires; for were I to perceive in you on the present occasion conduct opposite to them, I could not prevent myself suspecting that the great name of Father was in your mouth a mere word in air, without any substance.

Persuaded as I am by long experience of your dispositions in my regard, I have condescended to send to my fort at Detroit only a small detachment of my Nephews the French, who have settled near me, so much have I reckoned on the heart and arms of the four Nations of my Children established there; their vicinity sets me completely at rest regarding the fate of my Frenchmen. Should the enemy direct his first fire against me, I count on you alone without using any precaution myself.

What will become of me in that conjuncture should my children remain simple spectators of my quarrel with the English? Your entire ruin will perhaps be brought on by that confidence I repose in you which hath prevented me sending a reinforcement to the small body of my nephews, the French of Detroit, sufficient to defend them from the multitude of enemies that threaten them.

But to what purpose these lengthy arguments between a father and his children? Is it not sufficient for them to know the common enemy to seek him every where? Must the father ask them to do so? No; true children know how to anticipate him.

It is in this confidence that I show you the hatchet I lift to-day over the head of the Englishman, and present to all of you one like it, persuaded that you will not only clutch it with ardor, but even that you will not permit it to lie for one moment idle in your hands.

Look on it. Contemplate the message which accompanies it; you will discover my heart in the centre sustained by the four invincible arms which I flatter myself I possess in you at Detroit.

Here M^r de Longueuil stood up to present the Hatchet to each of the four Nations, and said:—

Outaouais, my eldest son. It is to thee I first address myself. I know thou lovest me. Take this hatchet without hesitation; it is the only instrument that now pleases me.

As for thee, Huron—Could I entertain a doubt of thy love for me, seeing all these lands strewed with the bones of thy warriors who have ever run to my assistance? The hatchet I place in your hands will resuscitate a great many of them.

Poutéouatamis, my son. Thou hast docility and yield to none of thy brothers in love. Arm thyself with this hatchet, and renew the proofs you have afforded me of the one and of the other.

Finally, Mississagué, distant from me though you be, I know your heart has never been separated from me. Take this Iron that I present you, and redden it immediately in the bad blood that I detest.

I ought to have long since taken up arms against the enemy I have spoken to you of, but I have been desirous to exercise patience for several years.

The Englishman hath reddened the sea with my blood; he hath also causelessly stained with it a great many countries. My hatchet hath not stirred. But now that he hath pushed me to the wall by so many relapses, I must perish or avenge on him all the blood he has drawn from my veins.

It is neither to Montreal nor his territory that I direct your first steps against him. It is in your own immediate vicinity where he for several years hath quietly made his way with his goods; It is to the White River *(Rivière blanche)* or to the Beautiful river[1] that I expect you will immediately march in quest of him, and when you destroy him you will seize and divide all his goods among you.

Set out forthwith. You shall want for nothing that you require for the extirpation of this scum.

If the English escape you on the Beautiful river you will find them a little farther off with his brother the Flat Head.[2] It is in that country that Asaregoa, Governor of Ménade,[3] hath for a long time exercised his tyranny over all the nations.

The Flat head hath offended me as gravely as the English, for almost all the French whom I thought were destroyed within four years by the Tchicachas, have been killed only by the Flat head, whom the English has supplied with arms which are no less destructive to you than to me.[4]

Therefore, make use of this hatchet against both the one and the other, and if there be any among you who have not received any injury from the Flat head, let him know that this Tribe hath killed me, and constitutes but one heart with my principal enemy.

Finally, my Children, if there be any among you who apprehend that I shall make peace with the English without including them therein, let them know that I will never listen to any proposal for that purpose unless all my children, who will have aided me, be included therein even before any provision be made for myself. After such assurances, receive my hatchet, and make use of it until I shall tell you to stop.

And you, Warriors to whom I present it, Bedeck yourselves from this moment in that brilliant color that I offer you, and which is none other than that of blood. Fill your Calumets with this tobacco, the smoke whereof makes the heart glad. Swallow a drop of this liquor which excites courage in Youth and infuses it into even the most decrepid Old age.

The hatchet was accepted with the usual ceremonies. An Outaouais War chief sung for M^r^ de Longueuil; each Nation caused its War chiefs and Warriors to sing in turn, and every thing passed with demonstrations the most capable of proving the sincerity of their sentiments.

[1] *Belle rivière*, now the Ohio. The latter is the Mohawk name and signifies literally, "Beautiful river;" "*Io* in composition expressing the beauty of the object." *Bruyas.*

[2] The Choctaws. See IV., 802, note.

[3] *Asoregoa*, or Cutlass, was the Iroquois name of the Governor of Virginia. *Colden's Five Nations*, 8vo., Ed. 1750, Part III., 90. It is compounded of *Assaré*, knife, and *gòa*, big.

[4] At the same time other Englishmen who had come from Carolina, were trading among the Chicachas, and had solicited these Indians to kill a Clergyman (M. Foucault) who in fact was massacred among the Tonicas, (a Louisiana tribe.) *Charlevoix*, IL, 260. — Ed.

The speech having been concluded, Quinousaquy stood up, untied the War belt and addressing the Pouteouatamis, Sauteurs and Outaouais, said to them:—

Brothers:—As it is impossible to cut this Belt so that we may each have a piece, I think you will not disapprove of me if I give the whole of it to our brothers the Hurons. It is to thee Sasetaredzy that I present it. Take this Belt and be its keeper.

The Hurons after consulting among themselves thanked Quinousaquy for his politeness, and returned him the Belt, telling him that they knew 'twas safe in his hands, to which Quinousaquy replied by a War Song, in which he bound himself with this Belt — himself and his entire village, and after this ceremony returned it to the Hurons.

Sasetaredzy their King received it, placed it round his neck and told all the Nations that since they made him the keeper of the Belt, he would take care to present it to them every time they would wish to follow him in an attack on the English.

M. de Longueuil's Answer to the Message of the White River Indians.

M[r] de Longueuil's Answer to the Message of the Chiefs of the Post of the White River on the 19[th] June.

Children. I answer your speech and send Saguin back to you with some Frenchmen who convey your necessaries to you.

I recommend you to entertain towards all these Frenchmen who are your brethren, that kindness and friendship you have had for those who have been among you these last years.

As I know that you, though at a distance from me, do not love me less than the other Nations who are at Detroit, I notify you, my Children, that the English have declared war against me. I have lifted my hatchet over his head to avenge myself for all he hath done me.

Your father Onontio who speaks to you to-day by my mouth, orders me to present you this Tomahawk to use it against that enemy who is yours also. Unite with all the Nations who have accepted it.

Your brothers at Montreal as well as those at Detroit are ready to start, Tomahawk in hand, to go and avenge the insult the English have offered me. It is for you to imitate them, in order to parry and anticipate the blows Asarégoa (as they call the English Governor) wishes to give you.

Wait not till he strike you first; commence by binding and pillaging all the English who will come to your parts and to the Beautiful river; divide their goods among you and bring the men here at Detroit; let your warriors penetrate even as far as the children of Asarégoa; let them not hesitate to shed their blood, as they have shed so much of mine without cause and furnished arms daily to their brothers the Flat heads against you and me. Possibly your warriors will meet them on the way banded together for our destruction. As an invitation to them to hear Onontio's word, and to engage them to take up this hatchet, I send them this Vermilion to decorate their persons and this tobacco to cheer them.

This powder and ball to be used against our enemies.

And these strings of Wampum to guide their steps, and to scatter the clouds which might obscure their route.

Toyaraguindiagué, and Canante-Chiarirou, Chiefs of the nations on the White River,[1] I rely on you, and on the promise you have given me of your fidelity and attention for the success of the good work. I give each of you a blanket, a shirt and a pair of winter stockings *(mitasses)* to cover you and to engage you to protect the flag of your father Onontio. Suffer it not to be insulted by the enemy. You may rely that I will never abandon you, and shall not make any difference between your village and my own.

Conference between Chevalier de Callières and the Iroquois at Montreal, 18th July, 1700.

Two Onnondagas named Haratsions Shensigan with four Seneca chiefs, Tonarengsenion, Tonatakst, arrived at Montreal on the 18th of July, and spoke to Chevalier de Callières, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada, as follows:—

By a First Belt.

Father Onontio. The Onondaga, my oldest brother, who has more sense than I, hath repaired hither to speak to you in our name, and as he informed us that you were desirous of seeing your son, the Seneca, we have come to tell you that Corlard (their name for the Governor of New England) has told us that the two great Onontios of France and England have concluded a peace in Europe, and that they wish it to be so in this country; that they had ordered the Indians, who have been up to the present time at war, to cease hostilities, and with this view Corlard hath forbidden us to strike either the French or the Indians their allies, and told us that the two governors of Canada and New England had orders to unite in chastising those who will not obey. In that assurance we went to hunt, and whilst so occupied 55 of our people have been killed as well by the Outtases towards Detroit, the Illinois [on the river Oyoque, the Miamis[2]] in the

Answer of Chevalier de Callières to the Six Deputies who spoke to him at Montreal on the 18th of July.

By a First Belt.

Mr de Bellomont has told you nothing respecting what took place between the Great Onontio and him of England, but what you ought to have already learned from Shensigan and the others whom you sent to me last fall, and to whom I stated the same things you mention to me, and that the two Kings have agreed that you, as well as all the other Indians with whom you have been at war, should participate in the Peace they have concluded. This is the reason I told the Onondagas, who came to see me, that it was necessary that some Deputies from each of your Nations should come here that I may learn their sentiments and adopt measures to bring about a settlement between you and all the Nations. Nevertheless, I do not see any Oneidas or Cayugas, and you tell me, after your Belts, that they were prevented accompanying you by the English who visited Onondaga; and add, that whilst you were coming down here on behalf

[1] The White River rises near the ninety-seventh degree of West longitude and about the thirty-sixth of North latitude, and after running in a very serpentine course for thirteen hundred miles, enters the Mississippi fifty miles above the mouth of the Arkansas, and seven hundred above New Orleans. *Schoolcraft's Ozark Mountains*, 234. — Ed.

[2] *De La Potherie*, IV., 138.

river Choueguen. The hatchet is still hanging over our heads; we come to learn from our Father whether he will withdraw it or have it taken away from his allies.

2nd Belt.

I speak in the name of the 4 Iroquois Nations, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas, the late Count de Frontenac having stated that we could transact business independent of the Mohawks. Since that time I obeyed your order not to go to war. But the Outtawas, Miamis, Ilinois and others, your allies of the Upper Country, have not acted in the same manner. Therefore, I request you, Father, to take the hatchet out of their hands so that they may strike no more; if I do not defend myself, it is not for want of courage, but because I wish to obey you.

3rd Belt.

As we understand that you have a War Kettle constantly suspended, we present you this Belt on the part of the 4 Nations to upset it.

4th Belt.

The sun is witness of my words, and that I desire Peace of which and of War he is the Master. He will punish those who will violate the Peace. I ask of Onontio to let the Black Gown (that is, the Rev. Father Bruyas,) Sieur de Maricourt my son and Joncaire come along. On seeing them, the Iroquois will have no doubt of a sincere peace; they will bring back all of your Villages, you have sent them to M. de Bellomont to ascertain his reasons for so long opposing your coming all together to confer with me.

2nd Belt.

Although my request has not been complied with in this instance, I will believe, seeing you are all Onondaga and Seneca chiefs, that you address me in the name of the two other Iroquois Nations. Whilst awaiting your arrival, according to your oft repeated promises I have already adopted measures for taking the hatchet out of the hands of all the Indians, agreeably to the order of the Great Onnontio; but your long delay, joined to the blow you struck against the Miamis a year ago, when you wounded one of their Indians and killed a Frenchman, has been, no doubt, the cause of those blows which you inform me have been struck against you by the Upper Nations, and which I regret. As some Deputies from those Nations must come here that I may speak to them, it will be necessary for some Chiefs from your Villages also to attend in 30 days, which is the time I ordered them, by a Canoe that left for Michlimakinak in the Spring, to come down here to terminate finally all business in my presence.

3rd Belt.

When we shall fasten all together the great Tree of Peace the planting of which you will witness, and when all the rivers shall be cleared so that you may come and go in safety, then shall all the War Kettles be overturned.

4th Belt.

For the promotion of a matter of that moment, I shall with pleasure permit the Rev. Father Bruyas, Sieur de Maricourt and Joncaire to accompany you in order to look up our prisoners, both French and allied Indians, and to bring them back with the Deputies of the Four Nations that I demand of you, on condition that some among you will remain here

the prisoners both French and Indian allies who remain among us, without leaving one behind.

5th Belt.

We have been given to understand that one of our people is a prisoner among the Algonquins; we request our Father Onontio to open his prison. This affair presses, because they are going to a distance from this place, and we would not obtain him for a long time.

6th Belt.

I ratify by this Belt all that I said in the name of the 4 Nations. I plant the Tree of Peace in order that all the world, on seeing it, may know that I come to demand peace of my Father, who, I hope, will grant it to me.

7th Belt.

I have planted the Tree of Peace, and by this Belt demand that all the rivers in which there are a great many stones, may be cleared in order that the way be free to come and to go.

8th Belt.

When we sent back our son Joncaire, we wished that he should come and go in order to communicate Onontio's opinions to us, and convey ours to him; and we appoint him Plenipotentiary of the affairs of our Seneca village, as M. de Maricourt is of that belonging to the Onondagas.

By three strings of Wampum.

In consequence of the death of Joncaire's father, who managed affairs well, and was in favor of peace, We inform Onontio, by these strings of Wampum, that we have selected Tonatakout, the nearest blood relation, to act until they return; the good treatment they shall receive from me will not allow them to be lonesome.

5th Belt.

When you return I shall cause to be released all the prisoners, in our, and our Indians' hands, whose names you will furnish me. However, I begin by restoring to you the man who is among the Algonquins in order to give you an instance of the sincerity with which I deal with you as well as with them. But do not fail to send me back their two little girls whom I have already demanded, and a Mohegan *(Loup)* who, I am informed, is at the village of the Cayugas.

6th Belt.

I am sorry for the death of Joncaire's father, knowing that he had an upright heart, and I am glad you have appointed Tonatakat to act in his stead since you inform me he resembles him in his good intentions.

as his father instead, as he resembles [him] in his disposition of a kind parent.

Be not surprised, Father Onontio, if only two villages of us have come. Peter Schuyler, M. de Bellomont's messenger, having learned that we were about to start on our visit to you pursuant to the promise we gave you, came to our place to prevent us coming down; but we did not fail to set out notwithstanding, in order to solicit peace from you in the name of the 4 Upper Nations whilst we sent our children the Cayugas and the Oneidas to ascertain why he so long opposed our coming to our father Onontio to conclude business completely.

We are so pleased at Onontio having granted us all we ask of him—permission for Father Bruyas, and Sieurs de Maricourt and Joncaire to come to our country for the prisoners—that we willingly consent that four of our people remain at Montreal until we return.

Here is a Belt that I present to you in token of my sharing your sentiments; and I consent that Sieur Joncaire act as envoy to convey my word to you and to bring me back yours.

After the Iroquois had heard these Answers of Chevalier de Callières, they replied what follows on the other side.

M. de Callières to M. de Pontchartrain.

October 16, 1700.

My Lord,

I am in receipt of the letters you did me the honor to write me on the 17th of February, 31st of March and 5th of May. I already had the honor to inform you on the 21st of July, by the first vessel which sailed hence, of the steps adopted by the Iroquois in order to come and solicit peace of me by the annexed Words, according to their promise, in spite of the opposition of the English, and the blow they received from the Outaouacs, of which they came to inform me as you will see by their discourse which I sent you. You will have, also, seen the measures I have adopted to get Deputies to come from each nation to conclude it, by sending the Reverend Father Bruyas Superior of the Sault Indians, Sieur de Maricourt Captain of the Troops and Sieur Joncaire, Interpreter and Quartermaster of my guards, with them in order to induce them so to do and to bring me back our prisoners, having obliged those Iroquois to leave me four of their Chiefs as hostages until their return, which was on the 3d of September accompanied by 19 Deputies of the Upper Iroquois Nations with 13 French prisoners.

This father has reported to me the good disposition which he brought them to, despite the opposition renewed a second time by an English envoy with a view to prevent them coming to

speak to me. To the joint letter of the Intendant and myself, I annex, My lord, the words of the Iroquois and my answers to them, you will be informed by that, of the manner I have concluded the Peace, which I made them sign according to their custom, together with the Deputies of our Indian allies, whom I invited to attend on that occasion.

I afterwards sent Father Anjalran and Sieur de Courtemanche, Lieutenant of the troops and Captain of my Guards, to the Outaouas to get them to accept and sign it, as well as all the Upper Nations. I ordered them to enjoin on the Chiefs to bring me down all the Iroquois prisoners in their Country at the beginning of next August, which is the term I have likewise fixed for the Iroquois Deputies to bring me down those of our Indians in their custody, so as to make them exchange them in my presence, and thereby confirm that peace which I hope will put a termination to all acts of hostility in these countries. I hope it may be agreeable to his Majesty, having nothing more at heart than to furnish him with proofs of my zeal for his service, and to render you satisfied with my entire conduct.

You will also see by the same joint letter that I have dispatched Sieur de Tonty, Captain of the Troops to Missilimakinac to convey my orders, agreeably to those of the King, to cause the Frenchmen who remained there to come down. He brought me only 20 of them. The others to the number of 84 adopted, for the most part, the resolution to proceed to the establishment on the Mississippy, whither 30 of them had already descended in ten canoes, loaded with beaver which they owe to the merchants of this country. Sieur d'Iberville put this beaver on board his ship and gave them 12 @ 1500^{lbs} of powder, and some of his people have also given them other goods in trade.

I have learned that, since he set sail, ten other canoes loaded with beaver have gone thither, and that other Coureurs de bois are preparing to do in like manner. Had Sieur d'Iberville thought proper to write me an account of what passed in those parts, as he had done to some of his relatives in Montreal, I would have advised him, or those who are in command there, of my opinion, so as to apply a remedy to this wholesale robbery. I have been greatly surprised that he did not inform me of it, since you have not let me know, My Lord, that the King had detached that country, which was discovered by this, from the general government of this Colony. In whatsoever manner his Majesty disposes of it, it would be necessary that he should send his orders to the Commander of that post, to arrest these rebels, so that they may be sent to the galleys, agreeably to the King's declaration of the 21st May 1696; and that he address like instructions to me by the earliest vessels, in order that they be informed thereof by the coast of the Mississipy and by this way, so as to constrain them to profit by the longest delay I have given them—until the month of July of next year—to return to this country. This would obviate the necessity of his Majesty having to chastise them according to the rigor of his orders.

It would further be necessary to forbid those who will settle in that country receiving any beaver either directly or indirectly, or going to trade for any to the Indian nations, permitting them only to trade in Buffalo skins and other articles that can be procured on that continent. This, in my opinion, is the means to prevent the lawless people of this country disbanding themselves, and to maintain it by the fur trade of which it has been in possession since its first foundation.

Since the King has had reasons for endeavoring to settle the Mississippi, though the mouth of that river be completely obstructed by a bar which prevents the entrance of vessels, there being only 8 or 10 feet of water on it, I consider for the advantage of his service that it is highly

important to maintain that post, because the neighboring Spaniards and English would not fail, were it abandoned, to seize it by means of small craft, one of which has already made its appearance, and by their own exertions and those of the Coureurs de bois draw to themselves the trade of that country, without our being able to prevent it, which would be attended with an inevitable loss.

I have reprimanded the Outaouacs Chiefs who have been down here, for having been to war against the Sioux, notwithstanding my having forbid them last year, and I recommended to them, as well as to Father Anjalran and Sieur de Courtemanche, to do all in their power to prevent the continuance of those hostilities between them, which appear to me to have reached a great height, the Sioux having swept off, last spring, a Village of the Miamis. It will be very difficult to arrange this, in consequence of the distance of those nations, who have, no longer, a Commandant to speak to them in my name.

Father Bruyas has just informed me that an Indian belonging to the Mission of the Sault, returning from Orange, has reported that M. de Bellomont had made considerable presents there to the Iroquois, telling them it was his intention to send some Ministers to their villages; that if the Jesuits went to settle there, he should have them arrested, and that he was going to erect some forts in the Villages of the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onontagués, and another at the mouth of their river which falls into Lake Ontario opposite Fort Frontenac. Should he put this design into execution, I request you, My Lord, to inform me what course I shall have to adopt in reference thereto.

I hope the peace with the Iroquois may serve to settle advantageously for the King, the limits between us and the English; if it be not possible to obtain the property of the Country belonging to the former, their neutrality might be secured by referring to their declaration to M. de Bellomont's envoy at Onnontagué, when he wished to prevent them coming to speak to me, That they were their Brothers but not their subjects—as set forth in their Speech—so as to agree by that neutrality that neither we nor the English would be allowed to settle on their lands; leaving these Indians at liberty in Spiritualities, as we are assured they will select our Missionaries in preferenee to English ministers.

I have communicated to the Intendant your observation that his Majesty was of opinion that we had treated too leniently the merchants who had supplied some Indians with goods for the French who remain in the woods; so that he may hereafter avoid similar indulgence in like cases.

The Intendant and I shall inform you in our joint letter what we have done for the equalization of the Companies and the discipline I subject them to. I shall continue to pay attention to this matter, but they are in great need of a supply of good recruits, because those who leave the service to get married and to become settlers, are always the best men.

You will see by the joint letter, My Lord, that I shall send Sieurs de la Motte and Sieur de Tonty in the Spring to construct a fort at Detroit. My design is that they shall go by the Outaouaes river in order to take possession of that post from the Lake Huron side, by that means avoiding the Niagara passage so as not to give umbrage to the Iroquois, through fear of disturbing the peace, until I can speak to them to prevent any alarm they might feel at such proceedings, and until I adopt some measures to facilitate the communication and conveyance of necessaries from this, to that, country through lake Ontario. I shall apply myself the more readily to that establishment inasmuch as Sieur de la Motte assured me that you desired it, having nothing more at heart than to do something that may be agreeable to you.

Messrs. de la Motte and de Tonty are well qualified for that enterprise, but it would be necessary that you should have the goodness to procure an increase of pay from his Majesty for them, to enable them to live there.

The Bishop of Quebec having executed his Majesty's orders respecting the Community of the Nuns of the General Hospital, has concluded to repair to France for the purpose of representing his views to you. That prelate is very charitable and denies himself even his necessary supplies. I have no doubt, My Lord, but you will adopt measures with him that he may continue his liberality for the support of that Hospital, as it is of great use to this country.

I caused Sieur de Merveille to give satisfaction to Sieur de Ramezay at the head of the Troops, agreeably to his Majesty's order. As the latter tells me that he intends to proceed next year to France to take advantage of the goodness you have had to obtain for him from his Majesty a pension of 600^{ll}, I shall again reiterate the most humble application I made last year, for a company for Sieur de Courtemanche Lieutenant of troops, who is a very efficient officer, requesting you to give him that of Sieur de Merveille; by which I shall be much obliged.

I most humbly thank you for having granted that of Louvigny on my recommendation to Sieur de Tonty.

Pursuant to the commissions granted by the King to Sieur Duplessis junior, Fournier de Belleval and de Villiers, to fill the first vacant Ensigncies, I have appointed them to the places of Sieur Deruilliers promoted to a lieutenancy, and of Sieurs de Sevanescot and Chevalier de Noé who went to France last year. The Ensigncy of Sieur Fonville de Grandville, whom his Majesty has appointed Attorney-General, remains still to be disposed of; I pray you to bestow it on Sieur de Rochemont who has [acquitted] himself very well in this country for a long period in the capacity of non-commissioned officer, or cadet.

Sieur de Ramezay who goes to France on leave is very attentive to his duty; he deserves that you would have the goodness to procure for him the Command of this country after Sieur de Vaudreuil as he [requested], being commander of the forces in case of death or absence.

I have not heard of any Governors or King's lieutenants meddling in matters of justice, except to authorize them when required; nor of their having put any of the Colonists in prison. But as cases might occur which would go unpunished before receiving instructions from me, such as sedition, straggling of Coureurs de Bois contrary to the King's commands, want of respect for such governors, and of obedience for the orders they might issue, according to circumstances, for restricting the people within their duty, which would tend to the destruction of their authority, and be in entire opposition to the King's service, I beg you to explain to me his Majesty's regulation which forbids their doing so, without receiving my order to that effect. In order to avoid these inconveniences, I would suggest the propriety of my prescribing what ought to be done in such conjuncture, and that they afterwards report to me thereupon, assuring you that I will not suffer them to abuse the power, nor to act for their private interests, nor through passion.

Last fall, I sent Sieur de Louvigny to take the command of Fort Frontenac with orders agreeably to the King's commands not to carry on any trade there; and having learned this Spring that he contravened the same, and was sending down a quantity of peltries, I detailed a party under the command of Lieutenant de Clevin acting adjutant of Montreal, and of Sieur Chacornales, a reduced Lieutenant, to seize them, which they punctually did, and deposited them in the King's store for which they each took receipts. I afterwards caused Sieurs de Louvigny and the Officers who were with him to be relieved and tried, and I shall have the honor to communicate to you the decision in this case by the last vessels.

Conformably to your instructions, I shall render all the services in my power to Sieur de Clermont partner in the Company for the establishment of stationary fisheries at Mount Lewis also to Sieur de Villebois, agent for the Farmers of the Western Domain,[1] who is a wise and meritorious man. I believe that he will conclude on returning, the inhabitants of this country having ratified the treaty made by Sieur Pacaud with Sieur Derodes for the purchase of the mass of beavers, and formed a company, concerning which we shall have the honor to report to you by our last letters. Meanwhile Sieur de la Chenaye, Councillor, one of the Directors who was elected yesterday by the meeting, has just informed me that he leaves to-morrow in the King's ship, *la Seine*, which will wait at Rochelle for Sieur du Sinot his colleague, who will be entrusted with every thing that has been agreed to by this Company for your perusal, in order that you may have the goodness to obtain his Majesty's approbation thereof.

After having informed you, My Lord, of the affairs of this Country, permit me to testify to you the great pleasure I've felt in the justice the King has rendered My Lord your father's merit in elevating him to the dignity of Chancellor, and to crave the continuance of the honor of your protection; assuring you of the attachment and profound respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most

Obedient and most obliged Servant

Quebec, the 16th October 1700. Le Chevalier de Callieres.

Conference between Governor de Callières and the Iroquois.

Speeches of the Iroquois who came from their country to Montreal with the Reverend Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire, and brought some Deputies of their Nations, to the number of nineteen, for the purpose of concluding Peace. 3d September 1700.

They spoke to Chevr de Callières Governor, &c. as follows:—

By a string of Wampum.

Father Onontio. You see before you, on this occasion all these Iroquois Nations; 'tis true you do not see the face of the Oneida here, because he who was a delegate has fallen sick; we are not masters of sickness or death; but he has assisted at all the councils which have been held, and we express his word as if he were here.

1st Belt.

We already stated, when last here, that the Far Nations had struck us; that we did not wish to defend ourselves, because you and the English Governor had told us that it was a General Peace. If we did not defend ourselves it was not because we were afraid; on our return to our villages, there were two hundred men ready to set out to avenge us, but when they saw the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire they stopped. We

[1] Envoye des fermiers du domaine d'Occident. *Text.* — Ed.

now tell you that there is not any one on the war path, nor desirous to go on it, and we have laid all the hatchets aside.

2nd Belt.

When we came here last, we planted the tree of Peace; now we give it roots to reach the Far Nations, in order that it may be strengthened; we add leaves also to it, so that good business may be transacted under its shade. Possibly the Far Nations will be able to cut some roots from this Great Tree, but we will not be responsible for that nor its consequences.

3rd Belt.

The best proof of Peace is the surrender of Prisoners; we afford such proof to you in bringing you back thirteen whom we present you, though we have experienced considerable pain in witnessing their separation from us, having long since adopted them as our nephews. We also ask you to restore to us, as you promised, all the prisoners that are among the Far Nations and neighboring tribes here. It will afford great joy to all our Villages.

By a String of Wampum.

You and the Onontio of Orange[1] have made Peace; you have told us that we should all oppose him who would violate it. Corlard, notwithstanding, seems desirous of creating disturbance. Come, then, to some arrangement, both of you, and let me know what conclusion you will have agreed to, because when the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire were at Onnontaé, a Dutchman came to tell us, by a string of Wampum, that Corlard forbad us listening to the Word of Onontio, and in case he spoke, not to mind him but to depart immediately to repair to Albany within ten or twelve days. We were so indignant at this, that Téganisorens told him, he was astonished that Corlard would treat us as Slaves; who were his Brothers, not his Vassals, and after having told us that the Peace was general, that he seemed desirous to induce us to fight against our father, which we were unwilling to do; that, as for the rest, we should despite his prohibition, not fail to go down to Montreal where our Father Onontio had lighted the fire of Peace, and in order that he may not plead ignorance thereof, we showed him these belts we were bringing. All the Nations that were assembled approved what Téganisorens said.

By a String of Wampum.

When Joncaire was in our country, the father of this youth whom we restore, was his master; but now it is Joncaire who is master of this young man. We give him in order that if Joncaire should happen to die, he may be regarded as his nephew and may take his place. Therefore it is that we give him up to Onontio, whom we beg, with the Intendant, to take care of him, and to confine him should he become wild.

4th Belt.

We should like to take a smith back with us to Fort Frontenac, and that you would also send some goods thither, so that those of our people who do not come down here by the river may, by placing things as they were before the war, find what they want there; and let them be furnished us at a cheap rate and at Montreal prices; Corlard is becoming ill humored; he may indeed, create disturbance; we would, therefore, wish to have recourse to that fort.

[1] *Sic.* Qu? You Onontio and Corlard have made peace &c. — Ed.

5th Belt.

You appointed a Commandant to Fort Frontenac whom also we called Onontio; I perceive, notwithstanding, that you have made him come back and have confined him in a house. This causes us pain. He supplied our wants; 'tis true he supplied them at a somewhat high rate, but he afforded us pleasure for we were all naked, and were at liberty to take the goods or leave them; It would gratify us much to see him at liberty before going away.

6th Belt.

The last time we spoke here we gave some presents to the Algonquin because he made us some during winter, when hunting; he spoke to us again afterwards, and told us that since Onontio united us by the peace, we would eat together when we should meet. He said he would be here on our return, but as this is not the case, I lay this belt on the ground to thank him and to tell him that we ask nothing better than to make one joint kettle when we shall meet. We have not been able to bring back his two little girls whom you demanded and who were prisoners in our parts, because one of them is dead, and the other was at the hunting grounds when we left our villages; but we promise you to bring her back next summer.

Answer of the Chevalier de Callières, Knight of the Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-general for the King throughout all Northern France, to the Words which the Iroquois Deputies brought him.

By a String of Wampum.

I am very glad, my Iroquois children, to see you returned with the Rev: Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire, and that you have kept the promise you gave me long ago, by bringing me some Deputies from your villages. As your good treatment of the Rev. Father and of Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire affords me evidence of the sincerity with which you acted, I am happy to open my arms to you in order to receive you as a good father, who is always disposed to forget the past in regard to his Children, and to employ himself in making a general peace between all my allies and you.

1st Belt.

'Tis true, you told me of the blows which the Nations inflicted on you since the Great Onontios of France and of England made peace, which they wished you to enjoy as well as the other Nations, my allies, with whom you were at war; whereunto I answered you as I again do, that your long delay in coming to see me with Deputies from each Village, in conjunction with the blow you struck on the Miamis a year ago, has been the cause of what you experienced, which I regret, as I would rather have wished entirely to terminate the war which must not be thought of any more, forgetting on both sides what has occurred whilst it continued. You have done well in stopping all the parties who were prepared to march, and in having laid the hatchets aside.

2nd Belt.

I bewail the Dead whom you have lost in these last rencontres, whilst we were engaged in negotiations of peace, and clean the ground that has been reddened by blood.

3rd Belt.

I seize your hatchets and those of my allies to place them with my own and all other weapons of war, in a trench that I dig deep, whereupon I lay a large rock and turn a river over that, in order that people may not find those arms again to use them against each other.

4th Belt.

I make firm, like you, the Great Tree of Peace, which you have planted, with all its leaves, and you need not entertain any apprehension that any of the roots will be cut off by the Far Nations, my allies. Here are some of their Chiefs: The Rat, Kinonché, Staaliboy, Kelesiskingie and others whom I invited early in the Spring; they assure me that the Peace I now conclude with you for all my allies, shall be punctually respected by them, which I shall cause all my Frenchmen, and Indian allies, domiciled among us also to do; some of their Chiefs are here from the Sault and the Mountain, and my Kercadout, Onnagszny, Nétaminet and other of the principal Abenakis of Acadia, who have come expressly to execute my word.

5th Belt.

You afforded me pleasure in bringing back the thirteen French prisoners whom I see here; but I again ask you to bring me back the remainder and, generally, all those of my allies whom you have in your country, by the beginning of next August which is the time I fix for all the nations to bring back also to you all your people whom they retain, so that a mutual exchange may take place in my presence, and in order that every thing be replaced in the same condition it was in before the War; and in regard to your prisoners among the Indians domiciled in this neighborhood, you can speak to them and open the door to them by the Peace I conclude, to return home if they think proper.

6th Belt.

In order that this Peace which I grant you in the King's name, may be stable, should any difference occur, or any blow be struck on one side or the other, he who may feel aggrieved shall not seek vengeance either by himself or his nation; but he shall come to me that I may have satisfaction done him; and in case the aggressor refuse to give the satisfaction I may have decreed, I shall oblige him to it by uniting myself to those who will have been insulted, and I shall ask the Governor of the English to join me in like manner to chastise the rebels, pursuant to the order we have—he and I—from our two Great Onontios of France and England, and there remains no other agreement to be made between me and Corlard on that point than to execute the orders of the Kings, our masters, for the maintenance of the peace.

By a String of Wampum.

I willingly accept the recommendation you give the Intendant and me to take care of the young man whom you have given Sieur Joncaire, and we will furnish him every thing he shall require to qualify him for filling some day said Sieur Joncaire's place.

7th Belt.

For the purpose of encouraging Peace, I shall ask his Majesty's permission to grant your request as regards Fort Frontenac, and whilst awaiting his orders will immediately have a Smith sent up thither, together with some goods for your most urgent necessities, which will

be furnished you at the lowest rates possible, but I recommend you to prevent your young men touching either the Cattle or any other things belonging to the Fort.

8th Belt.

If I have recalled the Commandant who was at Fort Frontenac, and had him shut up in a house, it was because he disobeyed me, and this should not render you uneasy, as I will send another whom I shall recommend to afford you satisfaction.

By a String of Wampum.

I shall give the Algonkins the Belt you have left with me for them, and explain to them its contents; but I again recommend you not to omit bringing me their little girl that is still alive in your Country, at the time I indicated for your bringing me the other prisoners.

After the Iroquois had heard these answers, they spoke as follows:—

We thank you, Onontio, for the treatment we have received from you. You must have examined all the old affairs to speak as you have done. Such is the way to act when there is a sincere desire to bring matters to a happy termination. For ourselves, we promise to obey your voice, and so much the worse for those who will not do likewise.

The Rat, the Chief of the Hurons, spoke by a Belt, which he addressed to Chevalièr de Callières:

I have always obeyed Onontio; he takes the hatchets out of the hands of all the nations; for me I cast mine at his feet. Who will be so bold as to oppose his Will, who is here our Father; I have no doubt but the Upper Nations will abide his pleasure. It is for you, Iroquois Nations to do the same.

Stastiboy, chief of the Stasaës also spoke by a Belt which he presented to Mr de Callières:

I speak in the name of the Four Stasais Nations to wit: the Stasaës of the *Sable*, the Stasaës Sinago, the Kiskakons and the people of The Fork[1] who have sent me expressly here, to listen to the voice of our Father Onnontio. He takes the hatchets to throw them to the end of the earth; I place mine at his feet, never to take it up again except when it shall be his pleasure. I exhort you also, you Iroquois Nations, to form but one body with us; I shall carry Onnontio's word up yonder.

The Abenakis also spoke in like manner by a Belt addressed to Mr de Callières.

I have nothing else to say than to add that I have no other hatchet than Onnontio's, and as he has thrown his to the end of the earth, Mine has followed it, and as I have no other will than his, I shall exactly execute all he will require.

The Chief of the Mountain spoke by a Belt addressed, like all the others, to Chevalier de Callières:—

I of the Mountain am the last to speak, being the smallest nation. I also lay my axe at the feet of Onnontio.

Chevalier de Callières addressed the Iroquois in these terms:—

I place in your hands the Belts of the Hurons, the Stasaës, Abenakis, and of the Chief of the Mountain, in order that you recall to mind their contents.

[1] The junction of the Kinkakee and Illinois rivers is called the Fork. *Charlevoix*, III., 371, 380. — Ed.

Stonniot, Chief of the Sault, said to the Iroquois by a Belt:—

We of the Sault have just heard our Father, who told you that whosoever in future would attack any other Nations should be chastised, and that he will even unite with the Governor of the English for that purpose. I give you this Belt to confirm his words.

The Iroquois spoke by two Belts which they addressed to M^r^ de Callières:

I thank the Huron and Outaŋaës who stated that it was Onnontio who had given them the hatchet and that they laid it down again at his feet. We hope they will never take it again from the place where it has just been laid.

Chevalier de Callières spoke to the Hurons and Staŋaës

As I have given the Iroquois the Belts you gave me, I also hand you those whereby they answer me, in order that you may remember what they have said to me.

All the preceding Articles having been accepted by the Iroquois Deputies and by those of the Nations who had come down by order of Chevalier de Callières, he caused them to sign the same with him and the Intendant, each making the mark of his Nation, in presence of the entire assembly, at Montreal the 8^th^ of September 1700.

Thus signed in the Original:—

Le Chev^er^ de Callières, Hortrait-Champigny, Vaudreuil, de Ramezay, Fran: Dollier P: C: Lacolombière, F. Guillaume Warden of the Recolets, Pierre Lesholenec, Superior of the house belonging to the Society of Jesus at Montreal.

The nations made each their ordinary mark. After which signed, Sieurs Francois Debelmont[1] Priest, Missionary of the Mountain, Jacques Bruyas,[2] Missionary of the Sault S^t^ Louis, Antoine Gaulin, Missionary of the Abenakis of Acadia, Jean Enjalran, missionary of the Staŋaës Nations, Maricour, de Joncaire.

[1] Rev. François Vachon de Belmont belonged to a distinguished house in Burgundy and was connected with his native country by offices of high respectability. Acquainted with the circle of the Sciences and conversant with most of the languages of Europe he abandoned all his prospects to become a Missionary in Canada. In 1680, whilst yet in minor orders, he was put in charge of the Indian School attached to the Iroquois Mission at the Mountain of Montreal. *St. Vallier: Etat present*, 69; *La Potherie*, I., 343. Here he had a Church constructed at his private expense, of which he became the pastor in 1681. He succeeded M. Dollier, *supra*, 138, as Superior of the Seminary of Montreal and filled that office until his death, which occurred in 1732. *Faillon.* He left behind him among other writings, a *Histoire du Canada*, which is printed in the *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society for* 1840. — Ed.

[2] Rev. Jacques Bruyas, of Lyons, arrived at Quebec 3d August 1666, and set out on the 14th July of the following year for the Mohawk country and thence in September for Oneida. Having been appointed Chief of the Iroquois Missions in 1671, he returned to the Mohawk, was among the Senecas in 1673, again among the Mohawks, where he continued until 1679 when he was recalled. He was in charge of the Mission at the Sault St. Louis in 1684, accompanied Denonville against Senecas in 1687; was at the Sault again in 1691, and in 1693 became Superior of his Order in Canada and held that office until 1700. In 1699 the Onondagas being desirous to conclude a peace visited Montreal and invited Father Bruyas to return as Ambassador with them but their request was refused until they would conclude a treaty at Montreal, and in the fall of that year he was sent with Major La Vallière with the King's Letter announcing the termination of hostilities between England and France. *La Potherie*, IV., 131. In the Summer of 1700, the Iroquois renewed their request, and Father Bruyas proceeded to Onondaga, *Ibid*, 148, where he arrived in August and returned the month following with a delegation that concluded a final peace between the Five Nations and the French which lasted for more than 50 years. *Ib*, 174. He visited Onondaga again in July 1701 on public affairs, and acted as Interpreter to the Iroquois at the grand ratification of the peace in August following by all the Indians. *Ib.*, 241. The time of his decease is not precisely known. It occurred four months before Lafitau entered on the Mission of Sault St. Louis. *Mœurs Sauvages*, II., 434. He was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works in that tongue and on its construction. Hennepin journeyed from Fort Frontenac to the Mohawk valley to examine his Dictionary, and Cotton Mather had a copy of his Mohawk Catechism. His *Racines Agnières;* Dictionary and Catechism are still extant. *Shea.*

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Callières and de Champigny.

Memoir of the King to M. de Callières his Majesty's Governor and Lieutenant-General, and M. de Champigny, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, of New France.

Versailles, 31st May 1701.

His Majesty has seen the despatches of the 17 and 18 October and 6 November of last year, 1700, which they addressed to Count de Pontchartrain, Secretary of State for the department of the Marine, and the Estimates, Memoirs and other papers thereunto annexed. It has afforded his Majesty much satisfaction to learn that Peace has been concluded with the Iroquois without any participation of, and in spite of the means employed by, the English, to prevent it. He desires that they, on their side, do every thing in their power to maintain that Peace which is indispensably necessary for the progress of the Colony and for the indemnification of his Majesty for a portion of the expenses which he has incurred in consequence of that War, and which he finds extremely onerous at the present conjuncture.

Although a relief from these expenses be highly needful, he has been pleased, as he perceives himself on the eve of a war with England, to continue them this year so as to deprive that Nation of every pretext for an expedition against that Colony, and in order that the Iroquois, seeing the French in a state of security may not rally to the English a second time, but observe a strict neutrality at least; and were it possible in case of war, to unite them to us for the purpose of inducing them to carry on hostilities against the English, it must not be omitted to be done. It is his Majesty's desire that they employ all possible address and dexterity, observing that any union we may possibly effect with the Iroquois do not lose us the friendship of the other Indians, our allies. Therefore, in case of an alliance with them, it must be so managed that a good understanding be maintained with the others.

* * * * * * * * * * *

In regard to the 84 who had not yet rejoined last year, and the greater portion of whom had proceeded to the Mississippi, his Majesty has been informed of the reasons which have detained them in the woods, and has been pleased to take it into favorable consideration, being strongly persuaded that the clemency he is pleased to extend to them, will engage them to a more prompt obedience in future.

What has induced his Majesty the more to listen to their excuses has been the resolution he has adopted to form a settlement at the lower end of the Mississippi. He proposes to place those people there, and in that way to lay the foundations of that Colony which has become for him an indispensable necessity, in order to prevent the progress which the English of Coloine[1] and New-York have begun to make in the territories intervening between them and that River. But as he is desirous of preventing that Colony being injurious to Canada, his Majesty will issue orders to oblige the Canadians who have repaired thither to repay their debts. He will prohibit them also hunting Beaver; and as they actually have some of that article, and have not been informed of the prohibition his Majesty has concluded on, he has permitted the Deputies of the Quebec Company, at present in France, to send a clerk to the Mississippi to receive and pay for all the Beaver that will be brought thither pending this and next year, to prevent its being conveyed to the English, and in order that such trade remain in the same hands.

[1] *Sic.* Carolina: — Ed.

Ratification of the Peace between the French and the Indians.

RATIFICATION of the Peace concluded in the month of September last between the Colony of Canada, its Indian allies and the Iroquois, in a General Meeting of the Chiefs of each of these Nations convoked by Chevalier de Callières Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in New France. At Montreal the fourth of August One thousand seven hundred and One.

As there were only some Huron and Outawas Deputies here last year when I concluded peace with the Iroquois for myself and all my allies, I deemed it necessary to send Sieur de Courtemanche and the Reverend Father Anjalran to all the other nations, my allies, then absent, to inform them of what occurred, and to invite them to send down some Chiefs from each, with the Iroquois prisoners they held, in order that they may hear my word altogether.

I am exceedingly rejoiced to see all my Children assembled here at present; You, Hurons, Outawas, of the *Sable*, Kiskakons, Outawas Sinago, the Nation of the Fork, Sauteurs, Poutouatamis, Sacs, Puants, Wild Rice, Foxes, Maskoutens, Miamis, Illinois, Amikois, Nepissings, Algonkins, Temiscamings, Cristinaux, Inland Nations *(Gens des Terres)*, Kikapous, People of the Sault and of the Mountain, Abenakis, and you Iroquois Nations; and as you have, both the one and the other, deposited your interests in my hands, that I can cause you all to live in quietness. I this day, then, ratify the Peace we concluded in the month of August last, wishing that no further mention be made of the several blows struck during the War, and I lay hold anew of all your hatchets and other warlike weapons and put them, together with my own, in so deep a trench that no one can take them up again to disturb the peace I reëstablish among my children and you; recommending you, whenever you meet each other, to act as brothers and to agree together as regards hunting, so that no disturbance may occur, and this peace may not be troubled:

I repeat what I already stated in the Treaty we have concluded; should it happen that some of my Children strike another of them, he who will have been struck shall not take vengeance either by himself or by others in his behalf, but shall come and see me in order that I may have justice done him, declaring to you that if the offender refuse to give reasonable satisfaction, I, with my other allies, shall unite with the injured person to constrain him so to do. I do not expect such an occurrence, owing to the obedience due to me from my Children who will remember what we now conclude together; and in order that they may not forget it, I attach my words to the Belts that I am about to give to each of your Nations, so that the Chiefs may cause their young men to respect them.

I invite you all to smoke the Calumet of Peace, which I begin first to do, and to eat some meat and drink some broth that I cause to be prepared for you, so that I, like a good Father, may have the satisfaction to see all my Children united together.

I shall preserve this Calumet which has been presented me by the Miamis, so that I may have it in my power to make you smoke whenever you will come to see me.

All the above mentioned Nations having heard what Chevalier de Callières said to them, answered as follows:—

The Chief of the KISKAKONS.

Father, having learned that you demanded the Iroquois prisoners, I would not fail to bring them to you; Here are four whom I present to you, to do by them as you please. With this Wampum I released them and here is a Calumet that I give the Iroquois to smoke together when we shall meet. I rejoice that you have united the earth that was upset, and willingly subscribe to every thing you have done.

The IROQUOIS.

Father. Here we are assembled agreeably to your wishes; you planted, last year, a Tree of peace, and added to it roots and leaves to shelter us. We now hope that all hear your word; that no one will touch that tree. For ourselves, we assure you by these 4 Belts, that we will attend to all you say. We present you some prisoners here present, and shall surrender the others in our hands. We also hope, now the doors are open for peace, that the remainder of our people will be restored.

The HURONS.

Here we are as you requested; we present you twelve prisoners, five of whom desire to return with us. You will do as you please with the other seven. We thank you for the peace you have procured for us, and joyfully ratify it.

JOHN LE BLANC, an Outawas of the *Sable*.

Father, I've obeyed you as soon as you asked me, by bringing to you two prisoners of whom you are master; when you commanded me to go to war I did so, and now that you forbid me, I obey. I ask of you, Father, by this Belt that the Iroquois untie and restore to me my body which is in their country; that is to say—the people of his Nation.

JANGOUESSY, an Outawas Sinago.

I did not wish to disregard your orders, Father, though I had no prisoners. Nevertheless, here is a woman I redeemed; do with her as you like; and here is a Calumet that I present to the Iroquois to smoke like brothers when we shall meet.

CHICHICATATO, Chief of the Miamis.

Father, I have obeyed you by bringing you back eight Iroquois prisoners to do with them as you please; had I some canoes, I would have brought you more; although I do not see here any of mine that are in the hands of the Iroquois, I will bring you those that remain if you wish it, or I shall open the door to them that they may return.

ONANGUISSET, for the Sacs.

Father. I form but one body with you. Here's an Iroquois prisoner whom I took in war; in presenting him to you, permit me to give him a Calumet to carry to the Iroquois and to smoke whenever we meet. I thank you for giving light to the Sun which has been obscured since the War.

ONANGUISSET Chief of the Poutouatamis.

Father. I shall not make you a long speech. I have only two prisoners whom I place beside you to do with them as you think proper. Here's a Calumet which I present you either to

retain or give it to these two prisoners in order that they smoke out of it in their country. I am always ready to obey you even unto the death.

MISKOUENSA, Chief of the Outagamis.

I have no prisoners to surrender to you, Father, but I thank you for the clear sky you give the whole world by the Peace. For myself I will never lose this light.

The MASKOUTINS.

I do not bring you any Iroquois prisoners because I have not been out against them for some time, having amused myself in making war on other nations; but I am come in obedience to your call, and thank you for the Peace you have procured us.

The WILD RICE.

Father, I come merely out of obedience to you, and to take advantage of the Peace you have concluded between the Iroquois and us.

The SAUTEURS and PUANTS.

Father. I would have brought you some Iroquois prisoners had I had any, as I am desirous to obey you in whatever you order. I thank you for the light you have given us, and I wish that it may be lasting.

The NEPISSINGS.

I would not fail in coming here like the others, to listen to your voice. I had an Iroquois prisoner last year whom I surrendered to you; here's a Calumet which I present to you for the Iroquois if you please, in order that we may smoke together whenever we meet.

The ALGONQUINS.

Father. I have no prisoners to surrender to you. The Algonkin is one of your Children, who has always been yours and will so continue as long as he shall live. I pray the Master of Life that your acts to-day may long endure.

The AMIKOIS.

Having no will but yours, I agree to what you have just done.

The ABENAKIS.

Father. Although I am the last to speak, I am not the less yours; You know I have been always attached to you I have no longer a hatchet; You buried it in a trench last year, and I will not resume it until you order me.

Those of the SAULT.

You, Iroquois, are not ignorant that we are attached to our Father; we who dwell with him and live in his bosom. You sent us a Belt three years ago inviting us to procure peace for you; we sent you another in return; we again give you this one to let you know that we have labored for that object. We ask nothing more than that it should be lasting. Do, also, on your part, what is necessary thereunto.

Those of the MOUNTAIN.

Father. You have caused all the Nations to be assembled here, to make a pile of hatchets and to bury them with your own in the ground. I rejoice at what you have done this day, and I invite the Iroquois to regard us as their brothers.

Lower down. Thirty-eight Chiefs of the different Nations have signed as usual with figures of Animals.

Projects against New England.

Canada. 1701.

If war be declared between France and England and Neutrality do not exist between the two Crowns, in North America, it is certain that the King can very easily conquer and ruin New England, or at least make considerable progress towards it, either by incursions into the Country, or by the capture and destruction of some towns, or by [sacking the] towns, villages and settlements which can be entirely destroyed.

Essential Observations.

Before entering into the detail of what might be done in this regard, it is proper to observe that the peace concluded specially with the Iroquois in 1700, and which in 1701 was rendered general with all the known Indian Nations, acquired for the King a certain and incontestable superiority in Canada over all New England.

That country, 'tis true, is twice more populous than New France, but its people are cowardly to an astonishing degree, absolutely undisciplined and without any experience in War; the smallest party of Indians has always got the better of them; in fine, they have no Regular troops there.

This is not the case with Canada. There are 28 Infantry Companies of detachments from the Marine, there; the Canadians are brave, well disciplined and indefatigable on the march. Two thousand of them will always beat, on any ground, the subjects of New England.

This Peace places all the Indians in the French interest and prevents the Iroquois uniting with the English in case of a rupture; otherwise, should they do so, all the other Indians would unite together to make war on the Iroquois, who would be soon overpowered by the multitude.

The Five Iroquois Nations can muster only 1200 warriors at most. It would be easy to organize a corps of 6000 men from among the other Indians; which conjoined with a detachment of 500 of our troops would annihilate, and forever, the Iroquois.

Particulars of the Country, and of the Strength of New England.

To return to the plans, it is to be remarked — That New England is a very extensive country. The principal places on the sea coast are Pescatouet, Salem, Boston, Rode island, Manatte or New-York; these places have harbors and ports.

It is about 70 leagues from Pentagouët in Acadia, which belongs to the King, to Pescatouet; hence to Salem 25 leagues; from Salem to Boston 5 leagues; thence to Rode island 30 leagues and from the last point to Manatte 70 leagues.

The only places of importance in the interior are Esopus, Orange and Corlard, which lie between Manatte and Mont Réal in Canada.

There are a number of petty villages and settlements along the Coast and in the interior. From Chambly, a post of Canada, to Orange is 95 leagues. We go in Canoe as far as the River Chicot[1] which rises in the interior; there is a portage of 4 leagues between this and the river leading to Orange and Manatte, which places are 60 leagues apart.

Corlard is a small Village fortified only with pallisades, containing scarcely 200 men capable of bearing arms, who are commanded by the Lord of the locality. There are no other troops.

Orange is a little town fortified only by some miserable pallisades, very low and easily scaled. It contains a fort provided simply with pallisades, and garrisoned by a company of 50 men. M^r^ Peter Seul[2] is the commandant of the Town and fort. The town and neighborhood contain at most about 700 men, capable of bearing arms, who as well as those of Corlard are pretty well disciplined; the one and the other are, mostly all, Dutch.

Esopus is 30 leagues from Orange. It is a small unfortified town; itself and neighborhood scarcely muster 400 men capable of bearing arms. They are laborers and people without discipline.

From this town to Manatte is thirty leagues. The latter is a pretty well built; unfortified both on the land and the sea side; contains a very small stone fort easy to be escaladed; and a battery towards the harbor on which are mounted 50 pieces of cannon, at most. The governor resides there with only a garrison of 50 men. There are no other troops in the town.

The inhabitants are one-third French Refugees; one-third Dutch, and the rest English. Discord reigns paramount among them. The Governor is without authority. They are almost all traders fishermen, and mechanics, and may amount altogether to 2000 men, not entirely without discipline. The entrance of the harbor is very easy. There is a small island on which, in spite of the battery of the port, a descent can be effected, and the town is easily bombarded from that point. Over fifty merchantmen arrive yearly, and a number of ships are built there.

Rhode island[3] is a small passable town possessing a fine harbor where ships anchor at the foot of the houses. It is unfortified, and open at all sides. The inhabitants are merchants, laborers, and fishermen. It and the neighborhood may contain 400 men, without discipline and very much afraid of Indian parties.

Boston is not fortified on the land side, whence it can be easily entered at low water; When it is flood tide, the water is up to the waist. On the sea side there is a good harbor; on the islands at its mouth are two stone forts furnished with gun batteries. The town is large and ill-built, consisting almost entirely of wooden houses. It and the neighborhood may muster 3000 men; they are without discipline, being all traders, fishermen and mechanics. There are no troops in the town; merely a garrison of twenty men in each fort. This is the residence of the Governor-General who has no regular troops in New England.

Salem is a small town without any fortifications, having a fine unfortified harbor. There, and in the neighborhood are several places, villages and settlements, where the people dry codfish which is their sole trade. Several vessels loaded with fish come there every year. The inhabitants of this town and environs amount at the most to only five @ six hundred; timid and undisciplined people.

[1] Stump, or Wood, creek in Washington county, N. Y. — Ed. [2] Schuyler. [3] Newport, R. I.

Pescatouet is a small pallisaded town at the mouth of a river; its inhabitants imperfectly disciplined, occupy themselves in manufacturing a quantity of Plank *(bordage)* and masts. Ships are built there.

From the preceding minute particulars, we must be convinced of the facility with which New England and the above mentioned towns and places depending on it, can be ruined.

First Project. To effect it, 3000 men are sufficient for the expedition which must commence with Boston. This is the most considerable place and very easily captured.

A fleet consisting of five men of War is required, having 1000 effective soldiers on board for the purpose of landing.

This fleet would land at Pentagouet, which would be the place of rendezvous that must be fixed for the 20th of June at latest. 2000 men from Canada, to consist of 500 soldiers, 1000 Canadians and 500 Indians, could repair thither after the sowing season in canoes by way of the river near Quebec that conducts to Acadia.

After having landed the 1000 soldiers, it might set sail for Boston harbor, observing for a short time a course agreed upon with the land forces.

These, which would then amount to 3000 men, could proceed in the canoes from Canada, as far as Pescatouet; at that place which can be easily carried by sudden assault, a depot could be formed under a guard of 50 good men.

Those troops would then go by land to Boston; The road is very easy; On their way they could without difficulty lay waste the towns and places on the route.

After arriving at, and destroying, Boston, the fleet would sail for Manatte and the troops could march overland thither. Nothing is easier, the road being good and horses and carriages abounding along the route. That town would be destroyed and burned in a short time.

On their way thither, the troops would lay waste the posts and places along the Coast.

It is to be remarked that the 2000 men from Canada, cannot repair to Pentagouët earlier than the 20th of June as the rivers are not navigable before that time, and it is of importance that this expedition do not take the farmers away from their sowing.

These 2000 men will not be able to carry provisions with them further than Pentagouët; it will be, therefore, necessary to bring from France, two months' supply of Biscuit by way of precaution. We say, by way of precaution, for abundance of provisions and cattle will be found whilst utterly devastating the places and towns along the coast.

After the Manatte expedition, the 1000 Marines will be reëmbarked on board the fleet which would return to France.

The 2000 men from Canada would return thither in their canoes, which they would find at Pescatouet, completing on their way the destruction of the towns and places along the Coast.

But if sloops were found, as is possible, at Manatte it would be very easy to return thence by the river of Orange to Montreal. The towns of Esopus and Orange and the villages and settlements might be easily captured, ruined and burned, on the way. The men would, afterwards, proceed to, and act in the same manner at, Corlard, whence they would go to New France.

In this case the Commander of the fleet, in returning to France, might order the 50 men remaining at Pentagouët in care of the canoes, to return to Quebec and to break the superfluous canoes.

It is of importance not to communicate this expedition to the Iroquois. It can be secretly prepared and successfully executed without their coöperation; but a short time previous to its

execution it appears essential to cause the principal Chiefs of these Indians to come to Quebec, on pretext of some negotiations, in order to get them to listen to reason, and to retain them without constraint until the expedition be completed. During the absence of those Chiefs from home the Five Iroquois Nations will not budge, and will be unable to do any thing more, after it will have been consummated. At all events, if they do not wish to come, it will have been executed before they are informed of it, or in a condition to prejudice it.

Second Project. Were his Majesty not desirous to incur the expense of a fleet, and resolved that operations should be carried on with the forces of Canada alone, it would, in that case, be hazardous to undertake the total destruction of New England.

But it would be easy to undertake and successfully execute, with the 2000 Canadians, an expedition against Boston or even against Manatte or the other towns hereinbefore mentioned. The low country and towns and Villages within reach and on the route could be destroyed at the same time. This arrangement could be concluded in Canada.

In case the country were thrown, as it apparently would be, into considerable consternation by the capture of Boston, which is preferable to that of Manatte or other towns, those troops could be divided into two corps of 1,000 men each.

Manatte could be reached and easily captured, having neither fortifications nor troops, and Canada afterwards gained by the Orange river; the little town of Esopus with the adjoining villages and settlements could be destroyed in passing, and the same be attempted with Orange and Corlard, with some prospect of success.

The other division of troops would return by Pentagouët, laying waste also, the towns of Salem and Pescatouet and the Villages and settlements on its route. This would be easily effected as those places are almost entirely defenceless.

Neutrality. The late wars of Canada have prevented the increase of the Colony and the clearing of lands; have caused the abandonment of a number of settlements and cultivated farms; also the destruction of a great many people, and in fine have been a continual and insurmountable obstacle to the sedentary fisheries and to the trade in hemp, masts, planks, staves, oils etc. etc.

The great advantages which have accrued to the Colony since the Peace of 1697 with England, and that concluded afterwards with the Iroquois and other Indians, are perceptible at a glance. Population, and the cultivation and clearing of lands have increased there more than a fourth. Sedentary fisheries have been commenced, also the manufacture of Planks, Masts, etc. and a number of persons are offering to form new undertakings and establishments.

If war be commenced, it is to be apprehended that it would interpose a new obstacle to those advantages. Unforeseen events frequently occur to render abortive projects the best concerted and which appear certain in their execution. Wherefore were the Neutrality of North America proposed, in case a war break out in Europe between France and England, it is certain that it will be infinitely more advantageous for Canada, and must be preferable to War.

But if that Neutrality be not accepted, it is undeniable that by the adoption of prompt and secret measures, those projects, already mentioned, could be executed.

Memoir of M. d'Iberville on Boston and its dependencies. 1701.

Every one knows that Boston is the most easterly of all the New England governments in North America, not excepting that of Pescadouë which I do not separate from it, though it be not a dependency thereof; a private company names its government.

The dependencies of Boston extend as far as New-York and Albany, formerly Orange, which include Long Island and Staten island; the other side of the river does not appertain any longer to that government, and is managed by a company, but the people fatigued with obeying it, deputed in August of last year, three of the principal persons, to the King of England to supplicate him to be pleased to take them under his protection by annexing their country to the Crown, and rendering them independent of that Company.

The propositions of those deputies are too advantageous to the King of England to doubt of the success of their mission, and this government will very probably be united to that of Boston, the governor of which resides at present at New-York, and has sent his nephew, who is his Lieutenant, to command at Boston. This town is the most considerable, and has a regular garrison of only one hundred men. New-York has one of the same strength. A desire existed in former times to seize it, but judging from the manner things were to be executed, the success of the project was very difficult and highly doubtful.

It was proposed to attack that place by sea and land, by the Regulars and the Militia from Canada who were to proceed by way of the Chambly river and make their appearance before that place simultaneously with the ships; but nothing appears to me worse concerted and more dangerous than that expedition, the enemy having on one side Virginia and Pennsylvania from which they can very easily derive a reinforcement of two @ three thousand men, and as many more from the coasts of Boston. These are effective.

The design of forcing Orange, with two thousand men from Canada is equally visionary. That town and neighborhood being able to put a like number of men under arms; even supposing the place taken, we should be in an indifferent condition to proceed to New-York which contains within its walls, full twelve hundred men, and could be reinforced in a short time by a much larger number. These two towns are distant, one from the other, but thirty-six leagues; the navigation of the river is easy, and its banks almost entirely settled, especially a small creek that falls into it at midway, called Esopus, which can turn out six hundred men.

The entrance into the river at New-York is difficult for the space of two leagues as far as *Isle aux Lapins*[1] where but sixteen @ seventeen feet of water are to be found, following the sinuosities of the channel, and where tacking is impossible.

It is four leagues from *Isle aux Lapins* to New-York where there is plenty of water. The passage lies between Long and Staten Islands, which are half a league apart.

Staten Island, which is fully seven leagues in circumference, may have four hundred and fifty effective men, most of whom are Dutchmen, Walloons, with a few English.

Long island, which is forty leagues in length and five or six in width, can muster fifteen hundred men at least, so that it need not be expected to make descent with ships in any of those places without a considerable force. A junction between the ships and troops from Canada need not be relied on, as it is very difficult to arrive there precisely at the time

[1] Rabbit, or Coney Island. — Ed.

appointed. I have not yet made any mention of the assistance the Iroquois and River Indians *(Loups)* could lend the English. It would be considerable.

If operations are to be confined to bombarding that town, which is very handsome, and contains six hundred houses, all very neat brick buildings, with two churches and one Jewish Synagogue, that project does not appear to me to be very difficult; and a large force is not necessary to destroy that town which is very wealthy and filled with merchandise, unless a small island within a quarter of a league of the place should have been fortified. This would prevent the bombardment and protect the city, unless a passage were effected beyond it at the expense of a few cannon shot.

Boston is still more wealthy and better stocked with goods. The attack against it would be easier and success more probable; its loss more serious to the enemy, and it would be easy for us to retain it, by disarming the low country. The inhabitants of New-York, whom this capture would alarm, would bethink themselves of their own defence, and in reality would not be sorry to see it taken.

Were I permitted to express my opinion, nothing would appear to me worse imagined than to think of executing this design by sea, unless a considerable armament be employed for the purpose, which would cost a large sum. The project to muster the troops and Militia of Canada, who would come across the forest to the rendezvous of the ships, does not seem to me more easy of execution.

It will be objected to me that the ships would go to the river S^{t} John or to Pentagouet, or to Canibequi, and that the troops would repair thither to proceed together. Nothing appears difficult to persons devoid of experience, or who undertake things without troubling themselves too much about success. But a man who makes it a point of honor to accomplish what he undertakes, manages so as to adopt the best measures; I maintain that in carrying out that project, which appears to me highly problematical, it is impossible to take that place except with a considerable body of troops and an armament such as I describe; and I maintain that the only means to become master of it by land is to surprise it, by conducting troops thither across the woods, and unfrequented places.

Some persons have consulted me about this expedition by way of Canada. To insure success they calculated to start from Quebec for the River du Loup, which is thirty leagues from that city, and by ascending that stream reach the river S^{t} John, in order to proceed afterwards to the Seacoast where apparently they would get provisions. I suppose them arrived there; they have still one hundred and twenty leagues to accomplish in their canoes along the coast, and what appears to me is a very great obstacle, they find Pescadouë on their way; a place thickly settled as far as Boston, and, with posts as now established, intelligence could be forwarded in five or six hours. The enemy, thus informed of their march could soon form a corps capable of opposing the passage across rivers and every attempt that might be made, so that whatever course may be adopted in that quarter, it would be very difficult not to be discovered, as well by the settlers along the Coast as by the Sloops which are very numerous there, especially during the months of June, July and September when the ships are in harbor and render the country much stronger. In the months of October and November the vessels leave for Europe, the Islands of America, Madeira, the Azores, Spain and Portugal. Their ships are ordinarily freighted with fish and bring back wines and brandy.

Winter is the season that appears to me best adapted for the execution of an enterprise of that nature. Every thing is favorable then. The absence of the ships that carry off a

considerable portion of the strength of that country which is occupied at that season only with mechanics who are illy qualified for fighting, and who fancy themselves in security because they cannot imagine us in a condition in Canada to form designs of that magnitude, especially in a season so rigorous as that of winter. All this, as I have already stated, concurs happily to the success of that expedition.

My experience of Canada and its strength leaves me in no doubt that it can furnish eighteen hundred picked men, capable of undergoing the fatigue necessary to be endured in order to penetrate into Boston across woods and rivers. This opinion will appear impossible to many officers whose rank and seniority would lead them to expect the command of this affair, and I doubt not but they will oppose it, not feeling strong enough to put themselves at the head of a detachment which is to be conducted with the utmost vigor; they will not fail to impress also as much as possible that Summer would be best adapted for the execution of this design. I know that these were their sentiments when there was question to march against the enemy in winter, which was the fittest season to reduce him. Had persons capable of enduring the fatigue of so trying a war, been put at the head of vigorous young men, I make bold to say, that there is no need of managing the enemy in that country; that effective war consists in the most active and prompt operations, and that marching against the enemy with drums beating has always afforded them time to retire into places of security.

Those who draw up plans in the expectation of seeing others execute them, give themselves little concern whether success will attend an adherence to their views. They propose nothing but what I am willing to execute; and if I am to be honored by having charge of the expedition against Boston, I dare guarantee that I will reduce it and its dependencies to the King's obedience. If attention is paid to the success attendant on all my projects, it will be seen that I have succeeded at Hudson's bay, at Castor in the capture of Pemkuit, Newfoundland and finally in the discovery of the Mississippi where my predecessors had failed. If my Memoirs be reëxamined it will be seen that I have submitted nothing but what was correct and what I have adhered to. I hope the Memoir I submit respecting Boston will not be worse digested, and I doubt whether success can be otherwise gained.

I will repeat that few persons are as well qualified as I to succeed herein, for I am persuaded that every one in Canada, whether Frenchmen or Indians, will feel a pleasure in following me, and that the officers will evince no difficulty, being commanded by a gentleman of the Navy from which they are detached.

Should I be honored by having this affair confided to me, I would require great secrecy, and would wish that it be not known in Canada except at the moment of my departure, being satisfied that the success of the enterprise depends absolutely on secrecy and the appearance of the least possible activity in Canada and Acadia.

On departing from France I should wish to pass by Panahamsequit,[1] thence to Canibequi, and from that to Quebec by the Chaudière river where I should see the places best adapted for the transportation of provisions and munitions of war; passing through those Indian villages, I would make arrangements with M^{r} de S^{t} Castin, who is thoroughly acquainted with the Boston country, and we would consult together as to what would be proper to be done to get the Indians to the rendezvous without exposing my design to them.

[1] Panawamské, or Indian Old Town on the Penobscot. — Ed.

After these precautions I should proceed, as I've just mentioned, to Quebec to enroll there suitable persons to the number of one thousand Canadians, four hundred soldiers selected from the Regulars and four hundred of our Indian allies.

I should further desire to be furnished with officers to suit me, and that attention may not be paid to detaching them according to their grade *(rang de pique)* as aged people are in no wise qualified for these sorts of expeditions, and one man unable to march is alone capable of destroying all the regularity of so precipitate an expedition.

I should like to leave Quebec in canoe in the beginning, or at farthest on the 15th, of November, in order to proceed by the Chaudière river to the Village of Canibéquit,[1] my place of rendezvous.

With my troops and this reinforcement, I would cross the forest opposite Boston which I would approach within three or four leagues, always under cover, and under favor of the night, arrive there at the break of day. Having made myself master of the place and disarmed its inhabitants, I would send parties out to lay waste the low countries as far as the gates of New-York, in order to render that place a desert, if considered proper.

I should deem it necessary to have a good sailing vessel at Pentagouet to convey to France the intelligence of the success of the expedition and of the condition of the place, and to bring out orders afterwards from there in the month of March. Should the Court think proper, I could employ in the next summer, the same troops to make some attempt on Manatte. I do not believe that the Indians would come to their aid; on the contrary, there would be great reason to expect that this first advantage would draw them to our side.

The reduction of Boston would infallibly draw after it the ruin of that country; were the grain of Long Island burnt, the settlers would be obliged to retire into Pensylvania in order to subsist there. The abandonment of those parts would greatly weaken New-York, and deprive it of the power of undertaking any thing; nothing is easier than to reduce the inhabitants to that necessity, three-fourths of their grain remaining in the barns during winter. It is to be further remarked that Long Island furnishes all that grain which it would be very easy to destroy. These things being executed, New-York would have every thing to apprehend, and would be unable to attempt any thing.

I again repeat that, Boston and its environs being reduced, so far from apprehending that the Indians and especially the Iroquois would come to their aid, it is very certain that on seeing the English beaten they could not only be readily attracted to our side, but 'tis even certain they would come to meet us, particularly on learning that this expedition would be under the command of myself and my brothers, who can rely on exercising over that people an influence that none other possess, being acknowledged by them as Head men of their Nation. This will produce a very firm peace with those Indians and induce our allies to observe a close union with us, so that a termination would be put to the immense expenditure the King is actually obliged to incur for the preservation of Canada, which would no longer be necessary.

If the security of Canada depend on the capture of Boston and adjoining coasts, the establishment of Acadia is still more involved in the success of this enterprise. It is easy to see that it will be impossible ever to establish that Colony, unless we outnumber the English forces who are so far superior to ours that they are not only able to trouble us, but even to

[1] Norridgewalk. — Ed.

destroy the establishments we would make there. As the number of effective men expected to be found in Canada is not sufficient for an affair of that importance, I calculate to find in Acadia a supplement of five hundred men, including French and Indians.

The certain execution of this project depends essentially on being able to levy in Canada as many as Eighteen hundred effective men, as well Frenchmen as Indians, who, I believe, can be found there capable of enduring the fatigue of this campaign as well on water as on land, where every one will be frequently obliged to carry his own provisions.

It is of the utmost necessity to engage in this party men qualified to execute this project, and as it is notorious that the Soldier allows himself to be influenced by the hope of plunder, I believe it would be necessary to permit it to them, and to give the Indians in addition a certain sum per month as an indemnity for their beaver hunting and peltry which they ordinarily procure in the season they would be employed on this expedition.

In regard to the French, I am almost persuaded that the hope of profit joined to the promise which could be held out of distributing among them the estates of the enemy who would be driven from their homes, would be a sufficient inducement. Nevertheless, it would be necessary to obtain a Royal order to be in a position to impress those who, of themselves, would not study their own interest nor the public good.

Although I am not acquainted with the roads from Canada to Boston except by information derived from persons who have traveled there, I am, however, of opinion that the most convenient route would be that of the River *du Loup*, twenty-eight leagues below Quebec, which, after a portage of four leagues, leads to the river S^{t} Francis a tributary of the S^{t} John; this is followed as far as the Médocthek[1] which river is left, making a portage of two leagues, in order to proceed from lake to lake to the river Métainkik[2] which falls into the Penobscot. It would still be requisite to travel eighteen leagues to reach the sea, and more than sixty by sea to arrive at Boston. It would be impossible to do this, both in consequence of the length of the way and because we should be inevitably discovered.

The river of the Chaudière-falls, which is the other route to be taken, is much shorter and leads more directly to Boston. It is true that this stream seems almost impassable to canoes for as many as ten or twelve leagues from Quebec, but this difficulty can, notwithstanding, be surmounted by having the canoes forwarded unloaded, by men best qualified to conduct them, whilst the remainder of the party would march by land with the necessary provisions and munitions.

Perhaps my proposal to have the provisions and ammunition conveyed by land for a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues will appear difficult. But it must be known that M^{r} Talon, Intendant of Canada, being desirous to establish a communication with Acadia, had begun a road on this route, which was opened twenty leagues and more from Quebec, so that it would be by no means impossible to put that road in a condition to admit of carting the necessary articles to the point where canoes could be employed.

In order to render that road practicable, it would be necessary to employ a certain number of the soldiers who are in Canada; they could repair it in a very short time under the superintendence of persons of experience and well disposed towards the public service.

Although I am almost certain that there is no other route to be taken than that I propose, it appears to me that it would be necessary before undertaking any thing, to send a confidential

[1] Near Woodstock, New Brunswick.

[2] Metawamkeag, one of the Tributaries, sometimes called the North branch, of the Penobscot. — Ed.

person, conversant with traveling in the woods, to explore the route, and to prepare correct reports setting forth the seasons best adapted for the navigation of the rivers, in reference to the greater or lesser quantity of water to be found there at different times and particularly in the month of October, which is the season I consider the fittest for that expedition inasmuch as the levy of men will be then less difficult, the farmers in Canada having finished their harvest, and it being a dull season for all other descriptions of labor.

In order that the voyage of the person employed to reconnoitre the route may not be suspected, it might be given out that the King had in view the execution of M^r^ Talon's design to settle the country between Acadia and Canada.

It is almost impossible to think of the execution of this expedition this year. For besides the difficulty of the roads, of which we must be sure, it is necessary to adopt proper measures to notify all our Indians, and to engage them to repair to the places to be indicated to them; This cannot be effected before the month of October. Besides, it will be necessary, as I have already stated, to prepare means for supporting the families of these Indians, whose coöperation it would be impossible otherwise to procure.

This expedition being postponed until next year, it will not prevent me this season making the voyage to the Mississipi whence I shall be able to return in November or December, in order to leave Rochefort in the month of March for Acadia, to proceed thence overland to Canada with a view to examine the routes and roads. I could, even before going to Canada, become acquainted with the routes from Kanibeky to Boston so as to conduct any party with greater security.

The expense of this expedition will amount at least to eighty or one hundred thousand livres exclusive of the dispatch of the vessel which should be freighted with the greatest portion of the provisions and ammunition necessary for the expedition. That vessel could be employed during the months of June, July, August and September in ravaging the English Coasts, after which she could repair to the place indicated for her, to await the news of success, in order to give immediate advice of it to the Court.

If this expedition be considered feasible, and were it desirable that I should be honored with the command of it, I would request that I should be notified before the departure of the ships for Acadia, in order that I might write to my friends there and in Canada on various subjects on which it would be necessary that I should be informed.

Should this Memoir be communicated to those in Canada who are likely to be consulted, it is very certain they will never agree to the execution of the project I submit; the jealousy which certain persons will feel at not being intrusted with carrying it out, will cause them, on the contrary, to discover insurmountable difficulties.

If, however, there be an unwillingness to confide entirely in what I submit in this report, an extract from it can be sent to Canada including only the passages which refer to this Country, such as the levy of men I calculate to make there, the possibility I rely on of going by the river of the Falls of the Chaudière; of having Canoes and of engaging our Indians to unite with us.

If these proposals be, notwithstanding, sent to Canada for examination, it is very difficult to expect the observance there of all the secrecy necessary for the success of this enterprise, of which it would be idle to think, should the enemy entertain the remotest suspicion of it.

Therefore, it would appear to be sufficient merely to demand information on the points which may be doubtful, without in any manner communicating the designs that might be entertained.

In regard to Acadia, it is certain that no difficulty will be experienced there, and that my proposal respecting the levying of men, will be easily executed in that country, the Indians of those parts having used all their efforts, the year I took Pemquit, to induce me to join them in an expedition against Boston, the plan whereof I transmitted to the Court but it was lost in the ship M^r^ de Brouillan dispatched from Saint John in the month of December of the same year, and which was wrecked off the coast of Spain.

Louis XIV. to M. de Callières.

Memoir of the King to Chevalier de Callières Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France in answer to his despatches and those of Sieur de Champigny formerly Intendant of said Country of the 5th and 31 October 1701.

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Chev: de Callières was informed by his Majesty's despatch of last year that being desirous to employ usefully the means which could be put in operation to prevent their (the Coureur de bois) being lost and going over to the English, his Majesty had permitted them to remove to, and settle in the Colony which has been begun at the mouth of the Mississipy, with permission to vend their Beaver to the Company, with the express understanding that they would be prohibited pursuing that trade in future under severe penalties. His Majesty will not permit them even that of the small peltry, but only that of hides of buffaloes and of other animals from which they can be procured.

If those people do not profit by the pardon his Majesty has been pleased to grant them, and live within the bounds of the regulations he has prescribed, he shall cause to be punished without mercy those who will continue disobedient, whenever it will be possible to catch them. His Majesty has not been of opinion that the permission he granted to M. Juchereau to establish a tannery at the lower end of the Mississipy could do the Colony any harm; he was, on the contrary, under the impression that such an establishment would be of great utility to the Kingdom without the Colony suffering from it. Sieur de Callières will find hereunto annexed copy of the concession granted to said Sieur Juchereau, so that he may oblige him to confine himself within the bounds of his permit.

His Majesty entertained the same view as regards the grant to Sieur le Secut.[1] This man gave hopes of minerals which are very necessary to the Kingdom. His Majesty has been desirous to see what they amounted to; if he has been deceived and his promises have not the result proposed, his Majesty will abolish that establishment. Meantime, he transmits in like manner to Sieur de Callières copy of the Grant to said Le Secut in order that he may have him punished should he exceed his grant.

The remedy proposed by Sieurs de Callières and de Champigny to prevent the dispersion of the Colony among the new establishments, is not without inconvenience, and it is perhaps to be feared that so far from diminishing it will aggravate the evil, and subject his Majesty to

[1] *Sic.* Qu! Le Sueur. — Ed.

an enormous expense which he is neither able nor disposed to incur. According to their idea, it appears that the Indians would sell their peltries at the different posts proposed to be established. In this way, no more trade would be carried on in the settled portions of the Colony, and the inhabitants thereof realizing no longer the profit that trade affords them, would not fail to remove to those posts. The Colony would thus lose a portion of its population and consequently of its strength. Were his Majesty to support the garrisons to be stationed at those posts, what an expense would it not require to convey to them the articles they would stand in need of? Some idea of its amount may be formed by what was incurred for Fort Frontenac alone. What security would there be that officers and soldiers would not trade? And if the Company alone is to assume the charge, 'twould seem unjust, leaving out of consideration the certainty of its objecting to the expense to which it would thereby become subject, that it should monopolize the trade to the exclusion of all the other settlers. For all these, and other reasons too numerous to be detailed, these establishments do not appear expedient except in case they would not give rise to any dispersion of the trade to be carried on within the Colony, and would not be any expense to his Majesty. Nevertheless, if notwithstanding all these reasons, they appear to Sieur de Callières indispensable, his Majesty permits him to form them conjointly with the Intendant.

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May 3, 1702.

M. de Callières to M. de Pontchartrain.[1]

My Lord,

Since the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 29th of March last, which I answered on the 19th of July, I have received ten others; two of the 6th, two of the 10th, one of the 17th, two of the 24th, one of the 28th, one of the 31st of May; and the last of the 14th June.

I shall commence, My Lord, by thanking you, in behalf of all this Country, for the present you have made it of a person of M. de Beauharnois' merit to act as Intendant, and to express to you, for myself personally, the pleasure it affords me to live with such a worthy man as he is.

I have learned with great joy that his Majesty has been satisfied with the peace I concluded last year with the Five Iroquois Nations, and with that I have procured for our Indian allies. The Chief of these latter and those of the Iroquois who came down this year to Montreal have thanked me therefor, as nothing has since transpired between them to mar the Treaty; they have pursued their hunting undisturbed, as you will observe My Lord, by the annexed Speeches of the one and the other, and the Answers I have given to induce them to adhere to what is laid down in that peace to insure its durability.

You will also see by the same speeches of the Iroquois that I caused them to come and give me new assurances that they will remain neutral during the war between us and the English; that they will smoke in quietness on their mats without taking any sides, so as to preserve the

[1] Jerome, Count de Pontchartrain, son of Louis. *Supra*, p. 503, note. He succeeded his father as Secretary of State in 1699, and filled the office until 1715. *Biographie Universelle.*

liberty to trade with Montreal and Orange, and that they have, in spite of the English, come to the point I wished, by asking me for some Jesuits as Missionaries to their Villages, and some Smiths to repair their arms, hatchets and kettles. I have granted this request, on their assurance that they will be protected against all those who will wish to, insult them. The Reverend Father de Lamberville, with a lay brother and smith have departed for the Village of the Onontagues. The Rev. Fathers Garnier and Vaillant have gone to the Senecas. They are accompanied by Captain de Maricourt and some Frenchmen, to arrange their establishments.

Haratsion, an Onondaga and some Senecas, who had been deputed last summer by the Iroquois Chiefs assembled at Montreal, and to whom I adjoined some Indians of the Sault, to visit the Mohawks in order to induce them to repair hither to confirm, in person, the observance of the Neutrality according to the promise those Chiefs made me, have prevailed on seven Mohawk Sachems to come down here, who assured me that they will respect that Neutrality, and will be the most strict in keeping their word. I annex hereunto copy of what they said to me on the subject, and of the answers I have given them.

Such, My Lord, is the condition of things with the Iroquois who, as far as we are able to judge, appear to be very sincere.

The affairs of our allies in the Upper Country do not appear to be entirely in as good a condition in consequence of the war between them and the Scioux which increases every day, and of the differences that have arisen between the Sauteurs and the Sacs and Foxes which have terminated in mutual acts of hostility as you will learn, My Lord, from the annexed speeches.

It is much to be feared that these Upper Nations will be drawn into a general war by the alliances existing between almost all of them. If his Majesty grant the amnesty and licenses respecting which the Intendant and I have the honor jointly to write, I am in hopes, notwithstanding, to arrest this war before it spread farther, by intrusting my orders to those Frenchmen who will be selected to put these licenses to account. This will be the sole remedy for all the evils of that country and will not involve the king in any expense.

A few days after arriving in this city from Montreal, I learned by an Iroquois who came from Orange, that the English were fitting out an expedition at Boston to besiege Quebec; the news was confirmed by Indians from Pentagouet. This led me to send some canoes on a scouting party some thirty leagues down this river with orders not only to command all the settlers fit for service thereabouts to hold themselves in readiness to march at the earliest notice, but to direct all those in the neighborhood of Quebec to form inclosures in the woods where in case of need they might remove their wives and children with their grain, furniture and cattle. I sent orders, at the same time, to the troops in the government of Montreal to come down here, where I employ them in constructing some intrenchments and batteries to oppose the enemy's landing, and to enable us to repel them with the greatest possible vigor.

The Reverend Father La Chasse, missionary of one of the Abenakis tribes of Acadia, came to see me with the principal chiefs of the four Villages, in company with more than 40 Indians to tell me that they learned from some Englishmen that an expedition was preparing at Boston, without knowing positively what was its destination; some told them that it was to proceed against Port Royal; others against Placentia and others against Quebec.

They came also to acquaint me with the negotiations they had with the Governor of Boston and to ascertain, now that war is declared against the English, what means I possessed to supply their wants at a reasonable price, in case I wished them to commence hostilities

against, and break off trade with, those of New England; Herein I tried to give them satisfaction by engaging the principal merchants of this city to furnish them with goods at a very trifling advance, and got them to promise me to commence hostilities in case the English should come and attack Quebec or Port Royal; as you will see, My Lord, by their speeches and the answers I have given them, copy whereof is hereunto annexed. This has not been effected without protracted discussions, having discovered from their sentiments that they would willingly avoid commencing the War for our defence, except for the protection of Quebec, and this through apprehension that should the English, whom they distrust, succeed in seizing that city, they might lose the aid they derived from us, and be destroyed in the end.

Some of those same Indians bring me letters from Sieur de Brouillant informing me, that a Brigantine from Boston having captured five or six small fishing smacks belonging to Acadia, he has fitted out a vessel to capture the Englishman or to oblige him to give up some of his prizes; but he was unable to succeed, because at the moment the French were about to board the Pirate, he resolved to run being a faster sailer than the French vessel. Sieur de Neuvillette, who was in command of the latter, was killed in the engagement.

Whilst on the subject of Sieur de Brouillant, permit me, My Lord, to observe to you that I have reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct he observes towards me, as he has given me no information respecting the government since he is at Port Royal although I directed him to send me a report on various matters I had learned from other sources. He has written very rarely to me, and when he did so, it was as if to a private individual of whom he pretends to be independent. Nevertheless, as that is altogether contrary to the good of the King's service, in consequence of the possibility of his issuing different orders from mine which are predicated upon better knowledge of things than he possesses, particularly in regard to the war with the English and the orders to be issued to the Indians of Acadia — who lie more convenient to this place, which they reach more easily than Port Royal, on account of an arm of the sea they have to cross — I hope, My Lord, that you will apply the requisite remedy, and have the goodness to send me every year copies of the Orders issued for that country, as was the custom in the late Count de Frontenac's time, that I may conform myself thereunto.

It would be necessary that I should have, also, copies of those of Placentia, for as vessels come to, and go from this Port there every summer, my orders shall be governed by circumstances.

Sieur de Maricourt whom I sent to establish the Reverend Father Lamberville among the Onontagués has returned. He told me, he was very well received by all the Indians of that village, except those of Teganissorens' family which is greatly devoted to the English. This Chief who came from Orange presented a Belt from the government to the Onontagués forbidding them to receive the Missionary I was sending them; ordering them to convey that Jesuit and his French companions to Orange, in case they did not return home of their own accord; hereupon, the other chiefs of the Village whom I had engaged to side with us, told Teganissorens that he was wrong to take charge of that Belt; that he might send it back to him from whom he got it. This terminated difficulties, and afforded means to M. de Maricourt to put the Indians and French who were with him, to work at the dwelling and chapel of the Missionary, which were completed in a short time, and the *Te Deum* and Mass were sung there before his departure.

November 4. 1702.

M. de Callières to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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Some Onontagués brought me letters from the Reverend Father Lamberville, the Missionary whom I had granted them, and whom they resolved to keep in spite of the protests of the English. These Indians appear to continue disposed to observe the neutrality they have promised me. This is all that can be expected of them at present, and to secure even thus much will require a great deal of labor, as the English use every means to oblige them to violate this neutrality and to take up arms against us. Meanwhile I pray you, My Lord, to be well persuaded that I will not omit any thing to get the English and Iroquois at loggerheads and to attach the latter to us, in order, then, to make use of the power you sent me in your letter of the 17th of May, to undertake something with more certainty against the English. It is first to be seen, however, what aspect things will assume, because were any expedition undertaken without being entirely assured of the Iroquois, it is much to be feared that they would go over to the enemy. This would draw down on this Colony a new war on the part of these Indians, the damage accruing from which would greatly surpass any advantage we could derive from the blows we may inflict on the English at Corlard, Orange and Esopus in New-York, which are the nearest places to us, and which we would be under the necessity of burning after capturing them. Even were every circumstance favorable I do not see any reason to think of any such thing during the next summer, unless it be some small parties that I may be able to send out towards New England, to harrass those in the rural districts; because we have not the arms required by myself and M. de Beauharnois, and are in want of bark canoes of which since we have given up of going to the Outaouaes the Colony is completely stripped. These cannot be constructed without time and considerable expense; to meet which it will be necessary that his Majesty be so good as to augment next year's fund some 50 or 60,000ll. That would enable us not only to do something ourselves, but to make preparations to afford every possible assistance to his Majesty from this side, should he wish to attempt greater things by sea against Boston, or Manathe. I shall reflect maturely hereupon, with a view to send you a Memoir on the subject next year; as the vessels have arrived too late to allow time to give it all the attention such expeditions deserve, in order to secure for them that success which would render the King Master of all that vast country and of the trade of all the Indians whom it would be no longer necessary to manage.

When any thing of consequence is to be done, I hope my health will always permit me to participate in it. I shall also employ M. de Vaudreuil as you recommend. Meanwhile it seems to me that I cannot do any thing better than to promptly fortify Quebec, in order to place this Colony beyond insult from the English fleet by which we are threatened. * * *

November 6. 1702.

M. de Beauharnois to M. de Pontchartrain.

Extracts of a letter addressed to the Minister by Mr de Beauharnais, Intendant, 11th 9ber 1702.

1st Extract.

On receipt of advices, My Lord, that the English were about to make a second attempt on Quebec, Mr de Callières proposed to me to employ some men at the fortifications, so as to place this town in a state of defence. Mr de Champigny having overdrawn this year's fund, I draw in advance on that of next year.

Several Indians came to Quebec on the news of War between the English and us; some to assure us of a strict neutrality, and others to take part with us. Mr de Callières caused presents to be made to them in order to attach them to our interests. I greatly apprehend, My Lord, that these Indians will cause us great expense. I beg of you to let me know whether I must confine myself within the allowance you have apportioned to that purpose. Their sojourn at Quebec is so expensive that Mr de Champigny advised me to have a sort of redoubt adjoining the Palace garden fitted up as a lodging and boarding house for them; the expense to the King will be one-half less. What leads me to such rigid economy in the matter of expenditure is the fact, My Lord, that Mr de Champigny leaves me next to nothing in the stores. Therefore I shall not be able to increase next year's fund from the increased value of any articles, which I might have done by the sale of the King's merchandise.

Some of the goods sent this year from Rochelle on the public account, are found to be defective, and others spoiled. I have ordered the storekeeper to call a Board of Survey on these goods to consist of the Correspondents of the Rochelle merchants who had sold them, whose names I ascertained from the invoice; and I caused a report to be drawn up respecting the quantity of Tobacco found absolutely rotten. I return it to Rochelle, and write to Mr Begon to oblige the merchants to take it back, and to render us an account of it next year. Other tobacco must be purchased at a very high rate here for all those Indians, Messrs de Champigny and de Callières having told me that it was for the King's advantage to treat them well.

II. Extract.

All the Colony is interested, My Lord, in supplicating you to grant us a frigate to convoy our next year's fleet. The English have recently entered our river and captured two Honfleur ships that were fishing for Cod at Percé Island, and ruined that post. The crews of these two vessels to the number of 85 men have come here. I put them on board the man of War, and had them supplied with rations. I have had a bill of exchange drawn by the Treasurer for the repayment of what those provisions cost here, as well as of other expenses incurred on this ship's account. You will find them very considerable, My Lord, which will not be the case hereafter, almost every thing having been done without my orders; and I write to Mr Begon the Intendant, requesting him to send me by the King's ships coming here, the statement of the provisions which will be put on board these vessels, in order that I may make arrangements for the supplies they will require.

III. Extract.

I request Mr de Champigny to represent to you, My Lord, that being necessitated to go, or to send, on the King's service along the shores of this river, I am obliged to beg some soldiers to arm a canoe. These being often not forthcoming when required, causes the public service to be delayed. I, therefore, request you to grant me an allowance for a crew of a Canoe, consisting of eight men, for six months only. It is a very trifling expense and will save a arger sum, and be very useful to the public service. I made an item of it in the estimate of the expense to be incurred next year for the fortifications and the extraordinaries of War, amounting to the sum of 125.528ll 5s. This will appear to you exorbitant in comparison to the funds you had remitted the two preceding years for these expenses. Hereupon I beg you to observe, My Lord, that although only 32000ll have been remitted each of the said two years, the expenses have exceeded 140,000ll, and the surplus over the 32,000ll have been taken from the extraordinary receipts derived from the proceeds of the goods sent from France, over and above the value that had originally been placed on them. But as M. de Champigny leaves me in store only 12057 minots of wheat, 3683 quintals of flour and 934 quintals of pork, which will not suffice for the payment of more than 100000ll, by which sum the expenses of this, will exceed the fund we shall be obliged to throw on the next, year—if you think proper My Lord, not to diminish the sum of 125528ll the amount of said estimate, and to have some goods sent me which may produce an increase by the price they would be sold for in this country, you can assign a portion of the funds to be remitted on the extraordinary receipts which might accrue therefrom in this manner; after having noted in the Public account the expenses to be incurred for the extraordinary of the war, amounting to, for example, 95973ll 5s, it would be stated at the foot of that chapter—Of which sum of 95973ll 5s that of 52000ll shall be remitted by the Treasurer of the Navy and the balance of 43973ll 5s shall be taken from the extraordinary receipts which will accrue from the increased proceeds derived from sales over the estimate of goods sent from France. In this way, if the expenditure amount to 125528ll 5s, it will not appear that I have exceeded the fund as it seems M. de Champigny did in the preceding years.

IV. Extract.

The Clergyman who has charge of the poor English Catholic men and women whom love for the Religion retains in this country, having sent me the list of their names, I have caused to be apportioned among them, according to the annexed return, the sum of two thousand livres that the King has had the goodness to grant them, and the Bishop of Quebec's proctor will pay what is due to each of them when he will receive the proceeds of his bill of exchange.

V. Extract.

If the estimate of the expenditure to be incurred for the extraordinaries of the War, appear to you too high, I beg you, My Lord, to strike out the articles you will retrench, and to send me back, if you please, the said estimate, in order that I may exculpate myself here respecting the expenses you will reduce.

(Signed) Beauharnais.

Quebec this 11th 9ber 1702.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Callières and de Beauharnois.

Memoir of the King to Chevalier de Callières, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty, and to Sieur de Beauharnais, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, in New France. May 30. 1703.

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He has seen what they have written respecting the expense incurred by the Company of the Colony for Detroit. He is very glad to learn that it has not been a charge to him during the last year.

The information laid before his Majesty regarding that establishment of Detroit is so conflicting, that he is very glad once for all to know what he is to rely on. His Majesty will not repeat to them here the reasons which have prompted him to order this report to be made. Sieur de la Motte Cadillac continues to be persuaded that these reasons exist and that this establishment will have all the effect expected from it. Others pretend that the land there is good for nothing; that it will never produce any thing to feed its inhabitants; that the only thing there is the very poor fishing, and that the hunting is between thirty and forty leagues off; and finally that it is to be feared that the Iroquois will attack that post without its being in our power to assist it, and that war will recommence in consequence. The Company of the Colony complains likewise that it involves them in an exorbitant expense which it is out of their power to sustain, if it be continually required to convey to that post the supplies necessary for the support of the people there. His Majesty's pleasure is that the Mess^{rs} de Callières and de Beauharnais assemble the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac and the most respectable of the inhabitants of the Country, whether officers or settlers, for the purpose of discussing with great attention and care the reasons for and against that establishment, and that they afterwards draw up an exact Report thereon, which they will cause to be signed by the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, and the most respectable of those who will have attended that Meeting, and that they will sign it themselves, so that his Majesty may issue orders on its contents, either to consent to the preservation and augmentation of that post, or to abandon it altogether, or to allow it to remain as a mere trading post. His Majesty is persuaded that they will act herein without prejudice, and with a view solely to the public good and service.

The Colony[1] must, without any difficulty, support the Chaplain of that fort, as well as of Fort Frontenac and other places where it carries on its trade.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I am in receipt of the private letter you wrote to M. de Callieres, and of those you have done me the honor to address to me; both dated the 20th of June last.

[1] *Sic.* Quere? The Company. — Ed.

From the letters the Intendant and I have done ourselves the honor to write you by Sieur Desgly, you will have learned, My Lord, Mr de Callieres' death, and the condition of things before M. Desgly sailed. I have since been continually occupied, as well at Montreal as here, in placing ourselves beyond danger from the threats the English were making to attack us above and below; and on the notice I received that they were employing great efforts to get the Iroquois to declare against us, and to induce them to break the neutrality, I considered that I could not do better to quicken the minds of these Indians who are naturally versatile, than to send Sieur de Jonquaire to the Senecas by whom he is greatly regarded. He remained there three months and returned only a few days ago, with the most considerable Chief of that Nation, to tell me what you will find, My Lord, in the message he has brought on the part of his tribe, and my answers thereunto; which I annex with all the others as well of the Iroquois as of the Outtaois.

From the Speech of that Chief, You will perceive, My Lord, the sentiments of these Indians in our regard; and as I am aware how important it is that they so continue and how great Sieur de Joncaire's influence is among them, I have sent him to pass the winter there, and given him such orders as I considered most necessary for the King's service, so that he may conform himself thereunto.

The speech of Teganissorence, the Onnontagué Chief, of the 25th of October last, will put you, My Lord, in possession of the measures that Nation is desirous of adopting to bring about a suspension of arms between the Dutch and us. The lateness of the season or other reasons of policy having prevented the said Teganissorence coming to Quebec, he sent from Montreal La Grand Terre, another Chief of that nation, as zealous a partizan of the French as Teganissorence is of the English, to whom I gave the answers you will also find herewith; and as you instruct M. de Callieres, My Lord, not to undertake any thing that might renew hostilities between the Iroquois and us, I was of opinion that it was for the King's interest not to send any party towards Orange, for fear of involving the Iroquois therein. Such is not the case on the coasts around Boston. I consider it highly necessary to embroil the [Indians] of those parts, otherwise the Abenaquis, who were wavering, might enter into arrangements with the English, and be eventually opposed to us. As M. de Beauharnois and I have the honor to submit to you, in our joint letter, the serious attack we have obliged these Indians to make and our reasons therefor, I shall not dwell any further on the matter to you.

My Lord, the speeches of the Onontagués and Senecas of the 12th June, will inform you of their action on the loss we have experienced in M. de Callieres, and at the same time of the steps the English have taken to induce these Indians to expel the Jesuit Fathers from their village and of the disposition of the Iroquois to retain them. Wherefore I exhorted them as you will be able to see, My Lord, by my answers.

The sickness which has ravaged this Colony since last autumn, and some dregs of which still remain, having prevented the Upper Nations coming down to Montreal according to their custom, some twenty canoes of Outaois, Huron and Miamis arrived on the 14th July. They came by Detroit and formed a junction on Lake Ontario. You will learn the sentiments of the one and the other, My Lord, from their Speeches.

It would appear from that of *Quarante sols*, the Huron Chief, that he is strongly attached to the French; nevertheless I am advised to the contrary, and even that he has been negotiating with the Miamis to get up a sort of trade between them and the English. As I am aware, My Lord, that among these Nations a design discovered is half broken up, I have been very glad

to let them see by my answers, without however giving them too much pain, that I was not unacquainted with their proceedings. Could I, My Lord, express to you my opinion, without departing from my subject, I might with some show of reason assure you here that if the English ever establish a considerable trade with our allies, it will be owing to Detroit. I doubt not but M. de la Motte reports to you the occurrences at that post, but I strongly doubt, from what he writes me, that his views are as just as they seem to be; the general opinion of every body being that that post is untenable and burthensome to the Colony; as you will be able to see by the unanimous declaration of the General Meeting which M. de Beauharnois and I convoked at Quebec, a report whereof we transmit to you in the joint despatch. In regard to the number of Indians Sieur de la Motte expects to attract to Detroit, I do not think them so much inclined to repair thither as he calculates; which you likewise will be able to understand, My Lord, from the Speeches of the Outtaois of Missilimaquina here on the 2nd September. This has obliged M. de Beauharnois and me, in view of the antipathy of those Indians to that post, to consent to the return of Father Marest to his mission. The same reasons have induced us also to send Sieur de Menthet thither, and I can assure you that in the present conjuncture there is scarcely any one in that country possessing more influence than he over the Indians or French above there. We shall transmit him, next spring, the amnesty his Majesty has been pleased to accord to the French inhabiting the Outtaois country, who are only awaiting that, to return. Some of them even came down this summer to the first French settlements of this country, but seeing that there was yet no security for them, they adopted the resolution to go back.

As I have spoken to you, already, My Lord, respecting the Abenaqui Indians, wherein I represented to you the absolute necessity which we were under to embroil them with the English, permit me to repeat here what M. de Beauharnois and I observe in our joint letter:— that it appears to us necessary, not only for their own safety, but even for our proper advantage to draw them to us, the more especially as, were they once established at Chambly and St. Francis, they would be a cover to the entire Southern frontier of the government of Montreal, and would enable us, in case of a rupture, to resist the Iroquois—this would serve at least, to enforce respect and would not do any harm to Port Royal from which these Indians are at too great a distance to afford it essential aid.

The trifling amount of business done in this country this year having obliged some to improve their circumstances, and no means offering more glorious nor more proper than that of engaging the young men in some expedition, Sieur de la Grange, acting Captain on board *l'Attalante* proposed to M. de Beauharnois and myself to fit out this spring, in conjunction with other partners, a bark for the purpose of carrying out a design he intends to execute, to the North of Newfoundland. He is a man of prudence with whom the Company has been always highly satisfied. We have therefore promised to grant him letters of Marque. Said Sieur la Grange and his partners flatter themselves, My Lord, that should they succeed you will look on them with favor, so that his Majesty may possibly, then, grant them a frigate to enable them to execute greater designs.

M. de Blainville, captain in the Regulars in this country, has been here twenty years without having repassed to France. He asks leave of absence, My Lord, in order to attend to the affairs of his family which have experienced many changes during that time. I can assure you that he is a very worthy officer, and that his request is very just.

I have been unable to retain Sieurs de Brebœuf, Duperont and de Rochemond in this country; they have sent me in their resignations. Sieur de Brebœuf is adapted to this country, and would desire to return; he is a man of quality. Sieur de Rochemond is a brave fellow but he cannot support himself, he says, on his pay. Sieur Duperont is a right gallant man but unfit for the country, being always out of health here. Ensign de Budmond requests me to ask you for his *congé* being unable to live on his pay here, as he is married.

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I have just received intelligence from Montreal informing me that some Indians, who have returned from Orange, report that no ships have yet arrived at Manathe; that the Governor general has sent for some Abenaqui chiefs for the purpose of negotiating a peace with them; that the inhabitants of Orange are all wishing for peace with us, and so far from the ravages committed by Sieur Beaubassin having irritated them, they are urgent for an arrangement with the French and Indians. Though it appears from this news, My Lord, that no apprehension need be entertained for the government of Montreal, I omit no precautions; I station twenty companies there during the winter, and adopt the resolution of going there myself, as well to keep the Iroquois in check, as to be in a position to proceed according to the news I may receive from Sieur de Jonquaire, and even according to circumstances. I shall, possibly, dispatch a somewhat stronger party again this spring towards Boston, were it only to break up the measures the English might be adopting to induce the Abenaquis to conclude peace. However I shall not make any movement unless I see the Iroquois disposed to remain neutral, and you may be persuaded, My Lord, that I shall never expose the country which his Majesty has been pleased to do me the honor to confide to me.

According to the news these Indians bring from Orange; the speeches of Teganissorence, and the private advices in my possession, I doubt not but the Dutch of those parts will employ every means [to obtain] and will demand, a species of Neutrality between the government of Montreal and themselves, and that they will even submit some proposals to me. I shall listen to them; but will not come to any decision until I have received your orders. Meanwhile, My Lord, I believe that some such armistice would be necessary to keep the Iroquois in the state of Neutrality that they have concluded on.

Permit me, My Lord, to solicit your protection for myself and all my family, assuring you of the most profound respect and entire devotion with which I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant,

November 14. 1703. VAUDREUIL.

Conference between M. de Vaudreuil and the Indians.

Novembr 14. 1703.

Speech of Oroniatez, a Seneca Chief.

He regrets that the bad weather prevented the arrival of his comrades, whom something extraordinary must have delayed; that he will, notwithstanding, state the object of his journey.

[1] This shows that the Iroquois are becoming more and more attached to the French, which must engage us to keep them on our side.
[2] Concl. *Good, with care.*

1st That he has come to return thanks (to the Governor) on behalf of the Senecas for his goodness in their regard, and for having told them last summer that he would take them under his protection as well against the English as others; That they never expressed what they now say, having ever been masters of their lands through the neutrality up to the present time; That they present him this Belt to-day to make him master of their territory, which they have never done but to him; That therefore they expect, in case any thing happen them, that he will look on them as his sons.

2d As it was he and La Grand Terre who had demanded Black Gowns to instruct them, and to show them the way to Heaven, he promises in the name of La Grand Terre and his own, that no matter what attempts the English make to seize them, they will die rather than suffer themselves to be driven from their villages.

This indicates the attachment they bear the Religion, and the regard they feel for the Jesuits who must be kept in those missions as long as possible, as there is no means more effectual to preserve union between the Iroquois and the French.
Concl. *Good. Continue actively.*

3d That they pray him as their Father to grant them their son Joncaire to observe what will pass this winter between them and the English; to report it to him in the spring; that although they be struck they shall not avenge themselves before notifying their father thereof inasmuch as he promised to render them assistance; requests to be sent back as soon as possible as his presence is required at home, where he with La Grand Terre is chief of the old men and of the warriors.

Sieur Joncaire has great influence among them; he possesses mental qualities adapted to manage them and deserves that something be done for him.
Good. To praise.

M. De Vaudreuil's Answer.

'Tis true he promised to assist them against the English and all others; he repeats the same promise; he is too strictly bound to do so by the gift of his Seneca land; he is gratified thereby and accepts it for the purpose of preserving it for him and his children; thanks him for it, and promises him his protection; that he can assure him he will keep this affair secret.

It is impossible to answer better.
Good.

[1] This indentation denotes marginal notes evidently made in Canada; perhaps by the Intendant.
[2] Endorsement of the Minister. *Remarks in pencil in the margin of the Text.* — Ed.

That he is very glad to perceive that they are disposed to protect[1] the Black gowns, and that La Grande Terre, Chief of the Onnontagués is united with him for their preservation; that he recommends them to his protection against whatever insults evil-disposed minds, pushed on by the English, would offer them in their Villages.

Perfectly well answered.
Good.

That he is willing to grant them their son Joncaire; whom he gives and recommends to their sole consideration; that he does well to think of returning as the season is far advanced; that his presence seems highly necessary in his own country; that he is of opinion that he should not quit his village during this winter, nor La Grande Terre that of the Onnontagués, so that they—the one and the other—may apply a remedy to whatever bad business may happen there.

He has acted very wisely in granting them Sieur Joncaire whom they call their Son, on account of having taken him prisoner in an action in which he gallantly performed his duty. They spared his life and adopted him into their Tribe as their Son. He is much beloved.
To explain this fact. Good.

Speech of Teganisorens in the name of Five Iroquois Nations. 24th of October.

1st That on coming to bewail M. de Callieres' death he had expressed himself greatly pleased as he saw thereby that they would truly love him and all the French with him; that, thereupon, they had been assured that if they had [lost] one good father they would find another in him, who would love them as he had done; that they come to thank him therefor and to pray him not to change in their regard.

This means, that, having lost one Governor, they come to seek the protection of another.
Good.

2. That Father Bruyas and Sieur de Maricour having assured them two years ago, that the Peace was general, he asks its continuance; that they will maintain it with all their might, and [exhorts him] and all the French to do the same.

They appear from this to be disposed to preserve the peace inviolably.
Good. Concl.

3. That they were unfortunate during the War, and believed the peace to be real only when M. de Callieres obliged the other Nations to restore them such of their people as they detained prisoners; that they will do every thing to preserve this peace; that if it come to be broken, it will not be by them but by the Europeans, who are bad men, who wage war for trifles, whilst with them, heads must be broken to force them into hostilities. That to prevent such in future, he comes to exhort the French, as he has done the English, not to break this general peace which the late M. de Callieres made; That he had sincerely exhorted them to remain at peace even though some rupture should occur between the French and the English; that nevertheless the Abenaquis have already taken up arms against the English.

[1] Text, *partager*; for *protéger*. — Ed.

That proves that they do not make war except when absolutely forced to it; that they observe the Treaties they make, and that they are surprised that the Abenakis are permitted to recommence hostilities against the English, and that the French had joined in that expedition.
Concl.

4. That he waits at Montreal for his answer from Quebec, whither he sends three of his men to fetch it, in order that, if they do not concur in opinion, he may proceed forthwith to take his course with his village. He requests that they be not delayed for more than one day, on account of the advanced state of the season, and to get their hatchets and guns repaired.

This Chief demands of Sieur de Vaudreuil an answer respecting the affair of the English, in order that if he be not of the same opinion, he may adopt measures in that regard with his Village.
Concl.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

That they are right in believing that he is very glad that they have come to bewail M. de Callieres' death, that he confirms what he has already told him; that they will find another father in him.

I am persuaded Sieur de Vaudreuil's answer is sincere.
Good.

That he will observe the word Sieur Maricour and Father Bruyas carried to them from M. de Callieres on the subject of the general peace; that he never intends to break it, and will never adopt any proceedings against their nation; that he exhorts them not to embarrass themselves with differences that may arise between other Nations.

Well answered.
Good.

That he is very glad general tranquillity is reëstablished since the peace, and that their prisoners have been surrendered to them; that it will not be he that will break the peace, provided they be faithful to their Words; that as regards the English, it was they who began by what they had done last fall at Acadia; that he thought it his duty to obtain satisfaction therefor; that he did not wish to seek for it towards Orange out of respect for them, and that he will not wage war against the English except in the direction of Boston, unless the English of Orange begin first; that he will send to the King their proposal to establish neutrality between the French and English, and will communicate his Majesty's answer to them next year; that if these be the sentiments of the English they can let him know it; that meanwhile he again [exhorts] them to remain at peace.

This answer will not fail to satisfy the Iroquois, though it be not true that it was the English who have commenced in Acadia but Sieur du Broullant in fact; wherefore it appears to me proper to give some precise orders to Sieur de Vaudreuil to preserve peace with the English both towards Boston and Orange.
Concl. This is not my opinion.

Speeches of the Senecas and Onnontagués on the 12th June.

1. They have learned the death of M. de Callieres which their chiefs have deputed them to come and bewail.

This is a mark of friendship and consideration.
Good.

2. They have resolved to live in peace, and request Sieur de Vaudreuil to receive them as friends when they will visit the French.

This is a proof of their good intentions.
Good.

3. They request the French to be kept quiet; and that they may be made to forget the past.

Their request shows how desirous they are for peace.
Concl.

4. He knows that their Grand Father had made peace at Catarakouy, that bad men have broken that peace. They request him to reëstablish and foster it, and to prevent the recommencement of war.

Idem.

5. He informs M. de Vaudreuil that the English make many offers to induce them to send away the Black gowns; that some among them had listened to the English, but they oppose them with great firmness, and that they will protect them.

It has been already remarked that this was a sign of their attachment to the Religion.
Good. To exhort them to continue.

6. That they are rejoiced that the King has conferred the command of the Country on him; they ask him for some arms; that they are told the English wish to make war on them; that they do not fear them. They beg him, however, should the English entertain such a design, to aid them with his soldiers with whom they desired to live as brothers.

It would be very fortunate were the English to commit this blunder, because, [otherwise,] the Iroquois would never break with them. The aid we will afford them would constitute an alliance between them and us, which would never be broken, and would be the ruin of the English; in that case there would be no further need of dreaming of neutrality.
Concl. Good. To try and involve the English and to profit thereby.

7. Sieurs Maricourt and Joncaire are regarded in their villages as their Children. They request him to send them, in order that they may inform him of every thing that occurs in their villages.

It is certain that Sieurs de Maricour and Joncaire are regarded by the Iroquois as their Children.
Good.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He thanks them for having bewailed Sieur de Callieres' death. He assures them that he will always live with them in friendship and with a disposition for peace.

This I am persuaded is sincere.
Good.

He is desirous to observe the peace, that his Frenchmen will keep it and he exhorts them to restrain their people.

Well answered.
Good.

He will ratify the peace, and exhorts them to observe it; that therefore, they must not hearken to the rumors people may spread among them from the English or elsewhere, and believe only what he will tell them.

Idem.
Very good.

He is very glad to learn that they have retained the Black gowns in spite of the offers of the English to induce them to send them back; they have gratified him; and he exhorts them to protect them and to prevent their being disturbed.

It has been already remarked that this is very proper.
Good.

The King having conferred the command on him after Sieur de Callieres' death, he assures them they will always find a good father in him who hath loved and will always love them. He will defend them against the English who he understands wish to destroy them; that if they be attacked, he will march to their assistance with all his forces.

It has already been said, this would be a good business.
Good.

That he grants them Sieur de Joncaire; retains Sieur de Maricour near himself and sends Father Garnier with them, whom he recommends to their care.

It is well that he has granted Sieur Joncaire; Jesuits must be in great demand in those missions since Father Garnier is sent thither, old and infirm as he is.
Concl. To encourage sending Jesuits thither.

Speeches of the Outaouaes of Misilimakinac. 27 September 1703.

1. They are come to bewail Sieur de Callieres' death and to cover his corpse, though they be poor.

A token of good friendship.

2. They are instructed by their Chiefs to say to the Governor that they wish to die in their villages; notwithstanding all that can be said to engage them to remove, they will not quit their village which they have just put up anew; therefore, whatever Sieur de la Motte may do to engage them to go to Detroit, they will not remove thither. This is their sentiment and that of all their chiefs who have sent them to communicate it to the Governor.

Nothing more strongly indicates the determination of those Outaouas never to leave their village of Misilimakinac, and not to remove to Detroit, though Sieur de la Motte do all he can to draw them thither; these words expressed to the Governor-general, in presence of the Intendant, the Clergy, Officers and principal men of the Country, cannot be called in doubt, whilst those of Sieur de la Motte who is alone, can be questioned. My advice would be to station a Jesuit at Detroit, to let those of Misilimakinac alone, and to permit the Indians to do as they like in this matter. Constraint may do more harm than good in these cases.
Concl. To be added to the Detroit bus'ness.

3. They are also instructed to ask the Governor for a French Commandant; they know not what they are doing since they have none.

I do not believe any is necessary for them; it would be the means of absolutely destroying Detroit which has no more need of one than Missillimakinac. Let us learn by experience that these Commandants apply for these posts merely for the purpose of trade and to promote their own interests, and they encourage the Indians to demand them.

Concl. Embarrassing.

4. They are surprised to see the Sauteurs, the Sacs and Outagamis at War; they have sent them some presents to allay this disorder. As they are in their midst, they fear somebody will be killed in their village and that they will be thus drawn into the War.

They act wisely in making presents to avert the consequences of this war.

Good.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He thanks them for coming to bewail Sieur de Callières' death; assures them that they will find in him the same fatherly heart.

He answers well.

Good.

Though the Chiefs of Misillimakinac be resolved not to abandon their fort, notwithstanding they led Sieur de Callieres to expect that they would remove to Detroit, it is a matter worthy consideration; he will communicate to them his resolution on this subject by the person he intends to send to Misillimakinac in the fall.

Sieur de Vaudreuil does well not to give them a decisive answer on their resolution not to go to Detroit, and to postpone to another occasion the communication of his opinion thereupon, because he will, meanwhile, have my Lord's orders.

As Sieur de Callieres, to whom they already applied for a Commandant, has written on the subject to the King, he will let them know his Majesty's pleasure on the arrival of the ships.

It is important that my Lord communicate his pleasure in this regard. A Commandant at Misillimakinac is unnecessary; he is on the contrary prejudicial. It has ever been the policy of Governors and officers to have commanders at Misillimakinac and every where else, in order to increase their powers.

Good. To send positive instructions.

He will give orders to the person he intends to send to Misillimakinac to put a stop to the War between their neighbors, and to oblige them to execute the general treaty of peace; he, meanwhile, expects them to contribute thereunto on their side.

Well answered and well done to expect them to maintain peace. His orders to that effect can be sent to the Missionaries to be communicated to the Indians, instead of sending private persons thither who go there only for the purpose of trading.

Concl. Appears good.

Speeches of the Hurons to M. de Vaudreuil. 14th July.

That it is their custom to speak of news before business.

Such is their custom.

The Mohawks have come on the part of the English to invite the Hurons to Orange.

This is the work of *Quarante Sols*, already mentioned, which shows that it is not proper to have the Outaous, Hurons and other Indians too friendly with the Iroquois. Some adroit effort must be made to prevent them becoming good friends.

Good. With address; to write it to Vaudreuil.

They [the Mohawks] told the Miamis whom they found with the French of Detroit that if they would remove, they will furnish them goods at a cheap rate, and do them every sort of kindness.

This is a proof of it.

1. Sieur Vaudreuil beholds in them his children who are coming to speak to him with the Miamis who are united together; they have understood that he was desirous they should settle at Detroit.

A sign that these wish to settle at Detroit. They must be encouraged to do so.

Good. Strongly. Concl.

2. That the late Sieur de Callieres having invited them to settle at the Miamis, they request him to tell them whence arises the unwillingness to their residing there. He had exhorted [them] to draw the Tionontaté to Detroit, but the latter would not consent to it, affairs being in confusion.

'Tis true, Sieur de Calliere invited those Indians to the River St. Joseph, but it was only with a view to reunite the farther Miamis together, in order eventually to draw them to Detroit; therefore they must now be encouraged to return thither under the [care of a Missionary.]

To encourage them to it, dependent however on the decision respecting Detroit.

3. They would greatly desire a cordial union between themselves and the French, and request him to communicate it to those of Misillimakinac and to Sataresky, and that they make him master of their wigwams.

Sieur de Vaudreuil is to act according to this request.

Good.

The late Sieur de Callieres loved them, he settled them where they were and promised to protect them. They request Sieur de Vaudreuil to do the same, and to permit them to make war against the Scioux as the French were waging it against the English.

This shows that these Indians, though afar off, are aware that we have operated against the English, and regard this act as an infraction of the general peace.

Concl.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He tells *Quarante Sols* and his tribe what Sieur de la Motte ought to have told him—that he was informed he wished to go to the English to learn if they, as well as the Miamis, would be well received; that the English had assured them of a good reception, and requested him to remove his village to a distance from the French forts so as to be able to settle near them at Lake Erie, offering physical aid in case the French would offer any opposition.

This is the intrigue of *Quarante Sols* which seems but too well founded, although Sieur de la Motte ridiculed the Jesuits when they notified him of it, saying it was a game arranged among themselves to prevent the Indians coming to Detroit.
Detroit affair.

To-day he tells them that he did not wish to answer their belts without hearing their Speech.

That's right.

1. He must be aware that the French are now at war with the English, and he cannot go to them without giving displeasure. His tribe is forbidden to do it, and if any one contravene this prohibition he believes that it will be himself, being sorry for his young men.

Sieur de Vaudreuil does well to intimidate *Quarante Sols*, and to tell him that he does not wish him to go to the English.
Good. Keep the hand on him.

He is glad to see the Hurons and Miamis united, and exhorts them to continue so. The late Sieur de Callieres had invited him to settle at Detroit; he does the same and would permit Sastaretsy to go and join him there.

Well answered.
Good.

He declares to him and to all the Nations that he (the Governor) does not pretend thereby that any person should settle at Detroit, or at Lake Erie without his permission or that of Sieur de la Motte; that he understands that after Sieur de la Motte had marked a place for him, he had passed the bounds, had extended himself towards the French fort, and that this had been done on hearing that Sieur de la Motte had been ordered not to grant any lands in the rear of his Village, intending that part for fields.

That's well done.
Good.

He has reason to say, that Sieur de Callieres loved him; he (M. de V.) does not love him less. If he wage war against the English, it is because their Kings are at war; as regards the Scioux they were included in the peace like the rest, but if they attacked his Nation, they would promise to defend [him.]

Well answered.
Good.

Speeches of the Miamis, on the 14. July.

He beholds his children the Miamis who come to tell him that their fathers are dead, that the Scioux had killed them; that they, however, did not wish to revenge themselves but had allowed themselves to be directed by Sieur de Calliere whose death they bewail, assuring M. de Vaudreuil moreover that they will do only what he pleases.

That's well.
Good.

They have come to see him and to behold the face of the late Sieur de Callieres.

A token of friendship.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He is pleased that they have come so far to see him; they know that all differences were terminated by the General peace; if the Scioux wage war against them he does not prevent them defending themselves.

That is well and regularly answered.
Good.

He is glad they have mentioned their Chiefs' names; exhorts them to invite them to [continue] in the obedience they owe the government; he understands, however, that they are invited to go to the English, whom one of their Chiefs went to visit; if they continue the same course, they will not please him; as he is at war with the English he would be sorry to meet any of them there; he forbids them that road and let them tell their young men that, should they go to the English, he will no longer look on them as his children.

Perfectly well.
Good. Keep a check on them.

Speech of the Heavy,[1] an Outaois. 14th July.

In the name of the Kiscacons, the Outaois of Sinago and Outaois of the *Sable*, he bewails Sieur de Callieres. They rejoice that he has succeeded; they hope he will love them; the Scioux wage war against them, but they will not defend themselves 'till they know his will.

This disposition of these Indians is very good. It would be better to give them audience and to govern them by the councils they hold at Montreal, than to send them so many Commandants, who make them say what they like and distribute the King's presents among them only as they please; whilst they receive at Montreal all that the King orders them.
Concl. Appears good.

It would have afforded them much pleasure to see the Intendant; they had come in that expectation; they would greatly wish him to love them as much as he who is gone away.

I am very certain that they will like Sieur de Beauharnois when they will see him.
Good.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

They may rely on it, that he will love them as much as the late Sieur de Callieres if they continue obedient; Sieur de la Motte writes him that he is satisfied with them; exhorts them and the tribe to be always attached to him; he does not wish them to make war on the Scioux, but if these commence they can defend themselves; that he had greatly wished the Intendant had attended the Meeting, so that they might see that he was as good a father as he who had gone away.

Very well answered.
Good.

APPROVED.

[1] *du Pesant.* — Ed.

Abstract of certain parts of a Despatch from Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Beauharnois; with Notes by the Minister. November 15. 1703.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

They have sent some presents to the Senecas and Onontagués to keep them on our side, and to engage them to retain the Missionaries whom the other three Iroquois Nations would, at the solicitation of the English, oblige them to dismiss.

It is very necessary to make some presents in order to maintain the Missionaries for the glory of God and the King's service; there is scarcely any other means but this to preserve with the Iroquois a peace so beneficial to the Colony.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Since the expedition that Sieur de Vaudreuil sent out this Summer in the direction of Boston, the English have wished to excite the Senecas and Onontagués. These two Nations have deputed their chiefs to Quebec to assure Sieur de Vaudreuil that they wish to retain the Missionaries and live in peace with us; as will be seen by the words they have expressed to said Sieur de Vandreuil which he sends with his answers. It is further remarked that they would wish to act as mediators between the English and us. Sieur de Vaudreuil evaded giving them an answer on that point; he has no design to attack the English at Orange for fear of drawing the Iroquois to Montreal.

It would have been desirable that this expedition had not taken place. M^{r} de Vaudreuil was wishing for it in M. de Callieres' time, who would never consent to it, no more than I. I have a perfect knowledge that the English want only peace, aware that war is contrary to the interests of all the Colonies; The French have always commenced hostilities in Canada.

Though the English be neither so well disciplined nor so well qualified as the French of Canada to make war in the woods and in canoes, it is nevertheless to be feared that, being but recently attacked by the French and Abenakis, they will employ every possible means to induce the Iroquois to break off the peace with us.

In order to effect that purpose they will spare neither arguments nor donations, and as it is their entire Country that contributes to these presents they would never think of making any, if the despair into which we throw them, did not compel them to do it.

These gentlemen say that they organized this expedition to secure the Abenakis, and prevent them forming an alliance with the English by rendering them irreconcilable enemies.

That were well, could the Abenakis wage war against the English without the latter suspecting us of being a party to it.

It is certain that Neutrality between the two Colonies would be desirable and necessary. It is, nevertheless, of consequence, and for the King's glory not to seek it through the mediation which the Iroquois seem to offer with that view; but it could be effected by means of the Missionaries near them, who in the course of conversation and as if of their own accord, could give them to understand that if the English wished to cease acts of hostility throughout the extent of their Colony,

the French could be brought to do the same; the Governor could also insinuate this into their Councils when they came to Quebec or Montreal.

All the difficulty in the way, would be the interest of the Abenakis who, quite recently, have brilliantly broken with the English by this last expedition. It would be hard to get them to enter into this spirit of Neutrality after we had intended to render them irreconcilable enemies of the English, and it is to be feared that they would become the enemies of the French, all whose settlements south of the river St. Lawrence they might lay waste.

Yet this success is not to be despaired of, if the most cogent reasons possible were used in a Council assembled at Quebec, to dispose them to that Neutrality; even were it to cost them some presents none could ever be better employed.

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Demand fifteen Licenses on the plea that less beaver will be caught by granting them, as the Coureurs de bois will be induced thereby to return in the hope of obtaining their portion of them; if, on the contrary, they be not granted, the Coureurs de bois who will act surreptitiously, will be the cause of more coming down than the fifteen licenses that are required.

Could all licenses be dispensed with, 'twould be best, but the evil has reached a point in this respect that it appears impossible to dispense with granting the fifteen licenses which, with the employment the Colony will afford the youth of the Country, will avert the disobedience of those Coureurs de bois. As regards the manner of rendering these fifteen licenses most beneficial, we shall speak in its place.

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The troops will be employed on the Fort Chambly road, which appears to him to be the most necessary, if it be not requisite to occupy them on more urgent works.

It is impossible to do better. I urged M. de Callieres long ago to construct it. When this will be finished the Quebec and Montreal road can be easily made.

M. de Callieres was advised that the Abenakis of Acadia had entered into a Treaty of Neutrality with the English; that the Indians and the English were distrustful the one of the other. The Jesuits were watching the Indians. This treaty of Neutrality has not been concluded. Father Rale wrote to Sieur de Vaudreuil that the Abenakis would take up the hatchet whenever he pleased. This induced Sieur de Vaudreuil to adjoin to the party he was sending in the direction of Boston, a detachment of those Indians whom one of their Jesuit missionaries followed. Sieur de Beaubassin commanded that party, laid waste more than 15 leagues of territory, took or killed more than 300 prisoners. Sieur de Vaudreuil's opinion is, that the English and Abenakis must be kept irreconcilable enemies.

This article has been already answered.

Resources of Canada.

Succint Detail of what composes the twenty millions (or thereabouts,) which the Colony of Canada produces yearly to the King and his subjects. 1703.

Firstly, the country supports more than forty thousand French inhabitants, and could maintain six times as many and is able to render them wealthy by agriculture and commerce, which would be doubled could the men that the country requires be multiplied two-fold in proportion to the extent and fertility of the country.

The Cod fishery maintains for the King 30 @ 40,000 seamen; this must be surrendered to the English if Placentia, Cape Breton or Acadia be abandoned. It is easy to calculate the productive labor, annual and perpetual, of 30 @ 40,000 men. As to that portion of it which returns to the King's coffers, no explanation can be given on that point, nor on its present produce, nor what it can in future become.

But there is no doubt that this trade realizes more than 12 millions a year profit for individuals, in the deplorable state to which things are reduced.

This as well as every other article is capable of proof, by collecting together the returns of entry duties paid annually in each port of the Kingdom, though there be reason to believe that one-half is fraudulently passed.

This statement would not include what goes to foreign countries; a larger proportion than what enters France; nor what is consumed in great abundance within the country.

Fishing for salmon, mackerel, herring and porpoise is carried on up the river S^{t} Lawrence. The three first named fish are sold in France and the Islands. Oil is obtained from the Porpoise and Seal, or their skins are dressed. This fishery is highly useful, and would become very considerable to the King and the Kingdom, were not men and freedom wanting.

The peltry trade consists in skins of the Beaver, Elk, Moose, Deer, Bear, Martin, Stag and various other animals in as great a quantity as one can wish for, and in proportion to the justice or injustice with which Governors and Intendants act towards the Indians, who perform the hunting.

These peltries produce three movements: their importation into France, their exportation elsewhere being prohibited; that of the merchandise taken in France in exchange, and that of the produce taken up in Canada for exportation to the Islands in return for those same goods received from France.

This trade, in these three movements, may produce nearly 2 millions a year.

As for the trade in grain and salt, it is from Mess^{rs} the Intendants that information respecting it must be obtained; for being seized, since 1703, of all the salt and almost all the grain, they alone can know the proceeds of these two articles, from which the King derives only whatever pleases them.

They alone can, also, tell the value of the trade in pork, beer, and divers other small articles which they carry on exclusively to the prejudice of the settlers.

It is impossible, for want of men and means, to tell what might be the amount of pitch and tar, a specimen whereof has been manufactured.

Timber would constitute an inexhaustible article and an inestimable product, as well for staves as masts, building and all other purposes in which wood is usually employed.

The entire coast of Acadia and Cape Breton is adapted for the safest anchorage, and for the formation of the finest and most secure harbors in the world, without cost and without expense.

The English settlements are in that respect no wise preferable; nevertheless, about 200 newly built ships sail yearly from Boston or their other ports.

Were the direction of those Colonies in the hands of people who would pride themselves on equaling the industry of the English, the King could do as much, possessing every thing necessary for construction, especially hemp and flax, (samples whereof have already been manufactured) which are on his soil, within his reach, in greater abundance and more convenient.

In addition to the convenience Acadia and Cape Breton afford for fishing, the one contains the finest timber and the best pastures in the country, and Cape Breton beds of plaster and coal; which render the one and the other of absolute necessity to New France, of which these may be said to be the two eyes. Never ought they to be separated, either by ceding them to foreigners or by detaching them from the general government.

As for Placentia, it cannot be ceded to the English who have already usurped and fortified S^{t} John, Roguouse and Bonneville on the North of Newfoundland, without absolutely ceding to them the fishery and closing the passage from France to Canada, on which they could establish duties by keeping a small fleet there, and render Canada useless to France.

The spirit in which our Kings have founded and sustained Canada is, in the words of their Majesties' Edicts, the desire to propagate the Faith; the zeal and painful labors of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers and other Missionaries have perfectly responded thereunto, and would have borne more fruit were it not for the frightful disorder caused by the sale of Brandy to the Indians which they have ever opposed, despite the efforts of the Governors and Intendants who sedulously protected it through the hope of gain.

It is, certainly, a great misfortune that so abundant a harvest in the Vineyard of the Lord, cultivated up to the present hour with so much affection, should be abandoned, or delivered a prey to the heretics.

It is to be hoped that the King's piety will never consent to such a proceeding.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

Quebec, 16th 9^{ber} 1704.

My Lord,

Although we have not received *la Seine* this year, and even have no news of her, which circumstance greatly embarrasses us, I have not failed to learn that I am indebted entirely to you for the honor his Majesty has done me in conferring on me the general Government of this Country. I can assure you, My Lord, that I will not neglect any thing in the proper performance of its duties, and will be eternally grateful therefor.

I had the honor to write to you, My Lord, this spring by way of Placentia, and to inform you of the success of a party I sent this winter on the ice as far as the Boston government,[1] at the request of the Abenakis Indians whom the English attacked since Sieur de Beaubasin's

[1] Deerfield, Massachusetts. *Hutchinson*, II., 137; *Charlevoix*, II. — Ed.

return last autumn, and at the same time again took the liberty to speak to you of Sieur de Rouville who commanded on that occasion; he desires, My Lord, that you would have the goodness to think of his promotion, having been, invariably, in all the expeditions that presented themselves, and being still actually with the Abenakis whom I sent to Placentia according to your orders and Sieur de Subercasse's requisition.

Sieur de Rouville's party, My Lord, has accomplished every thing expected of it, for independent of the capture of a fort, it showed the Abenakis that they could truly rely on our promises; and this is what they told me at Montreal on the 13th of June, when they came to thank me.

I, likewise, took the liberty to represent to you, last year, My Lord, in my private letter, the reasons which induced Sieur Beauharnois and me to attract the Abenakis Indians into these parts, and to encourage them to come and settle among us, both for their own security and ours; and you will see by their speech this year to Sieur de Beauharnois and myself that, if they felt any difficulty in quitting their ancient abode, they acquiesced with a good grace when they understood our reasons.

This establishment, My Lord, will not fail to cost his Majesty something, but the advantage we derive from it will richly compensate us in the end, and I dare assure you that, besides the trade it will attract to us and the security of our settlements on the South shore, it will not be one of the smallest of the motives to oblige the Iroquois to observe the Neutrality.

I had the honor to observe to you this Spring, that I proposed sending Sieur de Longeuil, the late Sieur de Maricourt's brother, to Onnontagué with a view to support our interests in that quarter against the English, who had people continually there, and that I had, also, sent Sieur de Joncaire to the Senecas for the purpose of passing the winter in that quarter. I learned by a canoe he sent me express, this spring, that the English had convoked a general meeting of the Iroquois Nation at Onnontagué. This obliged me to send Sieur de Longueil to assist at it.

M. de Beauharnois and I had the honor to report to you in our joint letter what occurred in that journey. Therefore, I shall say nothing further about it.

I am aware, My Lord, that your intention and the good of the service demand the maintenance as much as possible of the neutrality with the Iroquois nations. I dare, also, assure you that I direct all my attention to that point; and that I hope even for success, despite all the intrigues of the English to embroil them with us, who have discovered the secret to engage all the Upper nations, our allies, to commence hostilities against the Iroquois in order to oblige us to show our hands, and to take sides; and as that affair is of the utmost importance, M. de Beauharnois and I were of opinion that we ought not to neglect any thing to arrest its consequences, we have, agreeably to what we had the honor to observe to you in our joint letter, dispatched Father Vaillant and Sieur de Joncaire to Seneca, and I sent Sieur de Vinseine to the Miamis with my annexed orders and message, to be communicated to them from me.

Sieur de Vinseine My Lord, has been formerly commandant at the Miamis, by whom he was much beloved; this led me to select him in preference to any other to prove to that Nation how wrong they were to attack the Iroquois—our allies and theirs—without any cause; and we—M. de Beauharnois and I—after consultation, permitted said Sieur de Venseine to carry some goods and to take with him six men and two canoes.

M. de la Motte arriving from Detroit informed us that he met Sieur de Vinseine with an addition of three canoes and two men. This disobedience of the orders I gave him prompted me to form the design of chastising him on the spot, and as he is an inferior officer in the army I resolved to break him, and also requested the Intendant to cause evidence to be taken on the information we had received. I would still continue in these sentiments, My Lord, did not the gallant action he performed at Detroit, an account whereof Sieur de Beauharnois and I render you in our joint despatch, oblige me to write you in his favor, and to request you to pardon him.

These unfortunate proceedings of the Upper Indians and the intrigues of the English to embroil us with the Iroquois, would not fail to embarrass me, did I not observe in all the talk of the latter with me, every disposition on their part to abide by the Treaty of Peace. This you will understand, My Lord, by the speeches of the Senecas of the 30th of May and of the Cayugas of the 2nd of July and of the Mohawks of the 11th of the same month.

We suppose, My Lord that you would not be displeased should M. de Beauharnois and I submit to you in our joint despatch, our reasons for having sent a considerable party of Frenchmen and Indians into the Boston government, and as we take the liberty at the same time, to make known to you the result, you will please permit me, individually, to say that even though that party returned without having effected any thing, it has not failed to be of advantage to us in consequence of the extraordinary expenses to which the enemy has been subjected, and the emulation it has excited among our Indians, who endeavor at present to make it understood, that if the thing has grown cold it is not the fault of the Nation to which they belong.

The small parties who went off from that main body, My Lord, have not failed, seriously to inconvenience the English, and if permitted so to say, have struck them with more terror than they could have done in a body, because by not making any attack together nor in the same place, the English did not know what measures to adopt, nor how many they had to contend against.

The canoes of the Hurons arrived on the 7th of August at Montreal from Detroit; they came to tell me that the Miamis had killed them; but as I had this news previously by an Outtauois canoe, which also came down from Detroit, and as I knew the affair had been arranged and was only a mistake, I gave them the answer you will find annexed.

The same Outtaois canoe advised me, My Lord, that M. de la Motte, was coming down from Detroit with two empty canoes, bringing with him a head clerk whom the Directors had sent to the Fort in the Spring; that M. de la Motte had assembled a general council of the Indians to demand of him that this clerk be dismissed, and that he had even given two Belts which they should present him for that purpose; that he had employed *Quarante sols*, a Huron Chief to speak, and had told him every thing he wished him to say at that Council. As I've sent you a copy of it, and you will see the consequence of this affair, I shall not pretend, My Lord, to tell you the reasons that led M. de la Motte to act in that manner. I leave the Directors of the Company to inform you of the subjects of complaint they have against him; but I believe it to be my duty to remark, once for all, that nothing is so contrary to the interests of the King's service than M. de la Motte's conduct in insinuating to the Indians that they can oblige us to do as they please, and it is in contradiction with our invariable policy in this country of retaining the Indians in a sort of submission.

We have observed to you, My Lord, what occurred at Detroit respecting a man named Companise, an Outauois Chief, who after having struck the blow at Fort Frontenac and separated from the others, went again to carry off six persons at the bay of the Senecas river. We, also, let you know the proceedings of Messrs de Tonty and Vinseine in this regard. This action, My Lord, has afforded me the more pleasure, as the Senecas will have reason to be satisfied with us, seeing that we carry out point by point what we promised them; therefore, I hope they will not move until we have made an effort, this spring, to recover those of their people who were taken prisoners, all whose lives were spared as I have learned by a canoe which the missionaries of Michilimakina have sent me express. This is the promise I gave them as you will see, My Lord, by my answers to their speeches of the 12th Septr, and to those of La Grande Terre, an Onontagué Chief of the 18th of October.

La Grande Terre, My Lord, after having complained of the Outtauois in public, gave me to understand in private that Peter Schuyler, commandant at Orange, would not be sorry if we could mutually enjoy a sort of truce, but it must include the English of the Boston government. I had the honor to write you last year on this same subject, and even took the liberty to observe to you, that I should not send any party towards Orange, for fear of drawing on a war with the Iroquois. I have always adhered to that course; But as I hoped to receive your orders, and flatter myself that you will send me an answer to that article, I have not replied to La Grande Terre except to say that, if Peter Schuyler wished to make any propositions to me, he must send me an express, when I should see what answer I would return. Meanwhile, out of regard for him, I would promise not to send any party into the government of Orange, unless they begin first.

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Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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Sieur de Menthet having carried the amnesty to the Coureurs de bois, he found them greatly disposed to profit by his Majesty's grace towards them. None came down with him but those who collected their debts this year; the others are exerting themselves, as the Missionaries write us, to be in readiness next year. We have learned by him that the remainder of the Outauois, who were at Missilimakinac, had determined, despite of all he could do, to go to war against the Iroquois. We learned also, at the same time, My Lord, by letters from Fort Frontenac, and by Sieur Jonquaire that the same Indians had carried off at Fort Frontenac some thirty Senecas, and as said Sieur de Joncaire brought with him five or six chiefs of the Seneca Village, you will perceive, My Lord, by the speeches they made us which Sieur de Vaudreuil transmits to you, the sentiments they entertain, and the desire they feel to respect the peace. But as 'tis to be feared, in this conjuncture, either that the confusion would draw on us a war with the Iroquois if we did not take their part, or that the Outaouais would come to an accommodation with the Iroquois without our mediation, and that the one and the other would discover that they could manage without us, we thought proper to send back Sieur

Jonquaire with these Indians to the Senecas, and to dispatch at the same time a canoe with letters to the Missionaries at Missillimakinac, until we send off another this spring, to try and recover all the prisoners whom the Outauois took, and all of whom we know are living.

La Grande Terre, an Onontagué Chief, much attached to the French, having come with some of his Nation, to complain of the Outauois, we took advantage, My Lord, of his return to send back the Reverend Father Vaillant[1] to the Senecas, and under color of an escort sent an officer at the same time as far as Onondaga, to learn whether something was not brewing there hostile to the interests of the Colony.

We had the honor to report to you last year, My Lord, the reasons which had obliged us to embroil the English with the Abenakis, and the heavy blow which, with that view, we caused Sieur de Beaubassin to strike; shortly after he had retired, the English having killed some of these Indians, they sent us word of it, and at the same time demanded assistance. This obliged us, My Lord, to send thither Sieur de Rouville an officer of the line, with nearly two hundred men, who attacked a fort,[2] in which, according to the report of all the prisoners, there were more than one hundred men ander arms; they took more than one hundred and fifty prisoners, including men and women, and retreated, having lost only three men and some twenty wounded.

The Indians of Penaské having likewise sent us word at the same time, My Lord, that the English had killed some of their people, M. de Vaudreuil sent Sieur de Montigny thither, with four or five Frenchmen, as well to reassure them in the fear they entertained of the English, as to engage them to continue the War. This he effected this spring, at the head of some fifty of these Indians, having burnt an English fort and taken twenty-three prisoners. Sieur de Montigny distinguished himself particularly on that occasion.

The Abenakis who had settled on territory belonging to the English, without whose help they could not subsist, seeing themselves on the verge of dying of hunger, and at war, adopted the resolution to come and settle among us. We have placed them in the centre of the Colony in order to be prepared for service when required. Although this establishment will cost a good deal, we hope that the Colony will derive great advantage from it, both in a commercial and in a military point of view. So considerable an aid reassures all the settlers, who will cultivate their farms more quietly, and puts a check on the English and Iroquois who will not be so bold as to declare war against us.

We observed last year to you, My Lord, that we sent Sieur de Jonquaire to winter among the Senecas, both for the management of our interests, and to give us advice of every thing that would transpire there. At the first breaking up of the ice he came to fort Frontenac, and sent

[1] Rev: François Vaillant de Gueslis received holy orders at Quebec on the 1st December, 1675, according to the *Liste Chronologique*, and replaced Father Bruyas as Missionary at Tionnontoguen (now Fort Hunter) in 1679. *Shea's Missions*, 274. He was a resident among the Mohawks in 1683, III., 518, accompanied De Denonville's expedition against the Senecas in 1687, and in the beginning of 1688, visited Albany as Ambassador to Governor Dongan on the part of the Canadian Government, on which occasion he acquitted himself with ability. *New-York Council Minutes*, V., 211; *Supra*, III., 520–532. At the conclusion of this negotiation he proceeded to Cataracouy escorted by two Indians who were sent by Dongan to prevent him having any intercourse with the Mohawks, his former flock. The breaking out of King William's War and the abandonment of Fort Cataracouy, drove him back to Canada, but after the peace he was sent, in 1702, 3 with Father Garnier on a Mission to the Senecas, by whom he was deputed in 1704 to Governor Vaudreuil to demand satisfacton for a violatiion of the Treaty on the part of the Ottawas. He returned immediately to Western New-York and contributed to thwart the efforts of Col. Schuyler at Onondaga who sought to prevail on the Five Nations to expel the French Missionaries. *Charlevoix*, II., 292–4. Father Vaillant was succeeded in 1707 in the Seneca Mission by the Reverend Father d'heu. — Ed.

[2] Deerfield, *Hutchinson; Charlevoix*, II., 164, 250; *New Hampshire Collections*, I., 29.

Sieur de Vaudreuil a canoe to let him know that the English had convoked a general meeting at Onontagué, where they were to give an explanation to all the Iroquois nations of the four propositions which had been submitted in the fall at Orange. The first, My Lord, was to send back the Black Gowns; that is, the missionaries; Second, to oblige the Abenakis to lay down the hatchet so as not to wage war against them any more; Third, to send the Mohegans *(Loups)* who had settled at the Mohawk Village, back to their ancient abode near Orange; and Fourthly, to permit the Far Nations a passage to come and trade with them. M. de Vaudreuil has been informed that Five canoes of Indians belonging to Detroit have been this year trading at Orange, and as they have been cordially welcomed, it is to be feared that they will seek to continue this trade which cannot be carried on except to the detriment of ours, some of the Detroit Indians being so much attached to the English that in order to ruin that post, one of them set fire to the barn of the fort which would have been completely burnt, had the fire not been promptly extinguished.

The importance, My Lord, of our managing the Iroquois obliged us to select Sieur de Longeuil, brother of Sieur de Maricourt who died this year, whose family has great influence among these Indians, to attend that Meeting in order to sustain our interests, having sent orders, at the same time to the Reverend Father Vaillant, a Jesuit, and to Sieur de Jonquaire who had returned to the Senecas, to repair to Onondaga for the same purpose. In the meanwhile, the Ouitanons[1] and Miamis having killed some Senecas on their hunting ground, as the latter were masters of the time that the assembly was to be held, they postponed it for two months, and sent Sieur de Jonquaire and the Reverend Father Vaillant to Sieur de Vaudreuil to convey to him their complaints against those who had attacked them, demanding justice of him.

The Neutrality of the Indians being the point of view, My Lord, to which we must particularly apply ourselves in this Country in order to preserve its tranquillity, we considered it our duty not to neglect any thing to satisfy these nations and to keep them in our interests, and as the Senecas appear to us the most attached to the French, we judged it proper to send back Sieur de Jonquaire and Father Vaillant there, and M. de Vaudreuil detached Sieur de Vincenne, an officer who had formerly commanded at the Miamis, by whom he is much loved, to inquire their reasons for having attacked our allies, the Senecas, and to afford the latter that satisfaction which was due to them.

Our Indians established in the government of Montreal, who had accompanied the Winter expedition last year under Sieur de Rouville, having recovered from their fatigue, asked M. de Vaudreuil early in the Spring that they may form themselves into small detachments against the English; the Chiefs having requested him not to separate their forces, and to form rather only one party with which they could undertake something considerable, obliged us, My Lord, to enter into their sentiments, for divers reasons. The first is, that not being certain but the English would make some movement, it would be painful to see all our Indians scattered; the second that not having it in our power absolutely to stop them, by organizing a large corps, we should gain time so as to be able to receive news from Europe; and the third, My Lord, is that to which Sieur de Vaudreuil attached most attention in the present situation of affairs — that is, by having a considerable body of French and Indians at Montreal, he was keeping the Iroquois in check in respect to the resolutions they might adopt at their general meeting against us.

[1] See note 2, *supra*, p. 178. — Ed.

The length of time, My Lord, that was required to assemble all these Indians, afforded an opportunity to the enemy to have notice of it. We were aware of it, and our Indians having persisted in the design of going to destroy ,[1] an English Village, we did not consider it right to oppose them; we merely counseled them to change their project, and in order to induce them to do so, Sieur de Vaudreuil gave them Captain de Beaucours as Commander with one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five Frenchmen and several of the activest of the young officers. The party consisting of seven @ eight hundred men, we believed, My Lord, that it would be competent to attack whatever posts and villages they pleased, and as Sieur de Beaucours had orders to propose, on the height of land, to the Indians to change the design as to the place they wished to attack, of which possibly the enemy might have notice, we regarded as certain the success of his expedition, which indeed would have been the case, My Lord, had a soldier not deserted within a day's journey of the enemy; a panic hereupon seized the minds of our Indians to such a degree that it was impossible for Sieur de Beaucours to prevent them retreating.

Though this party broke up, it did not fail, My Lord, to cost the enemy considerable sums; the advices they received of it having obliged them, not only to postpone their meeting the Iroquois nations, but, also, to remain a great portion of the summer idle not knowing where this party might strike. Of this we were informed by letters brought to us by some of our Indians, detached from the main body after having killed those of the English who were conveying the letters to the other villages and forts of their nation.

The English having received certain intelligence, My Lord, of the abandonment of our party, Peter Schuyler commandant of Orange was at Onontagué, where Sieur Jonquaire and the Reverend Father Vaillaint were on our side, and each having managed his friends, nothing was decided.

Peter Schuyler returning to Orange passed by the Mohawk Village, where he found six of our Indians from the Sault, whom he induced, by dint of presents to accompany him as far as Corlar. There he reproached them with being the cause of the War; he offered them lands if they would settle among the English, and gave them a belt for their village, for the purpose of taking the hatchet out of their hands, and to establish at least a trade with them, and he gave them at the same time two others for the Indians of the Mountain and of the Sault aux Recollets.[2]

M. de Vaudreuil, warned of the measures adopted by Peter Schuyler to debauch our Indians, considered it his duty not to neglect any thing to avert the blow; he instructed Sieur Jonquaire, who was then at Quebec, and whom he sent with his orders to M. de Ramezay who was at Montreal, to employ all his efforts to prevail on the three Villages of the Sault, the Mountain and the Sault aux Recolets to surrender to him Peter Schyler's belts, and he instructed him at the same time to send a party of our Indians into the Boston government so that the English may not have it in their power to congratulate themselves on Peter Schuyler's influence over the minds of our Indians, who, after oscillating some time between the English and us, gave up the Belts to M. de Vaudreuil, and, in order to prove to him their attachment to our interests, some went on an expedition against the English, and Sieur de Vaudreuil

[1] The French in Canada were now forming another design on North Hampton, of which we had seasonable advice. *Collections New Hampshire Historical Society*, I., 39. — Ed.

[2] Compare IV., 1163. 2 Nov. 1704.

caused the belts to be sent back by the Onontagués to Peter Schuyler without any answer, which is a sign of the contempt in which the Indians held them.

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We have the honor to be with a most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, most obedient and most obliged Servants

VAUDREUIL. BEAUHARNOIS.

Quebec 17th November, 1704.

Louis XIV. to M. de Vaudreuil.

Memoir of the King to the Marquis of Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty in New France, in answer to the joint despatch written by him and Sieur de Beauharnois, late Intendant in the said country, on the 17th of November of last year.

Versailles, 17th of June, 1705.

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He hopes that Sieur de Vaudreuil will find means to arrange this matter, and to cause the Outauois to afford the Iroquois the satisfaction they have demanded, in case that be not done he desires him to endeavor to effect it, wishing to avoid by every means the renewal of the War in the country, and should the Outauois refuse to do in this regard what he will find just and reasonable, it is his pleasure that he threaten to deliver them up to the Iroquois and to ruin; that he abandon them thereto rather than have to sustain a war with these Iroquois who will cause the destruction of the Colony. In other regards, his Majesty has approved M. de Vaudreuil having sent Sieur de Jonquiere, and after him Sieur de Longueil to them to induce them to continue at peace, and he will always approve whatever he will do for that purpose.

He desires that he shall pursue towards the Miamis and other Nations who have insulted the Iroquois, the same course that he has ordered him to observe towards the Outauois.

His Majesty approves the protection he has afforded various Indian nations against the incursions of the English, but he must not authorize an attack on any Indian nation until they have actually commenced hostilities against the French, war against any of them not being expedient.

His Majesty is persuaded that it is for a wise purpose the Abenakis have been induced to come and settle among the French. Yet he cannot but perceive some inconvenience in it because a few of these Indians having remained in their old settlements, it is to be feared that the English will overpower them, and we shall lose that barrier which the English will occupy towards Pentagouet; and that those who have come into the Colony will be a great charge. However, as 'tis done, nothing remains but to let it be; he will communicate, hereafter, the effect that change will have produced. His Majesty approves Sieur de Vaudreuil having

adopted measures to break up the general meeting of the Iroquois Nations which the English had convoked at the Village of the Onontagués, and that he had prevented its being held.

His Majesty has seen what he wrote respecting the little success of the large force he had sent to war. As expeditions will cause immense expense, and as their success is often very doubtful, his Majesty desires that he do not organize any more unless on great necessity, more particularly as being obliged to send them through the Iroquois country, or in their vicinity, it is to be feared that it will excite their suspicion, and lead them to strike some blow which may bring on war.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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I did myself the honor to inform you last year that I regarded the continuance of the peace with the Iroquois as the principal affair of this country, and as I have alway labored on that principle, it is that also which obliged me to send Sieur de Joncaire to the Senecas, Sieur de Vinseine to the Miamis, and which has again obliged us last Spring to send Sieur de Louvigny to Missilimakina to recover the prisoners these Indians had taken from the Iroquois in the Autumn at Fort Frontenac. This proceeding, My Lord, was so necessary in order to restrain the Iroquois, that Sieur de Jonquaire writes me from the Senecas on the 7th of July, that the partizans of the English in these Villages do all in their power to induce the young men to avenge the attack made by the Outtaouais on them, and that they are restrained only by the hope of recovering their prisoners, and by the proceedings they have seen me adopt. * *

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The Iroquois chiefs having arrived at Montreal in the beginning of August remained there until the 14th, when, having no news of the Outauois, I adopted the resolution to send them back, and with this view restored them their prisoners. You will perceive, My Lord, by their Speeches of the 14th and 16th that they always remained peaceful, in expectation of the performance of my promises; but this however has not been without trouble, that Nation being naturally proud, and not wishing to be reproached with their having tolerated the least baseness.

I do not wish, My Lord, to reply positively to their demand that I should declare against the Outtauois, according to the provisions of the general peace, and I have been very glad to explain to them the two articles of the Treaty which do not render it imperative to adopt offensive proceedings until after having made these efforts to procure them satisfaction, because I believe that Chevalier de Callières did not perceive its consequence at the time, and were it not for this reserve, we should be every day subjected to great expense, or be obliged to go to war.

I have made no alteration, My Lord, in my former promises to them respecting the governments of Orange and Manatte, but I have been unwilling to include that of Boston therein; because not being convenient like the others to the Iroquois, and not being in a position to do us great harm, I have been, as far as that Colony is concerned, very sparing of

my conditions, and I shall have the honor in the course of my letter to inform you of my views since that time.

The Iroquois were embarking, My Lord, to return to their country when Sieur de Vinseine arrived and told me, that he had come down with a party of Chiefs from Missilimakina who sent him ahead for the purpose of ascertaining whether they could appear in my presence, after the evidence they afford of their fault and the manner they propose satisfying the Iroquois. The speeches of the one and the other, with my answers will enable you to understand what transpired at Montreal during their sojourn; after I had entertained them all, they left highly satisfied, in order to renew their ancient alliance, and I feel a real pleasure in having anticipated your orders herein.

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Quebec, 19th October. 1705.

Conference between M. de Vaudreuil and the Iroquois.

Speeches of the Iroquois to the Governor-General, 16th of August, 1705. Delivered in the name of 4 Nations, by 4 Belts.

We thank you, Father, for having covered our Dead who have been killed in your Villages. We do not present any Belts to you because it is not our custom, but we thank you.

We thank you, also, for having told us what Sieur de Louvigny had done at Michilimakina and for the prisoners whom you restored to us.

We thank you for them, Father, by these Belts, in the name of the four nations of us who are here. We thank you for having restored to us our relatives, brethren, nephews and nieces.

By some Wampum.

Father, you told us yesterday, that the Indian whom Sieur de la Chauvignerie carried back up there, had stated that the Outauois had assured him that it was you who had put the hatchet into their hands to strike the Iroquois. You, also, told us that you were persuaded that we do not believe it. We have heard your word, and we do not believe what the Outtauois has said. We request you by these Wampum beads, to be assured that we will never listen to evil speeches, and when any persons will deliver them to us, we shall always rely on ascertaining the truth from you.

By a Belt.

You told us, Father, by your third Belt, that your Children of Michilimakina had complained to M. de Louvigny that we had not given them up their prisoners. How should we have surrendered them when we have not any. We did this year, indeed, kill one of them who had come in to our country, but we have only his scalp.

4th Belt.

Father, remember that when we came all together here to conclude peace, you expressed the joy you felt on that occasion, and assured us that since we had planted the tree you

were going to raise it so high that it would pierce the heavens. We told you, Father, that a tree without leaves would afford no shade, and that it was not possible to smoke under its shadow, but that we were about to give it leaves. You replied to us, Father, that so large a tree would require strong roots to support it, and that you were going to attach some to it, and that you would be very glad to see all your children seated around it. We assured you, that we would on our part, never disturb the tranquillity, but were apprehensive that some of your children from the Upper Country would cut its roots. This is what they have done, having killed us on divers occasions.

Remember, Father, the promise which was given us at the Peace, that if any of your children struck another, we would form a union in order to exterminate the nation which might have struck the blow.

On the death of M. de Callieres, we came to bewail him by seven belts, and you told us, Father, that you saw clearly that we loved him; but that you did not feel less tenderness for us than the deceased Onnontio; that you regarded us as your children; that you would protect us against all, and would keep us in your heart. Nevertheless, here have we been repeatedly struck without it appearing that our father has taken our part; had we acted as the Outtauois has done, our father would have soon resented it.

You gave as a Belt, Father, to tell us that you were at War with the English; that we should remain quiet on our mats, without meddling therein, and that we should let you fight it out. Nevertheless we see our brothers of the Sault and the Mountain, who ought to be neutral like us, strike the English. You have given them the hatchet and they go to war against the English.

When Peace was concluded I cast my hatchet to the end of the World. You told me, Father, that you would do likewise. For me, I have not yet been able to recover mine. Ought [you make use of] that which you have given to your children who are under your armpits.

I present you this Belt, Father, to make you remember every thing you told me, and what I have said to you.

5th Belt.

We are your Children. We regard you and the English alike. We exhort you both to make peace together, requesting you to restore mutually the prisoners you have taken on your mats.

Such is the wish of your Children, the Iroquois.

Answer of the Governor-General to the Senecas and other Chiefs of the Four Nations. 17 August 1705.

By a Belt.

I have heard, my Children, all you said to me yesterday, and I have already expressed to you sufficiently often the joy I felt respecting the Tree of peace you had planted. I manifested to you, at the same time, the pain I felt at the attempts of some mischief makers to throw it down. I repeat to you that, in consequence of the steps I had taken to have the satisfaction given you which you looked for from the Outauois, had they come down as they had promised and I expected, you would have been content, for I would have obliged them to satisfy you.

I hope you will, next year, receive justice from them as you must now do from the Oumiamis, who I hear have gone to your country to satisfy you.

You must not entertain the idea that I think less of you than of my other Children, and had you committed the same fault, I should not have exacted from you any more than I do from the Outauois. You know that a good father does not begin by killing his child when he is guilty of a fault; but when he persists in disobedience then he chastises him.

You tell me that my predecessors promised you that I would unite with the first who would be struck, in a war against the offender. I know that they promised you two things: first, that Onnontio would endeavor to have satisfaction given to the aggrieved party; second, that if the offender did not make satisfaction, Onnontio would unite with the aggrieved party to procure suitable indemnity by force.

Previous to this time, I began endeavoring to procure you satisfaction. I had your prisoners surrendered, and as I caused entire satisfaction to be given you, by the Oumiamis, who you know are actually in your country for that purpose, I hope I shall eventually reduce the Outaouis to do the same thing; up to the present time you have nothing to reproach me with. You see I keep my word with you, and I give you this Belt as a new assurance of what I have promised you.

Second Belt.

You reproach me, my Son, that the children of the Sault and of the Mountain have received the hatchet I presented them against the English of Boston. I have already repeatedly observed to you, that had the English not struck me, I should never have thought of attacking him; but he captured a number of my French and Abenakis; he killed some of them, and has actually several of them prisoners at Boston, of Abenakis he even retains some in irons and others he has sold and transported to the Islands. All this convinces me, that he has no desire to give me satisfaction. This is the reason I seek it by my arms, and as my Children of the Sault and the Mountain make, with the Abenakis who have been so indignantly treated by the English of Boston, but one, just as you Senecas make but one with the Onnontagué, my Children of the Sault and the Mountain are obliged to take up the hatchet to avenge all these insults.

I promised you not to turn my hatchet towards Corlar, Orange and Menathe. You see I have kept my promise to you. I again repeat that promise, out of regard for you and because you have requested it, I shall not strike either Corlar or Peter, so long as they will not be the first to offend me; but if they commence, I warn you I will at once defend myself. As regards Boston I never promised it to you. I will continue as long as war between the two crowns lasts.

Before concluding, I am very glad, my Children, to tell you my mind in regard to the indifference you manifested to the two Belts I gave you to cover the corpses of the two Chiefs who have been recently killed in a drunken brawl in your parts.

I have been surprised to learn that, on the next day after you had spoken, you conveyed Brandy from here, with which you intoxicated several of my Children belonging to different Tribes. I request that such may not be repeated. It would be a disgrace to us, had the same misfortune which occurred in your country, happened [here] to those whom you had intoxicated.

I shall have provisions and ammunition furnished you for your journey when you depart.

Proposed Treaty between Canada and New England.

Draft of the Treaty to be concluded between the two Colonies of New France and New England, agreeably to the proposals M^r^ Veche submitted to M. de Vaudreuïl, governor-general of New France on the part of M^r^ Dudley, governor-general of New England.

The Marquis de Vaudreuïl, Knight of the Military order of Saint Louis, and Governor-general of New France having appreciated the reasons submitted by M^r^ Joseph Dudley, Governor-general of New England, who observes in the preliminary of the Treaty he wishes to conclude with him, that the War they are respectively waging, can never contribute either to the glory of their Sovereigns' arms or to the aggrandizement of their states, but merely to the ruin and desolation of some poor families belonging to their governments, transmits to M^r^ Joseph Dudley governor-general of New England, the following Articles, some of which are extracted from the Treaty he had presented to him, and others are added, to wit:—

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Knight of the Military order of S^t^ Louis, governor-general of New France, and M^r^ Joseph Dudley, governor-general of New England have contracted, agreed and firmly covenanted, that from and after the date and signature of the present Treaty and following articles concluded by themselves or by others named and duly authorized by them, all acts of hostility whatsoever shall cease on both sides, as well on the part of the French as of the English, and of all Indians or Savages of what Tribe or Name soever they may be, and of all other Europeans who are now, or will be hereafter in the service of the one and the other; and that on the following terms:—

1^st^.

The two governors abovenamed have covenanted and mutually promised, on the true public faith and honor of their governments, as well for themselves as for their people of their said governments, to cause an exact truce, neutrality and cessation of arms to be kept and observed, and to prevent, on the one side and the other, between the two governments, all acts of hostility that might be committed either on land or water by the French, English, Indians or other Nation whatsoever, directly or indirectly dependent on them, encouraged or authorized by one of the said governors or those under them.

2^nd^.

The abovenamed governors have covenanted and mutually promised not to assist, either directly or indirectly, the nations with whom they might be at war, not to afford any transit across their territory to the troops which would march to disturb them, and never to lend any vessels belonging to their governments nor allow the people of their governments to lend any of their ships for the purpose of transporting any foreign troops to wage war within the government of said governors under any pretext whatsoever.

3^rd^.

That in virtue of said Truce, Neutrality and cessation of arms, the two governors abovenamed will give passports as well to the vessels, the property of their own Colony, as to those belonging to the people of their governments, who shall want to pass on their business from one to the other of said governments.

4th.

The two aforesaid governors have covenanted together and mutually promised, that the passports which shall be delivered to the inhabitants or residents within the said two Colonies, shall serve them for surety and protection against all soldiers and people of said two governments; provided that the inhabitants or residents of New England who will come into the territory of New France, shall not import thither any merchandise whatsoever, on any pretence whatsoever, for though furnished with passes the merchandise shall be confiscated.

5.

The two governors abovenamed have covenanted together and mutually promised, that the passports they will give to the vessels of the two Colonies, or to those belonging to the people of the two Colonies aforesaid, or will have touched at the territory of said two Colonies, shall serve them for surety and protection against all vessels of the two Colonies aforesaid, or to them belonging or may be destined thither; it being well understood that ships from New England that will arrive in the ports of New France, or enter the River St Lawrence, shall not be freighted with any merchandise on any pretence whatsoever, and shall come thither with their cargoes and provisions only, in default whereof said merchandise shall be confiscated without any regard had to the passports.

6th.

The governors above named have covenanted among themselves, that said passports granted to ships shall be valid only during forty days, to reckon from the date of said passports, and shall include the limits hereinafter set forth.

7th.

The two governors aforesaid have mutually covenanted that the ships, barks, sloops and other vessels of what description soever, the property of said two Colonies, or of the people of said colonies, or destined for said Colonies, shall freely navigate, and not be incommoded nor taken nor carried away by any vessel of the two Colonies aforesaid, or belonging to their people, or that shall be destined for, or have touched at, said two Colonies, to wit: From the Grand Bank, at forty leagues' distance from the shore of the Island of Newfoundland unto Cape Cod within forty leagues outside the entire Coast including therein the Elizabeth islands, and from Belleisle, which is at the entrance of the Streight between La Bras d'or and the Island of Newfoundland, unto Cape Breton at forty leagues from the shore, and in the entire gulf and river of St Lawrence and the Islands therein contained.

8.

The aforesaid governors have covenanted, to wit: The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Knight of the Military Order of St Louis, and governor-general of New France, That any vessels of his government, going to fish on the coasts of New England, though furnished with his passports, shall be good prize; in like manner Mr Dudley, governor-general of New England hath covenanted that if he find any vessel of New England fishing, or loaded with fish that it will have fished, on the coasts of Acadia, or in the gulf, or river of St Lawrence, or even that shall be found freighted with oil manufactured from fish killed there; The said vessel shall, without any manner of regard being paid to its passport, be good prize; the two governors aforesaid

mutually promising, the one the other, that vessels belonging to the people of their governments, or to the Colony, shall not fish within the territory the one of the other.

[1]The two Governors named have covenanted that they shall prevent, in as much as in them lies, any Indian or Savage of their dependencies or allies, going in a body or in numbers to trade or hunt on the territory of either of the two governments, without being provided with a passport from their governments.

10th

And finally, in order that the said Truce, Neutrality or suspension of hostilities be not subject to be violated or invalidated by the caprices of any dissatisfaction on the one side or the other, or by the inconsiderate incursions of any Indians, the said two governors above mentioned disavow, from this moment, all those who shall contravene this present Treaty, and agree between themselves that no private quarrel or incursion of any unauthorized persons shall prejudice in any manner the present Treaty. Both of the said governors have agreed and mutually promise, that if any persons, either soldiers or settlers belonging to their said governments, make incursions into the countries the one of the other, they shall cause exemplary punishment to be inflicted therefor at the first requisition of him who shall have been attacked; but should the infraction of the present Treaty proceed from the Indians, the governor on whom they will depend, pledges himself to do his best to cause the satisfaction due in such cases to be given by them.

11th.

The two above named governors have covenanted and mutually promise, in support of the present Treaty, to surrender all the prisoners they have made, on the one side and the other, as well by sea as by land, of what quality and condition they may be, without regard to number, pledging themselves besides, the one and the other, to surrender them without distinction, and even though they should not have been taken by the people of the said two governments.

And in regard to the French or English prisoners who are in the hands of the Indians, the two aforesaid governors oblige themselves to do all in their power to withdraw them from the hands of the Indians, and to send them afterwards back to their countries.

And in regard to the Indians who are in the hands of the English, Mr Dudley obliges himself to send them back to the Marqs de Vaudreuil as soon as possible after the signature of said Treaty.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil declares that he includes within the present Treaty all the country called New France, the Province of Acadia, the Islands of St Peter, the Island of Cape Breton, the whole of the Gulf of St Lawrence the Islands therein inclusive, the entire coast of La Bras d'or called the Territory of the Ischimaux, and Bellisle Island.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil submits this Treaty to Mr Dudley in answer to his; on condition that he shall oblige the Governor of York, and all deputy governors to enter into the same Treaty, who shall be obliged to assent to, and sign the present Treaty before the end of February; in default whereof the Marquis de Vaudreuil declares that all these present propositions shall be null.

Done at Quebec the October 1705.

[1] This article ought, it is supposed, be numbered 9th. But it is without any number in the Text. — Ed.

Proposal to take possession of Niagara in Canada. 1706.

Proposals to be submitted to the Court that it may understand the importance of taking possession of Niagara at the earliest date, and of anticipating the English who design to do so, for if they were masters thereof, they would bar the passage and cut off our communication with, and attract, our Indian allies as well as the Iroquois, by their Trade, and dispose them at their will, to war against us, which would desolate Canada, and constrain us to abandon it.

Niagara is, in truth, the best adapted point for trade with the Iroquois, because it is convenient to them and to Lake Hérié, and may serve as an entrepôt to the establishment at Detroit, to assist it when necessary by means of a bark on Lake Ontario which might traverse the latter, and arrive from Fort Frontenac, which is at its other extremity towards Montreal, in a couple of days. This would greatly facilitate the transport of merchandise and provisions, that are obliged to be transported in bark canoes, and, being long on the way, considerably increase expenses, and run much greater risk.

It is to be considered that by this establishment we should have a fortress among the Iroquois which would keep them in check; a refuge for our Indian allies in case of need, and a barrier that would prevent them going to trade with the English, as they began to do this year, it being the place at which they cross.

It will be objected, perhaps, that it is difficult to form an establishment there, without being opposed by the Iroquois at the suggestion of the English, who will do their utmost to prevent it, perceiving themselves stripped of their pretensions and deprived of their Trade, which we divert to our Colony, and with it the Indians to be employed by us against our enemies.

To this we answer, that as the object proposed is the attracting of the trade and friendship of the Indians, violence and force are not the means to effect it; it will be necessary therefore to have recourse to those of peace and mildness.

A very favorable occasion offers for the commencement of this establishment, without any risk, by means of Sieur de Jonquière, an officer of the marine forces in Canada, who has acquired such credit among the Iroquois, that they have repeatedly proposed and actually do suggest to him, to establish himself among them, granting him liberty to select on their territory the place most acceptable to himself, for the purpose of living there in peace, and even to remove their villages to the neighborhood of his residence, in order to protect him against their common enemies.

This affords an opportunity of managing the affair at present and without noise, going there as a private individual intending simply to form an establishment for his family, at first bringing only the men he will require to erect and fortify his dwelling, and afterwards on pretence of conveying supplies and merchandise there, increasing their number insensibly, and when the Iroquois would see that goods would be furnished them at a reasonable rate, far from insulting us, they would protect and respect us, having no better friends than those who supply them at a low rate.

Such is the opportunity afforded us to form this establishment. Let us examine now the means to secure the trade and friendship of the Indians, by the cheapness at which it would be necessary to supply them.

This appears to be the Gordian Knot and the greatest difficulty to be surmounted, for it is necessary to compare the prices of the English goods with ours, and we want, besides that, the preference. This seems very far off, even though there were no other difference than in the price of their beaver and ours, and in that of the powder, which they supply at a very low rate. It is, in my opinion, impossible to succeed, unless these two obstacles be removed. Nevertheless, if the Court pleases, nothing is easier, without it costing a penny; and this cannot be gainsayed.

First: It is to borne in mind that all the Beaver and other peltry the Iroquois convey to the English, are taken on our territory and that neither the Colony nor old France derive any profit therefrom. On the contrary, this quantity of peltry carried off by the English into foreign countries, serves only to diminish the price of ours; such being the case, the establishment of Niagara, and the trade which would be carried on there with the Indians, would be of very great utility, for two reasons; the first is, that we prevent our enemies trading with our Indians, and, consequently, becoming their friends; and secondly, that we retake from them the peltries they might trade, and by causing them to pass through our hands, render them advantageous to old France and the Colony, and even profitable to him who hath taken the beaver, to whom the preference might be given. But as it would be the recovery of a lost article, it would be just that those who would undertake this establishment should be at liberty to sell their beaver to the highest bidder, not being included in the last Treaty inasmuch as it is a peltry that was passing to foreigners and the English only profit by it. It would, thus, contribute to indemnify for the low price of the goods that must necessarily be sold to the Indians in order to accustom them by degrees to submit to our terms.

The second difficulty is, the powder and lead the English furnish at an exceedingly low rate to the Indians; and as these are articles most necessary to them who live only by hunting and are thereby under the necessity of consuming a vast quantity of it, it would be proper, in order to facilitate this business, that the King would be so good as to grant ten or twelve thousand weight of gunpowder and twenty or thirty thousand weight of lead, which would be yearly reimbursed to him at the rate his Majesty purchases it from the contractor. This would counterbalance the price of the English article, and then as our powder is better, we would thereby obtain the preference; become masters of the trade and maintain ourselves at peace; for it cannot be doubted that those who will be masters of the Trade will be also masters of the Indians, and that these can be gained only in this way.

As this precaution of the Establishment at Niagara tends only to the preservation of peace and to attract the trade and friendship of the Indians to us, this liberality of the King would be of much greater advantage and less expense than carrying on a war against Indians excited by the English.

It would be also necessary for the Court to grant towards the execution of this project, the privilege of carrying twenty-five or thirty thousand tons of freight in his Majesty's ships coming to Canada.

After having exposed the necessity of the establishment of this post; the means of effecting it without affording any umbrage to the Iroquois, and the most certain means to maintain peace and union with the Indians, it remains for me to add, as respects the management of this enterprize, that it would be necessary to prevent all the improper Commerce hitherto carried on, by the transportation of Brandy into the forest, which has been the cause of all existing disorders and evils. In order to avoid these, it would be proper, that the Court,

had it no other views, should give the charge of this business to our Governor and Intendant who in order to maintain the King's authority in Canada and to labor in concert for the public peace, would always so coöperate that the whole would be accomplished in a manner profitable to religion, trade and the union with the Indians, which are the three objects of this establishment.

Mr. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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I had the honor to advise you, last autumn, of the accommodation I had concluded between the Outtauois and them, and of the hope I entertained that this peace between us would continue. However, as we have to deal with Savages I deemed it advisable, in conjunction with M. Raudot, not to neglect any thing to preserve them in an intimate union, the one as well as the other, and with that view, I dispatched Sieur de Joncaire to Onnontagué and Seneca, the Missionaries at these two villages having written to me after the return of their men, that some seemed to distrust the Outtauois and were saying, to make use of their expressions, that they had not spoken from their hearts. I hope, notwithstanding, that Sieur de Joncaire's ability, seconded by the two missionaries whom we have in that country, will retain the Indians in the sentiments of peace, which they ought to feel, and this is what I shall have the honor to communicate to you this autumn.

This necessity of uniting the minds of all these Indians, My Lord, also caused M[r] Raudot and myself to adopt the resolution of sending a canoe to Michilimakina to oblige the Outtauois to perform the promise they made me last year to give me some live prisoners; That is to say, some prisoners they will take from the Far Nations, in order to replace those Iroquois who have been killed by them, or who have died in their hands since the blow they struck at Catarakouy. We embraced the opportunity of Father Marest returning to his mission in compliance with the request these Indians made me, to dispatch this canoe, so that this Father and my messenger acting in concert, will more readily induce these Indians to supply us with some prisoners, whom this canoe will immediately bring back to us and I shall afterwards send to the Iroquois, in order that the one and the other be indebted to us for peace.

You will be pleased to permit me, My Lord, before going any farther, to express to you my regret on learning that, whilst I entertain no other views in all the embassies I send than the good of the King's service, there are people sufficiently bold as to wish to impose on you and render my conduct suspected by you. I should be inconsolable were I not persuaded that you render me on this occasion the justice due me, and that you are satisfied of the just reasons I have for authorizing these embassies. Nevertheless, My Lord, I cannot avoid writing unreservedly on the subject to Madame de Marson, my mother-in-law, and I beg of you to be pleased to permit her the honor of conferring with you thereupon.

I had the honor last year to send you a copy of the proposals that M[r] Dudley, governor of Boston, made me, and of those presented me from him by his son and M[r] Weiche[1] with my

[1] *Sic.* Vetch. — Ed.

answers, and I had the honor to observe to you at the same time, in regard to Mess^rs^ Dudley and Weiche[1] repeatedly asking me whether I had ample powers to conclude a truce that, having received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 14^th^ of June 1705, I told them in turn that they could submit proposals to me if they had any to make me, and that Mess^rs^ Dudley and Weiche[1] had proposed those I had the honor to transmit to you. You have been able to see by my answers, My Lord, the manner I acted with them, and what their principals submitted. This induced M^r^ Dudley to send me a deputy by land, with a letter about a month ago, but as it is not sufficiently explanatory, and as M^r^ Dudley, according to appearances, is seeking only to gain time, the term I had fixed in my answer to these propositions having expired, I permitted several small parties of our Indians to recommence hostilities in his government, in order to force him to declare himself, and I am persuaded, My Lord, that it will have a good effect, for I am advised by some of our prisoners who have returned, that the Country people around Boston who have to bear the entire brunt of the war, absolutely desire their governor to accept my proposals, and I flatter myself you will have found these to comport with your intentions, the good of his Majesty's service, the interest of this Colony and particularly of Acadia.

M^r^ Dudley, informing me, My Lord, that he had sent back to Port Royal fifty-seven of our prisoners, which intelligence was confirmed to me by two Frenchmen who accompanied his deputy, M^r^ Raudot and I, My Lord, have concluded that we ought to send him a like number, and with this view we shall dispatch a vessel in the end of the month, and we hope that by the same occasion, he will send us the remainder of our Acadia prisoners. When we shall have certain news of them, we will send him back the balance of his that we have here in the hands of the Indians.

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Quebec, 28^th^ April 1706.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Versailles, 9^th^ June, 1706.

Sir,

I have received your despatches of the 3^d^ and 5^th^ of May and of the 16^th^ and 19^th^ of October of last year, with the papers thereunto annexed.

I am fully persuaded that you will be pleased to entertain for M. de Raudot the consideration and friendship I requested for them, and that they on their part, will not omit any thing to deserve the same.

It is certain that you have nothing so important in the present state of affairs as the maintenance of peace with the Iroquois and other Indian nations, and his Majesty will approve all the measures you will adopt to that end, but it will be always necessary that you effect it with the dignity suitable to yourself and without evincing any fear to them. His Majesty approves

[1] *Sic.* Vetch. — Ed.

your sending Sieur Jonqueres to the Iroquois, because he is esteemed by them, and has not the reputation of a Trader, but you ought not to have sent Sieur Vincennes to the Miamis nor Sieur de Louvigny to Missilimaquina, as they are accused of carrying on contraband trade. You are aware that the said Sieur de Louvigny has been punished for that, and his Majesty desires that you cause Sieur Vincennes to be severely punished, he having carried on an open and undisguised trade. It is averred that in place of having had him punished, the man named Neveu has been confined in a dungeon six months for having given information regarding this trade.

It is, also, alleged that Arnauld, Sieur de Lobiniere's son-in-law, has been sent to the Outaouacs with other Frenchmen[1] and three canoes, and that the impunity of this man excites considerable murmurs, and authorizes the licentiousness of those who are inclined to range the woods. I will believe that all this is done without your participation, but it is not allowable in you, occupying the post you do, to be ignorant of it; still less, not to punish it when you are cognizant of it. I will tell you plainly, that if you are not more absolute in the execution of the King's orders and more severe in the punishment of acts of disobedience, I shall not guarantee to you that his Majesty would be willing to allow you to occupy for any length of time your present post.

I must tell you, likewise, that a species of weakness has been apparent in your conduct at Montreal at the time of the riots which broke out there. You ought to have made severe examples on the spot of some of the most mutinous, and you would have thereby avoided the second difficulty and perhaps those which possibly will hereafter occur. I am persuaded that you thought it better to employ mildness on such an occasion when a severe beginning is nevertheless always necessary as an example, reserving measures of mildness for subsequent events, and you ought to be very careful lest your mild proceedings be not attributed to weakness by the mutinous, and they be thereby encouraged to new movements.

I have no doubt of the truth of the information Sieur Jonquieres has given you respecting the intrigues of the English among the Iroquois. Continue to order him to occupy himself with breaking them up, and on your part, give the subject all the attention it deserves. It behooves you to pay same attention to preventing the English seducing the Abenakis, the Indians of the Sault, those of the Mountain, those of the Sault au Ricolet and those of Detroit, and that you so manage as to break up all the intrigues that may be a-foot in these places.

You did very well to dissuade the Chief of the Outaouacs from the design he entertained of going to trade with the English. His Majesty approves your having employed mild means for that purpose, and even that you had caused him to be furnished with a little Brandy in order to restrain him, when that alone will effectually prevent them resorting to the English for purposes of trade. You can very well suffer them to purchase a little of it, and provided moderation and propriety be observed, the inconveniences will be avoided which necessitated the prohibiting of the sale of Brandy; but this requires great caution on your part.

It would be desirable, if possible, to retain the Miamis at Detroit. Nevertheless, should they persist and their reasons appear valid, you can permit them to return home; but I request you to confer with Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, so as not to interfere with the measures he may have taken for the establishment of that post, and in that case you need not furnish them with a French Chief.

[1] *aux* autres François. *Text.* — Ed.

It is also unnecessary for you to supply the Poutouatamis with one, and it would be well even to prevent them waging war against the Sioux who are not our enemies. Should the Iroquois declare against them at the same time, they would be overwhelmed and we have an interest in preserving them.

His Majesty has approved the measures you have adopted to prevent the war between the Iroquois and the Outaouacs, and I doubt not but the arrangement you caused them to enter into will continue. It is well, however, that you pay attention to it, and that the Iroquois be persuaded of your good intentions in this regard, and if you could succeed in driving off those Outaouacs who have illtreated the Iroquois it must be done in order to convince them of your sincerity. But this demands great circumspection and prudence on your part.

His Majesty has approved your having confirmed to the Iroquois the former promises which had been made them in regard to the governments of Orange and Manathe, and your not having included Boston therein which is at too great a distance from them to trouble themselves about it.

Be persuaded that his Majesty will eventually grant you whatever favors you may desire, and that I shall most readily use my endeavors to render you any service near him; but you cannot too carefully avoid becoming mixed up with the parties of the Colony which, from all time, have caused the greatest misfortunes it has been afflicted with. I must observe to you here that his Majesty felt some difficulty in resolving to confer on you the Governor-generalship of New France, on account of your wife's family which is in that country, and his Majesty only consented on the assurances I have given him that you would act towards your wife's relatives as if they were no connections of yours. Should you depart from these principles, you would expose me to his Majesty's reproaches, and you ought even be apprehensive for the consequences. You speak to me only of M. de Lotbiniere and his family. I know she has others; for example, her brother's widow, his daughter and Sieurs d'Amours, Deschaufont, and de Plaine. You must act towards them in the same manner as by other settlers, without laying aside your character in their regard.

The avowal you make of having permitted Sieurs de Mantez [1] de la Decouverte and Vincennes to carry some merchandize with them in the voyages you authorized them to make to the Upper country, is sufficient to create the belief that they had traded, especially Sieur de la Decouverté who is an arrant trader. Wherefore I enjoin again on you to abstain as much as possible sending into those countries, and whenever the service absolutely requires it to select trustworthy people on whom you may rely.

I did not attach [any credit] to the information I received that you had sold eight licenses to go into the interior of the country, and had such been the case, it would have been out of my power to prevent his Majesty visiting you with tokens of his most profound displeasure and indignation.

Your conveyance to Sieur de Breslay of the grant of land you had at the extremity of the Island of Montreal, justifies your conduct in regard to the reports which prevailed that you were carrying a trade on your own account by the agency of the man named S[t] Germain.

In reference to the grant to the late M. de Coulange, your brother-in-law, the confirmation whereof you ask for his widow and daughter, his Majesty cannot accord it, because the land lies, contrary to his Majesty's orders, above the Island of Montreal, and directly on the route of the Indians who would wish to visit Ville Marie, which would ruin the trade of that town.

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Manteth. — Ed.

I have submitted to the King the Governor of Boston's propositions to you, and those you sent him in return, for the conclusion between both Colonies of a Treaty for a general exchange and of another of Neutrality. His Majesty considers both to the purpose; therefore approves your concluding them, taking care to negotiate in a manner not to affect his glory and the honor of the Nation. You must especially adopt effectual measures to prevent this Treaty creating any trade between the English and the French, and enact by it even confiscation and other penalties against those who shall be caught, on either side, carrying on such commerce. It will be necessary that you take care to inform Mess^{rs} de Subercase and de Costebelle of what you will do in this case, and send them copy of the Treaty you will conclude with the orders for its execution; You will be careful to send me copy of it also, in order that I may render an account of it to his Majesty.

I noticed by what you have written to this English Governor, that you have demanded of him his powers, and to be informed of the extent of his jurisdiction. This precaution is proper, in order to ascertain the countries in which this Treaty is to have force; and, as it will be executed in Acadia and Placentia, that it be likewise enforced in the Countries under English dominion dependent on the Government of Boston, which must comprise all those from whence Canada could be attacked.

The illness which obliged Sieur de Courtemanche your envoy to Boston, to return in an English brigantine, has much the appearance of having been assumed as a cover for trade. This obliges me again to recommend you to use all possible precautions in the Treaty you will conclude, against a reciprocity of trade between the people of the two Nations.

It had been desirable, also, that M^{r} Dudley had not sent you his son, as these sorts of visits serve only to make them acquainted with [what they do not already know]. Nevertheless, his Majesty has approved your having treated him with politeness, but you ought, on pretence of paying him due honor, have caused him to be attended so that he might not have it in his power to obtain much knowledge of the country. You ought, also, to have taken the same precautions to prevent M^{r} Vetch obtaining information of the state of affairs in Canada. I have heard that he boasted that he was at present better informed about it than those who reside there.

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M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to inform you this spring, by way of Placentia that, in order to maintain the union between the Outtauois and the Iroquois, I sent back Sieur de Joncaire; also a canoe to Michilimakina in which I abstained from placing an Officer, in order to save expense and to remove, at the same time, all cause of complaint. Mess^{rs} Raudot and I agreed to put on board only an Interpreter and three hired men with orders not to carry on any trade, and to follow the advice of Father Marest, who by the same occasion accompanied them up to his mission, agreeably to what I last year promised the Indians of Michilimakina. As I shall

have honor of giving you an account, hereafter, of the success of that voyage, I return to the Iroquois.

I am persuaded, My Lord, and there has not been a year that I have not had the honor to observe it to you, that the tranquillity of this Colony depends on the peace with these Indians. I neglect nothing to insure the continuance thereof but I dare assure you at the same time that I do so honorably, and without disparagement to the office I have the honor to fill. I cannot furnish you stronger proofs of that fact than by transmitting you the annexed speeches which the Senecas and other villages came to address to me regarding affairs that occurred at Detroit this year. You will find my answer there also.

Had I followed, My Lord, the first impulse of vengeance, I would not have hesitated to accept the proposal of the Iroquois, but when I reflect that the Outtauois of Michilimakina had no hand in the occurrences at Detroit, and that they would not even go in there—as you will see, My Lord, by what they told me by Sieur Boudor, and by my answers to Companisté and Le Brochet,[1] the Chiefs who came down with him to place in my hands four prisoners to be restored to the Iroquois—

I cannot, My Lord, consent to give over to destruction a Nation that has been faithful to us in the last war, and has, in this affair at Detroit, perhaps more bad luck than bad disposition. I send you hereunto annexed the statement of Miscoualzy, one of the Outtauois Chiefs, resident at Detroit, whom, however, I would not receive here as an envoy; also my answer to him as well as to Companisté, which appears to me sufficiently firm to protect me from the accusation of weakness. The difference consists, My Lord, in this—I speak in public; have several interpreters, and cannot alter the truth nor shape words adapted to my subject, in order to impose on you. I was not willing to adopt the course the Iroquois proposed to me at first, because having no news from Sieur de la Mothe since his departure, I could not determine what course he would adopt on arriving at his post, and as war has never been favorable to a new establishment, I did not wish that he should impute to me that I had destroyed him by letting loose the Iroquois. Secondly, as the latter assured me that their resolution was taken and that they had been to the English to advise them thereof at the same time they had come to Montreal, I was very glad to let the English know the extent of my influence over the minds of the Iroquois. I possessed still more than they, inasmuch as I had enough to make the Iroquois let go the hatchet, notwithstanding the resolution they had taken to attack the Outtauois. But, my Lord, the real reason I had for answering the Iroquois as I had done, is that I reflect, if the Huron, the Miamis and the Iroquois be united, they will accomplish the destruction of the Outtauois, or at least force him to abandon Michilimakina. The English are too acute not to profit by this opportunity, and will not fail to remind the Iroquois of his Dead. I speak Indian. The Iroquois having then nothing more to oppose him above, will wage a bloodier war than ever against us. Such, my Lord are the reasons I had for temporizing. I do not say that satisfaction must not be exacted from the Outtauois, but as those of Michilimakina have not meddled in this affair at Detroit and as, meanwhile, the course of events reunited them all at Michilimakina, it is dangerous to begin a War which can cause us only considerable expense, the loss of a nation that has served us faithfully, and, in addition to that, a considerable loss of trade every year. War to oblige the Outtauois to abandon Michilimakina is a mistake; it will not end there; they will take refuge

[1] The Pike.—Ed.

in Lake Superior, and deriving supplies from the English through the head of Hudson's bay, will continue the war as long as the memory of what they will have suffered dwells among them.

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VAUDREUIL.

Quebec, 4th November 1706.

Memoir on the French Dominion in Canada. 1504 — 1706.

It is certain that the French were the first discoverers of the country of New France, called Canada, bounded on the East by the Great Sea; on the North by the Strait and Bay *du Nord*, called Hudson's and the unknown Western countries; on the South by New England, Virginia and the countries north of Florida and of the Gulf of Mexico; on the West by the River Mississipy and the undiscovered countries beyond.

According to Postel, L'Escarbot, Father Fournier, the narratives inserted in the works of Purchas and Hackluyt, English authors, printed at London, and other writers, the French Basques, Bretons and Normands went as early as, and even long before, the year 1504, to fish for Cod along the entire coasts of the Gulf of S[t] Lawrence and those in the vicinity and traded there for Peltries. They have continued these voyages up to the present time uninterruptedly with several hundred vessels.

In the year 1518,[1] Baron de Léry went to settle there, and left a quantity of cattle on Sable Island near Acadia.

In 1524, King Francis I. sent Jean Verrazan, a Florentine thither.

In 1534, the same King sent Jacques Quartier a pilot of S[t] Malo there, who made two voyages thither, ascended as far as Montreal, previously called Hochelaga, and established the trade in peltry with all the Indians of both sides of the river S[t] Lawrence.

In 1540, said Quartier was sent back to that country with Jean François de Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, whom King Francis I. appointed his Lieutenant-General over the new countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

Quartier called the territory embracing the adjacent countries by that name [after a River of that name] which falls into the S[t] Lawrence at Tadoussac and rises near Hudsons Bay.

In 1543, the same Roberval returned thither with the pilot Jean Alphonse of Saintonge, [they] took possession of Cape Breton, and it was at that time that people commenced inhabiting Quebec.

In 1598, King Henry IV. conferred on the Marquis de la Roche, a Breton, the government of the territories of Canada, Hochelaga, Sable island, the Grand bay, L'abrador, Norembegue, and countries adjacent.

In 1603, the same King conferred his commission of Lieutenant-General in the territories of New France, Accadia, Canada and other parts, on Sieur de Mons, a gentleman of Saintonge, who in 1608 built a fort at Quebec, the government whereof he left to Sieur Champlain, the first discoverer of the Iroquois.

[1] 1508. *Charlevoix*, I., 109. — ED.

In 1612, on the 8th of October, King Louis XIII. appointed Count de Soissons, Prince of the Blood, Viceroy of the Islands and Main-land of America.

Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, succeeded Count de Soissons as Viceroy of the Islands and Main-land of America.

In 1615, the Franciscans *(Pères Récollets)* were appointed by the King's Letters patent missionaries in Canada, and celebrated Mass the same year at Quebec.

In 1620, they founded the Convent of *Notre Dame des Anges* within half a league of Quebec.

The Duke de Montmorency succeeded the Prince of Condé in the Viceroyalty both of the Islands and Main-land of America.[1]

The Duke de Ventadour was appointed to the same Viceroyalty on the resignation of M. de Montmorency, who died on the 18th of May, 1649.

In 1625, the Jesuits under the protection of the Duke de Ventadour, Viceroy of the country, established themselves in Canada for the purpose of acting as missionaries among the Indians.

In 1628, in the month of May, the King issued an Edict for the establishment of a Company of New France.

Sieur Champlain, governor of Quebec, made many voyages and discoveries in New France, and continued in command and to trade there with all the Nations inhabiting it, under the authority of Cardinal de Richelieu, Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent-General of the Navigation and Trade of France, and under that of the Viceroy, until 1629, when the English seized that country and Accadia.

In 1630, Commander de Razilly took possession of Accadia in the King's name.

In 1632, on the 29th of March, a Treaty was concluded at St Germain en Laye with the English whereby they were obliged to restore what they had usurped, and repaired the damages they had committed.

The Duke de Vantadour placed in the hands of King Louis XIII. the resignation of his office of Viceroy of the Islands and Main-land of America, and King Louis XIV. conferred the same, by letters patents of the month of November 1644, on the Duke de Dampville-Vantadour under the authority of the Duke de Fronsac, Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent-General of the Navigation and Trade of France.

In 1645, in the month of March, articles were granted to the Directors and associates of the Company of New France and Deputies of the inhabitants of said Country.

In 1647, the King conferred on Charles de Menou, Lord Daunay Charnizay, the patent of the government and Lieutenant-generalship of Acadia, beginning on the shore of the Great River St Lawrence, as well along the sea coast and adjacent Islands as into the interior of the Main-land, as far and as deep as the same will happen to be, unto Virginia, under the authority of the Queen Mother Regent, by virtue of her office of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent of the Navigation and Trade of France, who approved the same on the thirteenth of February of the same year.

By the letters of King Louis XIII, King Louis XIV and of the Queen Regent, dated the 13th February 1638; 23 February 1641; 27 and 28 September 1648, it appears that there were two Lieutenant-Generals in Accadia; One from the middle of the Bay of Fundy to the Gut of Canseau; the other, who was the Lord de Charnizay, along the Etéchemins coast, extending from the centre of the Main-land from the Bay of Fundy stretching towards the Virginias.

[1] In 1620. *Charlevoix*, I., 157. — Ed.

In 1650, Sieur Ménou-D'aunay Charnizay being dead, his eldest son was commissioned, and in consequence of his being a minor, administration was granted to the Grandfather of the orphan with power to appoint a deputy. Sieur de Poix was selected, and the grandfather dying, the Company requested the King to commission Sieur de Poix.

Sieur Denis was appointed governor of Accadia, extending from Cape de Roziers to Cape de Canseaux. This government, the propriety of which he purchased from the Company of Canada, was confirmed by his Majesty's letters patent of the 4th of February 1654, granting him the right of sedentary fishing for Cod and other fish throughout the entire extent of Acadia. The English of Boston having come to establish themselves in his government and built a fort there, he expelled them from it.

2 copies of the grant made by Cromwel protector of England to Sieur de St. Eattenne, Temple and Crone of a portion of New France of the 9th of August 1656; one in French and the other in English, on which are marked the bounds of the French and English territories £ 8th *Marine* Nota together in the bundle.

In 1654 and 1655, Cromwel, protector of England having granted letters of Marque against the French, the English seized the settlements of Pentagouët, Cape Sable, the fort on the river St John and Port Royal.

On the 7th October 1658, Mr de Bourdeaux, Ambassador to England, applied for the reparation of these encroachments, and by the 10th and 11th Article [of the Treaty] of Breda concluded in 1667, the English were obliged to restore those places which was not done until 1670.

In the month of July 1655, the King granted to the Duke de Dampville-Vantadour a new patent of Viceroyalty over the Islands and Main-land of America, as well those which are now, or will hereafter be, inhabited by the King's subjects, such as Guyana, as those adjoining on one side or the other the river Amazon, Arenoc, Amacoica, Eschiebe, and Berbice, and all other places, countries and districts without any exception, not occupied by any Christian Prince, an ally of France, and permits the establishment of all sorts of Companies, after their articles shall have been seen by, and communicated to, the Duke de Vendôme, by virtue of his office of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent of the Trade and Navigation of France, enregistered at the Parliament, on the 21st of January 1658.

In 1656, Mr Lauson being governor of New France, possession was taken of the lands and Countries of the Iroquois, the first discovery whereof was made by Sieur Champlain; said Sieur de Lauzon caused a fort to be erected on Lake Gonontaa, and granted to sundry private persons some Iroquois lands, for which deeds have been executed.

In 1656, Jean Bourdon explored the entire L'abrador territory, entered the Bay *du Nord* and took possession thereof, according to an extract from the Ancient Register of the Council of New France of the 26th of August of the same year.

The Marquis de Feuquières was appointed Viceroy of the Islands and Main-land of America, after the Duke de Dampville-Vantadour. The interested in the company of New France opposed the enregistration of these letters, pretending that his power ought not to be extended to Canada, and that they had reimbursed Mr de Vantadour.

Viscount Dargenson preceded Mr Davaugour as Governor of Canada of whom the Indians from the Bay *du Nord*, who came to Quebec in 1661 to trade with the French, demanded a Missionary, and he gave them Father Dablon, a Jesuit, and some other Frenchmen.

In 1660, Mr Dubois Davaugour was selected as Governor of New France by the Queen, the mother of the King, who filled the office of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent of the Navigation and Trade of France.

He arrived at Quebec in the month of August 1661. In the same year, the Indians from the Bay *du Nord* came to Quebec to confirm the intercourse they had with the French and to request Missionaries of them.

In 1662, Mr Destrades was appointed Viceroy of the Islands and Main-land of America as successor of the Marquis de Feuquières.

In 1663, the Indians of the Bay *du Nord* returned to Quebec in further quest of Frenchmen, and Mr Davaugour sent thither Sieur de la Couture, with five men, who proceeded overland to the said Bay, possession whereof he took in the King's name; noted the Latitude, planted a cross and deposited at the foot of a large tree his Majesty's arms engraved on copper, and laid between two sheets of lead, the whole being covered with some bark of trees.

In the same year, Mr Davaugour, having been recalled in consequence of the intrigues which the Clergy had formed against him, wrote on the 4th of August from Gaspé the following letter:—

"In the month of July 4 Deputies arrived from our enemies the Iroquois, soliciting from me peace and aid against their enemies, (the Iroquois at the South), and I dare say had his Majesty's reinforcements arrived within three months I might have been able to emancipate the country from the slavery under which it has been groaning for 60 years.[1] But nothing has been lost but time, since nothing in the world is easier, provided his Majesty please to incur the expense. This is so true, that in order to render a more exact account of it, and to obey the instructions for my retirement which are on the way, I have not considered it proper to wait for them any longer, leaving at Quebec some very good officers, and the necessary orders to maintain things and to render a good account of them."

In a Memoir, sent from Rochelle, which must be by Mr Terron, it is stated that the Iroquois who were coming to demand peace and aid against those of the South, offered to grant the French a settlement in their midst and to admit them into their country.

Mr Davaugour reproached them with their infidelity and told them he could not treat with them unless they gave him as hostages a certain number of old men, some of their handsomest girls and other persons. They returned to communicate this proposition to their Chiefs. Possibly it might have some result, and that, thus, we could go freely in the spring to settle among them.

Proposed, in case of war, to send their able men to serve in the King's galleys.

In a map of the River Saint Laurence drawn by the hand of Mr Davaugour, he speaks of the distances of the Countries to the North, and on the South sea without mentioning any establishment whatsoever being there. He bases this conclusion on the report he received thereupon from the Indians.

In the same year 1663, the King reannexed to his Crown the propriety of New France on the surrender thereof by those interested.

Mr. de Mezy was appointed Governor-general of New France, in the month of May 1663. *Vol. des Expeditions* 166. 1664 for Monsieur de Lionne chez Monsieur de Croissy.

On the twenty-fifth of October of the same year 1663, a commission was issued to Mr de la Barre to command in the Main-land of America, but he served only in Cayenne and the Islands.

On the nineteenth of November of the same year 1663, a commission was issued to Alexander de Prouville Knight, Lord de Tracy, Councillor of the King in his State and Privy Councils, to command in the absence of Monsr d'Estrade, Viceroy of America, over the countries situated in South and North America, the Main-land, Islands, rivers, ports, harbors and coasts discovered and to be discovered, and to have authority over all the Governors, Lieutenants-

[1] "J'eusse pû affranchir le pays de l'esclavage sous lequel il gémit depuis 60 ans, *et l'eusse pû beaucoup.*" In the copy of this letter in Vol. L, 43, of Paris Documents, *supra* p. 17, the words in Italics are omitted. — Ed.

general and particular established in all the said Islands of the Main-land of Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, Antillas &c.

M^r^ de Tracy did not arrive in Canada until the year 1663.

In 1664, the King incorporated a West India Company.

In 1665, on the 23^d^ of March, Daniel de Remy, Knight, Lord de Courcelles was appointed Governor of Canada, Acadia the islands of Newfoundland and other countries in the place of M^r^ de Mezy.

On the 10^th^ of May of the same year M^r^ Talon was Intendant in Canada, Acadia, the Islands of Newfoundland and other territories of Northern New France.

Being arrived at Quebec, he wrote to My lord Colbert on the second of 9^ber^ 1665, that he found by the Map that the country the King had opened through means of the river S^t^ Laurence was, in extent, four times larger than France; that nearly 700 leagues of country to the West were known, and from North to South nearly 300, which no power disputes with his Majesty.

He says next—I shall not speak here of its vastness, of which I treat in my Memoirs; I shall only say, that nothing is so easy as to take possession of the entire of that vast country by constructing forts at the head of the lakes and rivers, the navigation whereof would facilitate the preservation of the forts, or at least by drawing up regular minutes of taking possession and raising the Cross for Christianity, and the Royal Arms for the State, at the places to which we shall be able to carry them; And I already design, without waiting his Majesty's orders, to send four escutcheons of France that I brought with me to be planted on the most distant countries, and to cause *procès verbaux* to be drawn up, knowing that such being incapable of prejudicing his Majesty may, in course of time, be of use to him.

On the 30^th^ of March 1666, My lord Colbert wrote to M^r^ Talon: The King has approved your having had his arms erected at the extreme bounds of Canada, and that you make preparations at the same time for drawing up *procès verbaux* of the taking possession, because it is always extending his sovereignty, not doubting but you have, at the same time, reflected with M^r^ de Tracy, and the other officers, that it would be much better to confine oneself to an extent of territory which the Colony may be able of itself to maintain, than to embrace too vast a quantity, a part whereof we should be obliged, perhaps, one day to abandon, with some diminution of reputation for his Majesty and this Crown.

The Iroquois having made many expeditions against the French and the Indians, who, as well as they, were under the King's dominion, obliged his Majesty in order to reduce them to their duty, to send some troops into Canada, under the command of M^r^ de Tracy, Lieutenant-general of his armies, and of M^r^ de Courcelles, Governor of the said Country, who made an attack in the beginning of the year 1666, on the Nation of the Mohawks, whom they expelled from their country, burned their houses, and obliged all these Indians to come and sue for peace.

The Senecas sent to Quebec ten Ambassadors who, after having represented on the twenty-second of the month of May, that they were always under the King's protection since the French had discovered their country, demanded for themselves and the nation of Onontaé, that they may be continued to be received in the number of his Majesty's faithful subjects, requesting that some Frenchmen be sent to settle, and Blackgowns to preach the Gospel among them, and make them understand the God of the French, promising not only to prepare cabins, but to work at the construction of forts, for them. This having been granted them in his Majesty's name by Mess^rs^ de Tracy, de Courcelles and Talon, the Treaty was

concluded on the 25th of said month of May, 1666, at the foot of which are the marks of the Ambassadors, consisting of divers figures of animals.

On the 7th of July, the Iroquois of the Oneida Nation sent ten ambassadors to Quebec to demand peace as well for themselves as for the Mohawks; and after having represented that they knew that the King had caused his arms to be borne over the snow and ice as far as Fort Orange in New Netherland, and that they were aware, moreover, that the three upper Iroquois Nations have always felt the advantage of his Majesty's protection, which they formerly enjoyed, ask the same favor of being admitted into the number of his faithful subjects, and that the Treaties formerly concluded as well by those Nations as by themselves, have the same force and effect in regard to the Mohawks who would have sent Ambassadors, had ill-treatment not been apprehended. This request was granted on condition that they will restore all the French, Algonquins and Hurons whom they retain in captivity, no matter what length of time they had been detained; deliver up to the orders and wills of those who shall hold the King's authority in said country, some of their families, like the other nations, to serve as a closer bond; reciprocally demanding that the prisoners of their nation at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers may be surrendered to them; that some French families be sent to their country with some Black gowns to preach the gospel to them; that trade and commerce be open to them by the Lake St Lawrence,[1] promising to furnish some cabins to lodge the French, and to construct forts to shelter them from their common enemies the Andastouëronons[2] and others; and on ratifying the preceding Treaty concluded on their part, they made their marks at the foot thereof, at Quebec, on the 12th day of July, sixteen hundred sixty and six.

Mr Talon wrote to My Lord Colbert on the 13th 9ber 1666, on sending him a record of the taking possession in his Majesty's name, of the forts and lands of the Iroquois, dated the 17th of October of the same year.

In another letter of same date, he observes:—I cannot omit informing you that the frequent and numerous embassies of Iroquois, some of which have consisted of 120 persons and more, with the nourishment of the prisoners of that Nation, 22 of whom are still under guard, have entailed almost as much expense as three Companies of the King's troops.

On the 13th of Xber 1666, the Iroquois Ambassadors of the Onnontagué, Cayuga, Seneca and Oneida Nations came to Quebec to request a confirmation of the continuance of his Majesty's protection; which was granted them by divers articles on several conditions, among others; that the Hurons and Algonquins inhabiting the North side of the river St Lawrence up, from the Esquimaux and Bertiamites unto the Great Lake of the Hurons or Fresh Sea and North of Lake Ontario, shall not be disquieted by the four Iroquois Nations on any pretext whatsoever, his Majesty having taken them under his protection; and that, on the contrary, the said Iroquois Nations shall be obliged to assist them in all their necessities, whether in peace or war; that, agreeably to their urgent prayers, there shall be granted them two Black gowns, one Smith, and a Surgeon; that the King, at their request, allows some French families to settle in their country; that two of the principal Iroquois families shall be sent from each of the said Upper Nations to Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec; that all acts of hostility shall cease until the return of the ambassadors, with the ratification of the present Treaty; that the Mohawks *(Guagenigronnons)*, having been informed of the establishment of the French on the river Richelieu, without sending ambassadors, to demand peace, shall be excluded from the preceding Treaty, his Majesty reserving unto himself to include them

[1] le Lac de St. Laurent. *Text.* Lake Saint Sacrament. *Supra*, p. 46.

[2] See note 2, *supra*, p. 227. — Ed.

therein, should he deem it fitting so to do, whenever they will send to sue for peace and his protection.

On the 25th August 1667, Mr Talon wrote to My Lord Colbert:—It would not be difficult for me to engage Monsr de Courcelles in a new expedition against the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois, inasmuch as he had, of himself, a sufficiently strong inclination to return to the charge, had not those of that Nation who came on an embassy in the month of June last, received assurances of peace which they manifested a disposition to respect as inviolably as their solicitations were urgent. As Mr de Tracy can inform you verbally of the reasons which led him to treat with these Barbarians, I shall dispense with giving an explanation thereof here, as well as of the conditions on which peace has been granted to them. I should have wished, for the greater security of the Colony, that they had transmitted us a greater number of their families than they had left with us, according to the stipulations of the treaty concluded with all the Nations, for I cannot divest myself of the idea that the Mohawks, who know not good faith, yielded considerably to existing circumstances and to the War with the Mohegans *(Loups)* from which they are suffering.

On the 8th of April 1668, Mr de Bouterouë was appointed in the place of Mr Talon, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in Canada, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland and other countries of Northern France. He received his instructions dated fifth of April, 1668.

In 1669, possession was taken in the King's name of the countries and lands in the environs of Lake Erié; the Royal arms were erected there at the foot of a cross with an inscription indicative of taking possession; and the Map of the country drawn by Messrs Dolier and Galinay marks the extent of these countries.

In 1669, Mr Talon was destined to return to Canada as Intendant. He wrote at Paris to my lord Colbert on the 24 February that he had with him a Half breed[1] of Canada, who had penetrated among the Western Nations further than any other Frenchman, and had seen the copper mine in Lake Huron. This man offered to go to that mine, and to explore, either by sea or by the lakes and rivers, the communication supposed to exist between Canada and the South Sea; or else to make the voyage of Hudson's bay, which would be of great use to Canada, because he would send down to Quebec and Tadoussac the Northern Nations with their peltry.

On the 10th of May 1669, Mr Talon was commissioned in place of Mr Bouterouë, as Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in Canada, Acadia, the islands of Newfoundland and other Countries of Equinoctial France.

The King of England caused the necessary orders to be dispatched in 1669 for the restoration of Acadia &a. to those who would be commissioned to receive it on the part of the King.

On the 22nd of June, 1669, a commission was issued to receive Acadia from the hands of the English. Sieur Patoulet wrote from Quebec on eleventh of November 1669, that Sieurs Jolliet and Perray[2] had not yet returned. That Messrs de la Salle and Dolier accompanied by twelve men had set out with a design to go and explore a passage they expected to discover communicating with Japan and China.

In 1670, 5th of March, instructions were issued to Chevr de Grandfontaine, who was commissioned to command in Acadia, to demand its restitution.

[1] Demi-Sauvage.

[2] Perrot. *Charlevoix*, I., 417. — Ed.

Acadia includes Quénebeky and Pentagouët going up towards the North from Canceaux, Cape Breton and all the country lying within this same extent of coast in proceeding westward as far as the great river S^{t} Lawrence. It was placed at the King's disposal in 1630, when Commander de Razilly took possession of it, by virtue of the orders he received from his Majesty.

On the 14th of August, Chevalier de Grandfontaine gave orders to Sieur de Marson to go and take possession for the King of the river S^{t} John and of Port Royal.

On the 12th of October, the same Chev. de Grandfontaine sent a Narrative of what occurred between him and Chev. Temple when he took possession of Acadia; mentions some difficulties which he experienced, and annexes thereunto a Memoir of the distance of the places and of the settlements.

In one of his letters without date, he says:—That in order to anticipate them it would be important to occupy the River S^{t} George which bounds the English and constitutes our limits, he says, there is in said River an Island called Maninquin, inhabited by fishermen, the restoration of which he will demand from the Boston gentleman. That if his Majesty were to prevail on the Duke of York to restore Quénebéky and Pemkuit, the inhabitants, who were unwilling to recognize those of Boston, would hardly oppose it provided they had freedom of religion. He then annexes a plan of these places with the description.

In a letter of M^{r} Talon to the King, dated the 10th Nov^{r} 1670, he says—

In coming between the island of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, I was obliged to anchor at the Islands of S^{t} Peter to obtain water at a very fine harbor capable of containing more than 50 ships. I found there 13 fishermen all French, and four resident settlers among whom was one Englishman who spoke French. I took possession of these Islands which may become more considerable than they now are, and perhaps very useful to the Company who propose forming sedentary fisheries.

In the month of April 1670, the King made to Sieur Heneskereck the grant of all the lands and countries which have been, or will be discovered by him in North America, entering above Canada towards the Pole in the interior of the country and towards the South sea, as far and as deep as they may extend, in order to carry and make known there his Majesty's name, with the mines, minerals, capes, gulfs, ports, harbors, rivers, Islands, Islets, and generally all whatsoever will be comprehended within the extent of said countries.

On the 26th of April of the same year, a permit was granted to the ship *S^{t} Jean-Baptiste* and *S^{t} Pierre* which were sailing to the seas of North America above Canada and also within said seas towards that of the South.

My Lord Colbert to M^{r} de Courcelles; the 9th of April 1670. His Majesty is very glad to learn by your letters, that the Iroquois have continued to adopt towards you the policy of peace and commerce, and to abandon all thoughts of War.

M^{r} de Courcelles to My Lord Colbert; 27th of August: A petty war has broken out between the Iroquois and the Outaoüois; 18 or 20 Senecas went to an Outaoüois village called Apontigoumy, and killed or captured 100 persons, big and little. The Outaoüois came to complain and the four other Iroquois Villages have sent some Deputies with whom they made friends anew; The [Seneca] Village only did not send any, being afraid of us. I entertain hopes that they will come, and with a view to further intimidating them, I have written to the Father who is a

Missionary among them, to leave the place should they not come and give satisfaction, and if they do not perform their duty, I'll oblige them to it.

M^r Talon to the King; tenth of November:—Since my arrival, I have dispatched some persons of nerve who promise to penetrate farther than any one has yet done; some to the West and Northwest, and others to the Southwest and to the South of Canada. These adventurers are invariably to prepare Journals and reply in writing, on their return, to the Instructions I have given them, they are every where to take possession and to erect the King's arms and to draw up *procès-verbaux* to serve as titles. His Majesty will not have any news of them, probably, before two years from this time, and after I shall have returned to France.

He says, that Mess^rs Dollier and Galinay priests of S^t Sulpice, Missionaries at Montreal, have explored Lake Ontario and visited unknown Nations. He sent the map under the Letter C. which will show their route and where they penetrated.

The little *procès-verbal*, Letter D., which they drew up somewhat hastily and informally, will afford evidence that they have taken possession of the whole of that district. I shall rectify as much as possible that act of informality, and shall have his Majesty's Arms and those of the Faith planted every where the King's subjects shall visit under the impression that, if these precautions be not of use now, they may become so at another time. It is asserted that the Iroquois are in the habit of pulling down the arms and written placards which are attached to trees at the places of which possession is taken, and of carrying them to the English; which nation may thereby learn that we pretend to remain master of the country. It is for his Majesty to determine if this practice of affixing notices is to be intermitted, or continued until he be perfectly assured of all the important posts of this country.

To M^r Talon; eleventh of March,[1] 1671:—The King has entirely approved your proposal to keep up a good and close correspondence with the English of Boston, and even to trade somewhat with them for articles of mutual necessity. But in regard to the fisheries they will establish within sight of lands under the King's obedience, his Majesty desires that they receive the same treatment as his subjects receive from them on like occasions; and this course is to be observed as well in the Treaty they may conclude with the Indians of the neighborhood of Pentagouët as in that which the King's subjects will possibly conclude with the Indians adjoining Boston.

In regard to the proposal you make to levy one hundred Soldiers, and to construct a species of galley to secure Lake Ontario, the King has not deemed fresh troops to be necessary for that purpose. He desires only that you communicate that idea to M. de Courcelles who is to put it into execution, if any advantage can accrue from it to the King's service and to the Nations to which his Majesty has granted peace.

The resolution you have adopted to send Sieur de la Salle towards the South, and Sieur de S^t Lusson to the north, in order to discover the passage to the South Sea, is very good; but the principal thing to which you ought to apply yourself in these sorts of discoveries is to look for the Copper Mine.

I shall examine the proposal Captain Poulet made you to attempt the discovery of the passage between the South and North Seas by the Strait of Ains, or that of Magellan, and after I shall have made a report thereon to the King, will execute whatever commands his Majesty will do me the honor to give on that point.

[1] In L., 217, dated *February*. — Ed.

To M^r de Courcelles; eleventh of March 1671:—Since you do not think proper to make the journey to the Iroquois country, you can dispense with it. As for your proposal to send some companies from here to repair to the mouth of Lake Ontario, and to prevent the incursions the Iroquois may commit on the other Indian tribes who enjoy the King's protection, his Majesty has not considered it necessary for the good of his service; he, however, refers the matter to you and M^r Talon to examine what will be most proper.

M^r de Courcelles to My Lord Colbert; 26^th^ 8^ber^ 1671:—Five weeks since three Frenchmen with a Father and some Indians left to go to the Saguenay, and are to proceed thence northward in quest of Hudson's bay; They cannot be back before the end of Autumn of next year.

M^r Talon to the King; 3^rd^ *November* 1671:—Sieur de la Salle has not yet returned from his voyage to the south of this Country, but Sieur de S^t^ Lusson has got back after having reached full 500 leagues from this place; planted the cross and set up the King's arms in presence of 17 Indian nations assembled on that occasion from all parts, all of whom voluntarily submitted to the dominion of his Majesty whom alone they regarded as their sovereign protector. This was done according to the report of the Jesuit Fathers who assisted at this ceremony, with all the pomp and éclat the country could afford. These nations comprise the Outaoüois of Lake Huron, Lake Superior, of the country to the north of the Bay *des Puants* and of Lake Ilinois; according to the minute thereof made.

I shall carry along with me the records of the taking possession which Sieur de S^t^ Lusson drew up to secure these countries to his Majesty. The place Sieur de S^t^ Lusson reached is not supposed to be more than 300 leagues from the extremities of the countries bordering on the Vermillion or South Sea.

The countries bordering on the Western ocean appear to be no farther from those discovered by the French, according to the calculation of the distance made from the reports of the Indians; and by the Maps there does not appear to be more than 1500 leagues of navigation remaining to Tartary, China and Japan.

Sieur de S^t^ Lusson's voyage will be no expense to the King, because having made some presents to the Indians of the countries of which he took possession, he received some in return from them in Beavers which can make good the cost.

Three months ago I sent off Father Albanel, a Jesuit, and Sieur de S^t^ Simon, a young Canadian Gentleman, recently honored by the King with that title. They are to go as far as Hudson's bay, draw up an account of all they will discover, establish a fur trade with the Indians, and especially examine whether there be a place to winter some ships, in order to establish an entrepôt there which might, some day, furnish supplies to the Vessels that will be able hereafter to discover, in that quarter, the passage between the two seas, the Southern and Northern.

As these countries have been originally discovered by the French, I have commissioned said Sieur de S^t^ Simon to take renewed possession in his Majesty's name, with order to set up the escutcheon of France there with which he is charged, and to draw up a minute according to the form I have furnished him.

A proposal has been made me to send from this place to Hudson's bay a bark of 60 tons, with which it is pretended to discover something of the communication between the two seas. If the adventurers who form this design do not charge the King any thing, I shall give them hopes in case of success of some mark of honor in addition to whatever they will be able to gain by the trade in furs that they will carry on with the Indians.

The King to M^r de Courcelles; 7^th April 1672:—I approve the voyage he made to Lake Ontario in 1671, and permit him to return to France for the benefit of his health.

6^th *April* 1672. [Louis] de Buade, Count de Frontenac was appointed in the place of M^r de Courcelles, Governor and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland and other places belonging to Northern France.

Father Charles Albanel, Jesuit missionary employed in the instruction of Indian Nations and Montagnois, and Paul Denis de S^t Simon, Commissary and deputed by M^r Talon, Intendant of Canada to take possession, in the King's name of the countries, lands, lakes and rivers which lie between the banks of the river S^t Lawrence as far as the shores of the strait of the Fretum Davis, including Hudson's bay, and adjacent lands and Seas, being at Miskaouto, Nagasit, places where the Indians meet to trade, and at the river Némiskau[1] which rises in Lake Némiskau, the residence of Captain Kiaskou, Chief of all the Indians inhabiting the North Sea and Hudson's bay, did on the Ninth of July 1672, plant the Cross, with the Captain's consent, and in his Majesty's name set up the arms of France, on the said Lake Némiskau at the mouth of the river of the same name.

On the 19^th of same month, being at the River Minahigouskaé, Sossibahourat, Captain of the Mistasirenois[2] having consented, they did set up in like manner the said arms, after having turned up a sod of earth, pulled up some grass, planted some shrubs and performed other necessary ceremonies. They made known to the Indian Nations in their language, that they subjected them to the French nation, and that they should acknowledge in future King Louis 14^th for their Monarch and Sovereign Lord. In Witness whereof, the said minute was signed by Father Albanel, Sieur de S^t Simon and by Sebastian Provero; and the Chiefs of each Indian Nation to the number of eleven, made their hierogliphical marks.

Count de Frontenac; the 2^d 9^ber 1672:—The Company's Commissary demanding this year a passport to winter four men at Lake S^t John, on the pretext of the Tadoussac trade, urged me strongly to insert in it a prohibition to all those who would trade on Lake S^t John.

He pretended that the trade of Tadoussac extended as far as that, and even to Hudson's bay, which would be giving him an extent of five or six hundred leagues, and preventing the inhabitants of that Colony going to the places the Company have never meant to reserve. In the meantime, in order not to make a noise, M^r Talon thought proper that I should grant it to him, with a clause that it would be only for this year, on condition that it would not serve as a precedent for the future so as to confer any title to the places.

This passport granted by M^r de Frontenac at Quebec, bears date the twenty-second of September 1672, for Father Crespiu, Jesuit, and for Sieurs Montagne, Maquard, Dautray, and Pelletier, sent by the West India Company, to trade with the Indians and to winter at Lake S^t John, called Peakoüagamy, about 70 leagues above Tadoussac.

My Lord Colbert to Count de Frontenac; 13^th of June 1673:—In regard to the Iroquois, as the Western Company[3] is very numerous, his Majesty doubts not but you will restrain them easily within their duty, and in the terms of obedience they have sworn and promised to his Majesty.

[1] Rupert river. [2] Indians of Lake Mistassin. [3] Colony. I., 283. — Ed.

Count de Frontenac to My Lord; 13th *November* 1673:—Asks instructions from the King on the applications made every day by the Jesuit fathers to establish some new Missions, thinking it fitter to cultivate those established, by teaching our language and manners to the Indians.

Submits some of the reasons which led him to make a voyage to Lake Ontario, and relates what occurred in that voyage to build a fort at the mouth of the river Catarakoüy.

Father Nouvel, who has charge of the Mission of St Francis Xavier, writes that the Senecas have brought 20 peace-presents to the Indians of his district, and two women, who had been a long time in captivity among them. These presents represent that the Iroquois obey Onnontio, as their common father, and therefore that they have no thoughts except for peace and brotherly love. There is no doubt that they make use of this bait either to form a trade with them, at the solicitation of the Dutch, or in order to surprise them and to renew the war, should they master the Andastogué who is the only enemy they have on their hands.

Father Brias, the Jesuit at Tionnontaguen, to Count de Frontenac; 12th *June* 1673:—I hope to have the honor to write to you by our Ambassadors who will leave shortly for Kanté to assure you of their obedience.

Father Garnier, the Jesuit at the Senecas; 10 *July* 1673: I am obliged to inform you of what regards the King's service in this quarter. As soon as I received your orders brought by Sieur de la Salle, I communicated them to the Indians of this nation which consists of three villages; Two composed of natives of the Country, and the 3rd of the remnant of divers Huron nations destroyed by the Iroquois. All together they may amount to 800 men capable of waging war against their enemies.

The Chiefs of each village have been deputed to go visit you at the place you indicated to them; They are well disposed to receive your orders, and to give you every satisfaction.

They have made peace with all the nations against whom Mr de Courcelles had forbad them waging war, the King having taken them under his protection. They have strictly enjoined on their young men not to turn their arms in that direction. They anxiously desire the French to settle in their country, especially those who are useful to them, such as smiths and armorers. These are the Petitions which they will present to you themselves.

My Lord de Colbert to Mr de Frontenac; 17 *May* 1674. His Majesty considers it more consistent with the good of his service that you apply yourself to the clearing and settling the most fertile places that are nearest the sea coast and the communication with France, than to think afar of discoveries in the interior of the country, so distant that they can never be inhabited by Frenchmen.

This general rule may have its exceptions in two cases. One, if the countries of which you should take possession be necessary to French trade and commerce; but as there are none of this description, his Majesty is always of opinion that you can and may leave the Indians at liberty to bring you their peltries, without putting you to the trouble of going so far to look after them.

The other case is when the countries you will discover may, like Acadia, bring you nearer to France by communicating with some Sea, more to the South than the entrance of the river St Lawrence. The reason you are perfectly well aware is, that the worst thing against Canada is the mouth of this river, which being very far to the North does not allow vessels to enter there except during 5 or 6 months of the year.

Count de Frontenac; the 14th 9ber 1674:—In spite of the efforts of the Dutch to get the Iroquois to make war on the French, the latter came last year to Montreal on a solemn embassy; brought 8 of the children belonging to the principal families of their Villages, who ratified the conditions of the treaty made with them in 1673; have promised to prevent the troops[1] of Taractou, which is a Nation bordering on New Netherland, waging war on the Outaouais, and promised not to continue the trade they commenced to carry on at Gandaschekiagon[2] with the Outaouais, which would have been the ruin of ours by the conveyance of the Peltries to the Dutch.

He recites the capture of Fort St John &ca, of Sieur de Chambly the Governor, of Sieur de Marson, his Deputy, by the buccaneers who withdrew to Boston with their pillage.

Sieur Joliet whom Mr Talon advised me when I arrived from France, to send to discover the South Sea, returned from thence three months ago, and has discovered some beautiful countries, and so easy of navigation through the fine rivers which he found, that a bark could go from Lake Ontario and fort Frontenac to the Gulf of Mexico, one unloading only being necessary to be made at the place where Lake Ontario falls into[3] lake Erié, which is perhaps half a league long, where a settlement could be formed and another bark could be built on lake Erié.

He has been within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico, and is of opinion that communications can be had with the Vermilion and California Sea by the rivers that discharge themselves from the West into the Grand river he discovered, which runs from North to South and is as wide as the St Lawrence opposite Quebec.

I send you the Map he has drawn of it with the remarks he has been able to recollect, having lost all his Memoirs and Journals on being wrecked within sight of Montreal, after a voyage of twelve hundred leagues. A little Indian that he was bringing from those countries was drowned.

An extract from this voyage is annexed.

Letter of Mr de Frontenac of the 25th 7ber 1674 *to Major-General Leveret, Commanding at Boston* to represent to him that the piratical buccaneers ought not to find shelter in Boston, and requests him to procure Mr de Chambly his liberty on reasonable conditions.

Narrative of the Attack on Acadia, and the imprisonment of Mr de Chambly from which it appears that every thing is done with the knowledge of Boston.

Edict of the King dissolving the West India Company, dated the month of December, 1674; Enregistered in the Parliament and Chamber of Accounts of Paris the 18th of January and 9th February 1675.

The King to Mr de Frontenac; 22nd *April* 1675:—I doubt not but the post you have established last year on lake Ontario will be advantageous and that it has attracted a great number of Indians into the French settlements. I leave to your decisions every thing that you will consider best for the good of my service, particularly what has happened in Acadia. I doubt not but you will do every thing possible to reëstablish the fort and settlement that was there; it being

[1] Loups. *Paris Documents*, I., 360. Compare *supra*, p. 117.—Ed.
[2] A pass on Lake Ontario communicating with Lake Huron. [3] *Sic.*

important to maintain my subjects in possession of that country, which will one day be useful and advantageous for the establishment of a more easy communication with Canada.

13th *May.* [The King] has granted the arrêt confirming the concessions you had made, and I have accepted Sieur de la Salle's proposals for the preservation of the fort you caused to be erected on Lake Ontario, in order to reimburse the advances you have made.

Order in Council of same date; 13th *May* 1675, granting to Sieur de la Salle the property of fort Frontenac and 4 leagues of adjacent Country.

Letters patent for said Grant; of same date.

On the 30th *May*, 1675, Mr Duchesneau was appointed Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance of the Country of Canada, Acadia and the Islands of Newfoundland and other Countries of Northern France; his Instruction was issued on the 7th of June following.

In 1676 the King granted to Medard Chouart, Sieur des Grozelliers and Pierre Esprit, Sieur de Radisson, the privilege of establishing fisheries for white porpoise and seal in the river St Lawrence in New France.

The King to Mr de Frontenac; 15th *of April* 1676. I am very glad you have sent Sieur de Marson into Acadia; I shall give the necessary orders to fortify that post.

The King to Mr de Frontenac. 1677. I approve of what you have done in your fort Frontenac voyage to quieten the minds of the Five Iroquois Nations, and to clear yourself from the suspicions they might have entertained, and the reasons that might excite them to wage war. You ought to attend to maintaining peace and good understanding between these people and my subjects, without relying so much, however, on the precautions you will adopt for this purpose, as not to be and not to place said settlers in a condition to oppose vigorously and to completely repel all attacks those people might make.

As for the rest, I wish you to continue to live on friendly terms with the English, and to be careful not to afford them any cause of complaint without, however, suffering any infraction of the Treaties I have made with the King their master.

The King to Count de Frontenac; 12th *May*, 1678:—I am very glad to learn that you have always maintained my authority in the different Treaties you have made with the Iroquois, and other Indian Nations; and in regard to the pretension of the English Major-General, my intention is, that you always contribute all in your power to preserve peace between the two Nations, without, however, allowing any thing to be undertaken against the Countries under my dominion.

My Lord to Mr de Chesneau; 15 *May*, 1678:— In proof of your representation that Count de Frontenac, under pretence of granting passes to go hunting, eludes the execution of the order prohibiting trading among the Indians, you send me copy of a pass he gave some private persons to hunt towards Hudson's bay. On this point you ought to be aware that this pass by no means proves what you advance, because it is of advantage to the King's service to go towards that Bay, in order to be able to contest the title thereto of the English, who pretend to take possession of it although it lies within the limits of the countries appertaining to the Crown. His Majesty fails not to transmit you the two annexed Ordinances which he also sends to Count de Frontenac with orders to see that they be executed.

Commission to Sieur de la Salle to discover the Western parts of New France and to build forts there. 12th May, 1678.

The King to Count de Frontenac; 25th *April*, 1679: I learn with pleasure from your several letters, that all the Indians, even the most distant, are in due obedience.

Do not omit advising me frequently of what occurs between the Indians and the Europeans established near New France, and of the success of the war between them.

I desire, moreover, that you always maintain peace friendship and good correspondence with the English and the Dutch, without, however, abandoning any of the rights and advantages appertaining to my Crown in that country, or any thing that may belong to my subjects.

Count de Frontenac; the 6th *and* 8th 9ber *:*—I learn that General Andros has given orders at Orange to send to Manathe and thence to the island of Barbadoes all the French residents there, but that he has retained a man named Péré, and others who have been inveigled from Sieur de la Salle, in order to send them to the Outaouois, to establish a trade with them.

It were desirable that the French should not go to that quarter, and that even the Indians who are among them, (the English) and principally those belonging to the mission of la Prairie de la Madelaine should not carry their peltries there, as they are in the habit of doing.

[I] send the Narrative and Map of the voyage Sieur Joliet has made to Hudson's bay, which the Farmers of the revenue of Canada have demanded of him. This Relation is dated 27th of October 1679, and signed, Joliet.

M. Daniel Greysolon du Luc[1] *to Mr de Frontenac; 5th of April*, 1679:—Is in the woods within three leagues of St Mary of the Falls. He will not stir from the Nadoussioux until further orders, and peace being concluded, he will set up the King's arms, lest the English and other Europeans settled towards California take possession of the country. Should there be any desire that he conclude peace with the people of the north, he will leave in a moment to go there by sending him the necessary orders. He left Quebec on the first of 7ber 1678, for the purpose of discovering the Nadoussioux and Assenipoualaks.

On the 2nd July 1679, he caused his Majesty's arms to be planted in the Great Village of the Nadoussioux, called Kathio, where no Frenchman had ever been nor at Sougaskicons and Houetbatons, 120 leagues distant from the former, where he also set up the King's arms in 1679.

On the 15th September he gave to the Assenipoulaks and other Northern Nations a rendezvous at the head of Lake Superior, with a view to get them to make peace with the Nadoussioux. They all were there and he reunited them together.

In the month of June, 1680, he took two Canoes with an Indian and four Frenchmen to prosecute his discovery by water. He entered a river the mouth of which is eight leagues from the head of Lake Superior on the South side; he went to the head of said river and afterwards reached a lake that empties into a river which leads into the Mississipy.

Count de Frontenac to the King; the 14th 9ber 1680:—The Iroquois came to see him at Fort Frontenac. Previous to the voyage, the Mohawks had sent him an embassy to apologize for some hostilities they had committed against the Socoquis, towards Lake Champlain, and their submission appeared so sincere that he has reason to assure himself that they will live in peace with all the Indians under the King's protection.

[1] Lut. — Ed.

News have been received from Acadia that General Andros, Governor of New-York, had given a passage to 300 Iroquois whom they had excited to wage war on a Nation in that direction called Canibas, who had not only resolved to defend themselves, but even to attack Pemequit near Pentagouët.

He has, also, learned that that General who had a fort built 18 leagues from Pentagouët, in which there is a garrison of 60 men, pretends that settlement belongs to his government, which he extends even to the river S^te^ Croix, at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy near Port Royal, and more than 25 leagues at this side of Pentagouët, in contravention of the Treaty of Breda, which fixes the boundary at the river between Pemequit and Pentagouët.

The King to Count de Frontenac; the 30^th^ *of April* 1681:—I have been very much pleased to learn that the Mohawks had sent to ask pardon of you for the acts of hostility they had committed against the Soquoquis who are under my protection, and for the assurances you give me that the four Iroquois Nations are in great dread of my arms, and favorably disposed to maintain peace with my subjects. I shall be very glad to learn the success of the embassy you are to receive this year from the Iroquois Nations.

I shall cause the necessary applications to be made to the King of England, to prevent the consequences of the pretensions of the Boston government and to restrict his boundaries according to the Treaty of Breda.

M^r^ de Frontenac; 2^nd^ 9^ber^ 1681:—Sieur Radisson, who is married in England, had returned to Canada from the Islands where he had served under Marshal d'Estrées. He had applied to him for permission to go in a vessel belonging to Sieur de la Chesnay, to form establishments along the Coasts leading towards Hudsons bay.

The Governor of Pemequit pretends always to extend his limits to the river S^te^ Croix, and sends vessels to trade all along the coasts belonging to the King. It will be difficult to hinder them, and to prevent those of Port Royal continuing inclined towards them, in consequence of seeing themselves deprived of all succor from France.

Those of Boston have also sent even to Cape Breton, near Whale Harbor[1] at the entrance of the gulf, to seize and carry away the goods cast ashore from the ship S^t^ Joseph, belonging to the Farmers of the Company, that was wrecked last year.

With these they loaded a craft of 60 tons and two others coming from the direction of the Island of Newfoundland.

They also carried off some other articles to Boston without caring to know whether they were abandoned, and whether the time fixed for reclaiming them had elapsed, which it had not by a good deal.

Whilst awaiting orders, he considered it his duty to instruct Sieur de Lavallière to go to Boston to demand the reasons of these sort of expeditions.

Their boundary is laid down on the river S^t^ George, which they exceed by more than 150 leagues in the direction of Cape Breton.

M^r^ Duchesneau; 13 9^ber^ 1681:—The English take to themselves what we neglect in Acadia, and already have three establishments on the Island of Newfoundland, which belongs to us, and extend their limits torward Acadia as much as they can.

They are still at Hudson's bay, where they inflict considerable injury on the French.

[1] Between Scatari and Louisburg.—Ed.

They ought to be expelled from the said bay which belongs to us; if not, forts ought to be constructed on the rivers flowing into the Lakes, in order to stop the Indians at them.

On the 10th of May 1682, Mr Lefèvre de la Barre was appointed, in the place of Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General of Canada, Acadia, the Island of Newfoundland, and other countries of Northern France.

In his Instruction it is stated that: — Besides the establishment possessed by the French along the coast of the River St Lawrence, part of Acadia is still occupied by the French, and as it has been written that the English were rendering themselves masters of various posts which have been always occupied by the French, it is his Majesty's will that he inform himself of those details, and to send to the Governor of Boston to explain to him the places bounding the French Dominion, and to demand of him to confine himself within the limits of the English possessions.

His Majesty desires that he permit the completion of the discovery commenced by Sieur la Salle, as far as the mouth of the river Mississipy, in case he is of opinion, after the examination he will make of it with the Intendant, that such discovery can be of any utility.

Mr de Meulles was appointed, at the same time, Intendant of Canada, Acadia and the Islands of Newfoundland, and other countries of Northern France, *vice* Mr du Chesneau.

The Ambassador of the King of England at Paris, complained that the man named Radisson and other Frenchmen having gone with two barks, called *le St Pierre* and *la Ste Anne* into the river and Port of Nelson in 1682, seized a fort and some property of which the English had been in possession for several years.

Radisson and Desgrozellièrs[1] maintain that these allegations are not true. But that having found a spot on the river Nelson adapted to their trade, more than 150 leagues distant from the place were the English were settled in Hudson's bay, they took possession of it in the King's name, in the month of August 1682, and had commenced building a fort and some houses there.

That on the 14th of September following having heard cannon, they went out to examine, and on the 26th found some beginning of houses on an Island, and a vessel aground near the coast.

[1] Médard Chouart des Groselliers was a native of Touraine and an excellent pilot. He emigrated to Canada quite young, where he married Helen, daughter of Abraham Martin, King's Pilot, who has left his name to the celebrated Plains of Abraham, near Quebec. *Ferland.* Meeting afterwards with some Indians on Lake Assiniboins to the N. W. of Lake Superior, he was conducted by them to James Bay, where the English had not yet been. On his return by Lake Superior to Quebec, Des Groselliers offered the principal merchants to carry ships to Hudson's bay, but the project was rejected. He thence went to France, where he made similar propositions to the Court, but without any better success, and finally passed over to England, where his offers were accepted, and with one Radisson another Frenchman, conducted an English vessel commanded by Zachariah Gillam, a New England Captain, to the mouth of the river Nemiscau on the East side of James bay, where they built fort Rupert. This was in 1663, according to *Charlevoix*, I., 476; Oldmixon says in 1667. *British Empire in America*, 1741, I., 544. In 1673, Capt. des Groseliers made a voyage to Port Nelson; in 1674, he was at Fort Rupert when he was sent on a trading expedition to Moose river on the west side of the Bay. Having been discovered holding a correspondence with the French, he was dismissed the English service and soon after went to France, where he was pardoned and received permission to return to Canada in 1676 with the privilege to establish a fishery for white porpoises and seals. A company was formed in course of a few years which undertook to expel the English from Hudson's bay. Des Groselliers sailed for that purpose in 1682, found Capt. Benjamin Gillam, son of his old shipmate Zachariah, at Port Nelson, of which place he took possession for the French King, as above stated. He returned to Canada in the following year, bringing with him Governor Bridger and Capt. Gillam, and a large cargo of peltry, but he was so harrassed by those who had the monopoly of that trade, that he proceeded once more to France and thence to England. The remainder of his course is narrated in the text. *Charlevoix*, I., 479, says he had married Radisson's sister, perhaps as his second wife. — Ed.

That these houses had been begun since they had entered the river and had set about working at their fort and building, and, therefore, that they were the first occupants.

That since then, each having wished to maintain his establishment, the French were become the Masters.

That the ice and bad weather having caused the destruction of an English ship, some men belonging to it had died; but that they had, on their part, treated them with great moderation and kindness, and rendered every assistance to the English who appeared satisfied.

Mr de la Barre; Quebec the 12th *November* 1682. As to what relates to Hudsons Bay, the Company in old England advanced some small houses along a river which leads from Lake Superior. As possession was taken of this Country several years ago, he will put an end to this disorder, and report next year the success of his design.

He learns that the Nepiseriniens, one of the Outaouois tribes the most devoted to the French, have arrived at Montreal to demand some lands, as a retreat and place of security against the Iroquois. They are 300 led by a Jesuit father.

The design of the Iroquois is to destroy all the Nations inhabiting the Bay *des Puants* and afterwards carry off the Kiskakons who occupy Missilimakinac, and rob the Outaouoïs of the trade. The latter and the Miamis have sent a deputation to Mr de Frontenac, according to the minutes he transmits.

A Treaty concluded by Count de Frontenac with the Kiskakons, Tionnontatez and Miamis on the 3rd August 1682.

Speech of Mr de Frontenac to the Iroquois Deputies the 12th of 7ber 1682.

Letter written to Count de Frontenac by Father Lamberville Jesuit at Onnontagué; 20th *September*, 1682. Sets forth that Teganissoren, an Iroquois, went to take him a Belt of Wampum to draw his canoe to the south shore. That could he have gone there he would have saved the Oumiamis including also the Poutéamis and the Ousakis &a. Tegannissoren is, he thinks the same he called Niregoßentarons in his preceding letter.

Mr. de la Barre; 30th *of April*, 1683:—Two detachments of Frenchmen have proceeded to the North for the purpose of preventing the English of Hudson's bay entering on French territory, and obstructing the trade the French carried on with the Asselibois, Themiscamings, Puisascamins and Christinos.

The King to Mr de la Barre; fifth of August, 1683. I recommend you to prevent as much as possible, the English establishing themselves in Hudson's bay, possession whereof has been taken in my name several years ago; and as Colonel Dunguent, who is appointed by the King of England Governor of New-York, has had precise orders from his Majesty to keep up a good correspondence with you, carefully to avoid everything that will possibly interrupt it, I doubt not but the difficulties you have experienced from the English will cease henceforth.

Mr de la Barre; the 4th *and* 9th *November* 1683. The people who had been at Hudson's bay, have returned after having encountered extreme dangers. They erected a small fort in which they left a garrison of a few men, about 4 leagues up a river 200 leagues north of any English settlements. It is expected that communication can be had with it overland, as will be seen by the Map he sends.

He has received his Majesty's instructions respecting Hudson's bay, and has engaged those who have organized that expedition to form a company and to send and purchase a ship in France.

The Indians of the North learning that De Lut had arrived, sent him word to come quickly, and that they would join him in order to prevent all the others going to the English of Hudson's bay. Some Maps were drawn by one Franquelin.

A small vessel had just arrived from Hudson's gulf, 200 leagues farther north than the Bay; she brings back those who were sent thither by M^r^ de Frontenac.

He sends a Narrative of what occurred with the English and a Map of the country.

The man Lemoine has so ably managed his negotiation that he brought him 13 Seneca deputies, who remained six weeks with him at Montreal: They brought him word that the other four Nations would send their Deputies in the first days of August.

On the 14^th^ of August, the Deputies of the 4 Iroquois Nations arrived at Montreal. They numbered 43 persons including the Senecas; he treated them in the best manner possible.

The conclusion of the Councils they held during the ten days they sojourned at Montreal, has been to make their people approve their friendship for the Outaouaïs, Algonkins and Hurons.

Sieur de la Salle wrote him on the second of April 1683 from Fort S^t^ Louis, that with twenty-two Frenchmen he obliged more than 40 villages to apply to him for peace, and chastised those who have violated the promise they had given him.

That he had seen the Akansas, a very warlike Nation, offer a sort of sacrifice to the King's arms which he had caused to be erected in their villages on his way down to the sea.

That the Chouenons, Chaskpé and Ouabans have, at his solicitation, abandoned the Spanish trade and also nine or ten villages they occupied, for the purpose of becoming French and settling near fort S^t^ Louis, which he was about to have built.

The King to M^r^ La Barre; 10^th^ *April* 1684: The King of England has authorized his Ambassador to speak to me respecting what occurred in the river Nelson between the English and Radisson and Desgroszeliers; whereupon I am happy to inform you that, as I am unwilling to afford the King of England any cause of complaint, and as I think it important, nevertheless, to prevent the English establishing themselves on that river, it would be well for you to have a proposal made to the commandant at Hudsons bay, that neither the French nor the English should have power to make any new establishments, to which I am persuaded he will give his consent the more readily as he is not in a position to prevent those which my subjects would wish to form in said Nelson's river.

My Lord to M^r^ de la Barre; 10^th^ *of April* 1684: It is impossible to imagine what you pretended, when of your own authority, without calling on the Intendant and submitting the matter to the Sovereign Council, you ordered a vessel to be restored to one Guillam which had been captured by Radisson and Desgroszeliers, and in truth you ought to prevent these sort of proceedings, which are entirely unwarranted, coming under his Majesty's eyes. You have herein done what the English will be able to make a handle of, since in virtue of your ordinance, you caused a vessel to be surrendered which ought strictly to be considered a Pirate, as it had no commission; and the English will not fail to say, that you so fully recognized the regularity of this ship's papers, that you surrendered it to the proprietors, and they will, thence, pretend to conclude that they had taken legitimate possession of the river Nelson before Mess^rs^ Radisson and Desgroszeliers had been there which will be very prejudicial to the Colony.

Ordinance of the King to the effect that all merchants and settlers of New France who will purchase Beaver, Moose, and Peltries in Hudson's bay, Percé island and other parts of New France, Acadia excepted, shall be bound to bring said Beaver and Moose to Quebec that they may be paid for them, and one-fourth retained for the Farmers of the Revenue.

Father Lamberville writes from Seneca on the 18th of April, that the governor of New-York is to come next summer to the Mohawk, and to speak there to the Iroquois. That he has sent a shabby ship's-flag, bearing the arms of England to be set up there. This flag is still in the Mohawks' public chest and he knows not when it will see day.

Sieur Berger; Rochelle the 29th *October* 1684. Has arrived from the coasts of Acadia. Whilst running along the Coast, he met 8 small English vessels fishing and drying their fish in the best of the French harbors. He observes that their coasts towards Boston are destroyed by this means, and that being unable to fish any more, they come to those of the French.

All the French complain bitterly of the wrong said English do them, and there will be little safety for them so long as those English will come, as they do, on the coasts.

He has brought along two men from each vessel, whom he took in order to have them make their declarations at the Admirality and to send, afterwards, all their proceedings.

It will be seen by a letter Sieur de St Castin wrote him, that the Governor of Pemquit, which belongs to the English, is desirous to encroach on more than sixty leagues of French coast and even on Pentagouët where the King has a fort.

It appears by a Memoir of Chevalier de Grandfontaine that a treaty was concluded with Chevalier Temple, governor of Boston, and the members of the Council, wherein was an article that no Englishman should prosecute the fur trade or cod fishing on the coast belonging to his Majesty without an express license from the Commander of the country.

Radisson having gone from Canada to France in the beginning of the year 1684, went to London, gave in his adhesion to the English Hudson's bay Company, and returned with five ships they gave him, to Port Nelson, destroyed the French factories that he had himself erected with Desgrozelliers in 1682, plundered their stores, carried off 60 thousand weight of beaver which he carried to London, whither he also conveyed all the French who happened to be at Nelson, among whom was Desgrozelliers' son, his nephew, and did the Company four hundred thousand livres damage.

The French company had fitted out the same year, 1684, two barks to proceed to Hudson's bay under the command of Sieur de Lamartinière. They sailed on the 19th of June; tarried at St Pauls bay until the 12th of July, and arrived at Port Nelson in the morning of the 22nd of 7ber of the same year; having entered the river Ste Therese,[1] they encountered two leagues up a boat coming towards them having five Englishmen on board, who inquired of Lamartinière what he was about in that country, which was the property of the King of England? He answered, that the river belonged to the King of France; that he was come to trade there, and that he wished to speak to the English Commandant. After an interview of six hours, they agreed to prosecute their trade without troubling each other, and that if any difference occurred between them, it would be decided by their masters, and that, meanwhile, Lamartinière could pass their fort. Some Frenchmen perceiving that all preparations were being made in the fort to insult the French, and that a battery of 24 guns was erecting to sink them whilst

[1] So called after Desgrosseliers' wife; now Hays river. — Ed.

passing, Lamartinière reproached the Governor with the fact, of whom he demanded six men as hostages, offering him as many of his. The English having refused to accede to this, Lamartinière detached, during the darkest part of the night following, 30 men to surprise the English who were alarmed by their sentinel. The French were, in consequence, obliged to retire in haste and resolved to pass from the north to the south [branch] of that river and to enter another called la Gargousse,[1] which was opposite their ship where they wintered half a league from the river.

Nota. On the 7th January 1685, Mr. de Denonville was appointed Governor of Canada.

In the beginning of June 1685, they ascended 4 leagues above the English where they made a small settlement.

On the 15th of July, they set out to return to Quebec after having obtained in six weeks 20,000ll worth of beaver. After having passed Hudson's bay, they met in the Strait a vessel of 40 to 50 tons burthen, called the Little Pink which arrived without opposition. She was loaded with black tobacco, merchandise for the trade and three thousand weight of powder, some woolens and 400 fusees, all valued with the vessel at 20,000ll. This vessel was followed by the Great Pink, which they did not think proper to attack. Two days afterwards they met another vessel of 10 @ 12 guns, commanded by Oslar, on board of which was the man named Briguère[2] who was going to relieve the governor at the head of the bay. He is the same that Radisson brought to Quebec three years ago in the ship Mr de la Barre restored to him. This governor gave them chase, and obliged them at the end of two days to throw themselves into a cove at the bottom of which was a little river where they ran aground. As the English vessel could not do the same, he left at the end of four days. Before leaving he asked a parley of the Commander of the Barks, and told him that Radisson had gone with Chouärs his Nephew, 15 days ago, to winter in the River Ste Thérése, where they wintered a year. The Governor having left, they hoisted sail and arrived at Quebec on the first of 8ber 1685.

The Marquis de Denonville; 13th *October* 10th *and* 16th *November* 1686:—Affairs are becoming more and more embroiled, and the English who urge on the Iroquois are but too well aware of their evil design.

The French Coureurs de bois, with one hundred men, took from them three forts they were occupying in Hudson's bay.

The English towards Virginia and Boston have a frigate of twenty-five guns which ravages the coast of New France and the Gulf of St Lawrence; the ship that brought Sieur de Champigny rescued a little fishing smack from France that had been captured.

The Convention concluded with England that the river Bourbon or Port Nelson shall remain in joint occupation of the two Crowns, is not advantageous to the French, for the voyage of the English are too dangerous on account of their attracting the Coureurs de bois as much as possible, besides purchasing the beaver at a higher rate, and furnishing their goods cheaper, than the French. In his opinion, it would be more beneficial for the Company and Colony that the French merchants restore the posts at the head of the bay which they took, and that the French should leave them Port Nelson or river Bourbon. If this arrangement were feasible, the Indians could be thus intercepted by land, for it would be useless to attempt to become masters of the Upper part of the rivers Bourbon and Ste Therèse, inasmuch as it is impossible to prevent the Indians trading with the English.

[1] Now Cartridge river.

[2] Gov. Briger. — Ed.

The latter could, by this means, be intercepted by land, and we should have an opportunity of discovering an infinitude of Nations yet unknown, through whom a great many peltries can yet be procured, and possibly the passage and entrance to the Pacific Ocean eventually discovered.

Colonel Dongan caused the Five Iroquois Nations to be assembled at Orange in order to inform them that the French intended to declare war against them, and that they ought to anticipate them. He leaves no means untried to seduce the French and the Indians.

The Senecas and English are thoroughly united since M^{r} de la Barre went to their country Colonel Dongan took them under his protection and, after they had surrendered themselves to him by a Public Instrument, he caused posts with the arms of the King of England, to be set up in their Villages.

He has learned by the return of a man whom he had sent to Manathe, that Colonel Dongan had dispatched 50 Englishmen with some Frenchmen to go to Missilimakinack under the escort of Senecas with a view to induce the Outaouois to quit the French alliance.

These Englishmen are carrying abundance of merchandise to be given to the Indians at a cheaper rate than the French supply them. They are to carry them some prisoners also, in order to attach them entirely to themselves.

This Colonel is to dispatch 150 additional Englishmen accompanied by some Indians, and this is done, it is supposed, with the design to seize on some post.

On Colonel Dunguent being advised that Dulut was posted at the Detroit of Lake Erié, he transmitted an order to the 50 men whom he had sent off, to wait at the Senecas for the 150 that were to follow. Though they never questioned the right of the French to the country of the Indians, his desire to extract money from the merchants prompts him to attempt every thing. He furnishes his agents with passes, under the pretext of hunting; one of them was taken at Missilimakinac.

Sends a Memoir respecting a Speech he [Dongan] made to the Iroquois assembled at Manathe about the end of last September, to the following effect:—

I am very glad that we have this interview.

I am not well pleased that the Council fire is lighted at Katarakouy; you have well done not to go there. As for the Onnontagué and his son the Oneida who have been there, we shall see the result of the visit.

Wherefore have you killed the Tionnontatz and the Kiskakons? I wish the prisoners to return home.

I send thirty of my nephews to the Tionnontatz; I wish some Iroquois from each nation, but particularly the Senecas to accompany them. It will be at Tionontatée that all will hold a Council together for the good business my nephews will propose.

I am sending to recall the Christian Mohawks from the Sault. I give them land at the fishery of Ochiarenty where they will live with an English Jesuit that I shall furnish them.

There will be Missionaries from me throughout all the Iroquois country, and two at Seneca.

Let those who reside at Onondaga withdraw and go and dwell somewhere else, or where they came from.

Should the governor of Canada come to your Country with a large force, hasten quickly and let me know.

I will come; I'll know what he means; do not be the first to strike; let him begin; it will be with me he shall have to settle.

Pillage all the Europeans who will come into your country, even from the direction of Andastogué[1] and Maryland; tie them and bring them to me; I do not know them all; therefore what you'll take will be lawful prize.

This governor gave to each Nation seven blankets, three guns, one keg of rum, eight pounds of powder, 10 .... of lead.

The Iroquois say, the Merchants of Orange added the 4th article.

Marshal d'Estrées appointed Viceroy 1st of August, 1687.

Monsieur de Frontenac appointed Governor of Canada the 21st of May, 1689.

Mr de Callière on the twenty-fourth of April sixteen hundred and ninety-nine, by the death of Mr de Frontenac.

Sieur de Subrocase, Governor of fort St Louis of Placentia, appointed governor of Acadia 10 April 1706, in the place of Sieur de Brouillant deceased.

Regr des fonds Cotte 8, f° 76. 8°

Simon François Daumont Esquire Sieur de St Lusson, Commissioner subdelegate of my Lord the Intendant of New France, to search for the Copper mine in the countries of the Outaouais, Nespercez, Illinois and other Indian Nations discovered and to be discovered in North America near Lake Superior or the Fresh Sea.

On the orders by us received on the third of September last from My lord the Intendant of New France, signed and paraphéd Talon, and underneath By My lord Varnier, with paraph, to proceed forthwith to the countries of the Outaouais, Nespercez, Illinois and other nations discovered and to be discovered in North America near Lake Superior or the Fresh Sea, to make search and discovery there for all sorts of Mines particularly that of Copper; Commanding us moreover, to take possession, in the King's name, of all the country inhabited and uninhabited wherever we should pass, planting in the first village at which we land, the Cross in order to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and the escutcheon *(écu)* of France to confirm his Majesty's authority and the French dominion over it.

We having made, in virtue of our commission, our first landing at the village or hamlet of St Mary of the Falls, the place where the Reverend Jesuit fathers are making their mission and the Indian nations called Chipoës, Malamechs, Noquets and others do actually resided; we caused the greatest portion possible of the other neighboring Tribes to be assembled there, who attended to the number of fourteen Nations.

To wit; the Etchipoës, the Malamechs and the Noquets, inhabiting the said place of St Mary of the Sault; and the Banabeoüiks and Makamiteks; the Poulx teattemis, Ounabonims[2] Sassassaoüa Cottons, inhabiting the bay called *des Puants*, and who have undertaken to make it known to their neighbors who are the Illinois, Mascoutins, Outtongamis and other Tribes; the Christinos, Assinipoals, Aumonssonniks, Outaoüais, Bouscouttons, Niscaks and Masquikoukioeks, all inhabitants of the Northern Country and near neighbors of the Sea, who undertook to tell and communicate it to their neighbors who are said to be very numerous, inhabiting even the

[1] The Susquehannah.

[2] Qu? Oumalomins, i. e., Menominies. — Ed.

sea coast; To whom in presence of the Reverend Fathers of the Company of Jesus and of all the French hereafter mentioned, we have caused to be read our said Commission and had it interpreted in their language by Sieur Nicolas Perrot, his Majesty's interpreter in that part, so that they may not be ignorant of it; afterwards causing a Cross to be prepared in order that the fruits of Christianity be produced there, and near it a Cedar pole to which we have affixed the arms of France, saying three times in a loud voice and with public outcry, that In the name of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis, the XIV^th^ of the Christian name, King of France and Navarre, we take possession of the said place of S^t^ Mary of the Falls as well as of Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientolon[1] and of all other Countries, rivers, lakes and tributaries, contiguous and adjacent thereunto, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the Northern and Western Seas and on the other side by the South Sea including all its length or breadth; Raising at each of the said three times a sod of earth whilst crying *Vive le Roi*, and making the whole of the assembly as well French as Indians repeat the same; declaring to the aforesaid Nations that henceforward as from this moment they were dependent on his Majesty, subject to be controlled by his laws and to follow his customs, promising them all protection and succor on his part against the incursion or invasion of their enemies, declaring unto all other Potentates, Princes and Sovereigns, States and Republics, to them and their subjects, that they cannot or ought not seize on, or settle in, any places in said Country, except with the good pleasure of his said most Christian Majesty and of him who will govern the Country in his behalf, on pain of incurring his hatred and the effects of his arms; and in order that no one plead cause of ignorance, we have attached to the back of the Arms of France thus much of the present our Minute of the taking possession, Signed by us and the under named persons, who were all present.

Done at S^t^ Mary of the Falls on the 14^th^ June in the year of Grace 1671, in the presence of the Reverend fathers; the Reverend Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the missions in this Country, the Rev. Father Gabriel Drouillets, the Rev. Father Claude Allouëz, the Rev. Father André, all of the Company of Jesus; and of Sieur N^as^ Perrot, his Majesty's Interpreter in these parts; Sieur Jolliet, J^ques^ Mogras, an inhabitant of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau d^t^ de la Touppine, a Soldier belonging to the garrison of the Castle of Quebec, Denis Masse, F^çois^ de Chavigny S^r^ de la Chevriottière, J^ques^ Lagillier, Jeanne Mayseré, N^as^ Dupuis, F^çois^ Bidaud, J^ques^ Joniel, P^rre^ Portcet, Robert Duprat, Vital Oriol, Guillaume.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Versailles 30 June 1707.

Sir,

* * * * * * * * * * * *

It is very certain that in the present unfortunate condition of Canada, nothing is so important as to maintain peace with all the Indians, and it meets with the King's approbation that you have not urged on the action of the Outaouacks of Detroit for the reasons you submitted to me.

[1] Manitoualin. — Ed.

You will observe by his Majesty's despatch that he desires you to oblige these Indians to make a satisfaction proportionate to the offence they have committed, and that you come to an understanding on that point with Sieur de la Motte Cadillac who is on the spot, in order not to do any thing that might have a tendency to injure the establishment at Detroit at which he is at work. In all your dealings with these Indians, as well Iroquois as others, you will carefully observe to do every thing with the dignity that comports with your character, and without any indication of fear.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

He approves your having spoken with the firmness you mention to the Deputies sent to you by the Ouatouacks to execute[1] the action at Detroit. You must demand the punishment of the Chief of those Indians who was guilty of that act. But, in a word, you must at the same time manage the Indians who have always been attached to France, so as to prevent them casting themselves into the arms of the English.

I have read the copy of the order you have remitted to the said Sieur de la Motte before his departure for Detroit. All that it contains appeared to me adapted to the service, and I am persuaded he will conform thereunto. Inform me of what you'll learn that he will do to execute that order.

You authorized him thereby to permit the Indians of Detroit to wage war against the Islinois who killed some Frenchmen, but I believe it would be better to maintain peace among all the Indians, and to engage them to connect themselves with the French so as to have some resources in case of war either with the Iroquois or other Indians.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

You did well to write to the Missionaries among the Abenakis to have the war continued against the English unless Sieur de Subercasse give them orders to the contrary.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

I have already observed to you that his Majesty has approved the policy you have adopted to have parties sent to harass the English of Boston. If you could go and attack them yourself in their posts, his Majesty would be very glad of it. Should you determine on that expedition, I beg of you to adopt all possible measures to assure the success of your undertaking, and to take care that it be done at the smallest available expense, as we are not in condition to incur a heavy disbursement.

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Instructions to M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont.

Instruction to Sieur Daigremont subdelegate of Sieur Raudot, Intendant of New France, whom the King has selected to go to Fort Cataracouy, Niagara, Fort Detroit de Pontchartrain and to Missilimakinac.

Versailles 30th June 1707.

His Majesty intending to maintain these posts has been pleased to send thither a confidential person to verify their present condition, the trade carried on there and the utility they may be

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Excuse. — Ed.

of to the Colony of Canada. He has selected him, being well persuaded that he will punctually execute what is contained in this Memoir, and render a satisfactory report thereof on his return.

His Majesty desires that he leave Quebec as soon as the season will admit of the commencement of the voyage. He furnishes an order on the Marquis de Vaudreuil Governor-General of Canada, and Sieur Raudot to have him supplied with a Canoe and men necessary for its navigation with whatever provisions he shall require for subsistance during the voyage, without however any merchandise for trade.

The principal reason which has induced his Majesty to make him undertake this voyage is that Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who has charge of the establishment of Detroit de Pontchartrain, writes in all his letters that he does not receive from said Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot the aid which they have been ordered to furnish him, and that he found that post on his arrival in very bad condition. He pretends that the fort was without powder, Sieur de Tonty, who commanded there, having disposed of all that was there before leaving it; that the lands of the Colonial Company who held that post before him, lay fallow or in the occupancy of the Indians, the houses being all uncovered, no grain, the greatest portion of the peltries rotten and spoiled and the Company's store pillaged, and that he is able to prove these facts by several witnesses. His Majesty is desirous that he himself verify all that is alleged, and that he endeavor to discover the truth by unquestionable evidence.

He will, also, take information regarding what occurred in the action of the Outaouaks, and what occasioned them to attack fort Detroit and kill three Frenchmen, said Sieur Delamotte wishing to insinuate that they were stimulated to this act for the purpose of bringing about the failure of that establishment; finally, to report all he shall learn, and especially the conduct of Sieur de Bourgmont, the Commander of the fort on that occasion.

It appears by the letters of all the officers in garrison at Detroit, that there is not a finer nor a better country, and that all the favorable reports of it are true. Sieur de la Motte adds that there is no doubt but it is constantly the retreat of all the Nations in those parts; that it is very conveniently situated; that the Nations who inhabit the banks of the Lakes can reach it without passing any rapid or water-fall, and that the Indians in the interior come thither over very level roads. He will take equal care to inform himself if that fort combine all these advantages.

Sieur de la Motte writes, also, that he caused two canoes full of French wheat to be brought in order to sow the lands belonging to that post; likewise all sorts of other grain, and materials to build a large Mill. He will see if all these grains have succeeded, and if this Mill be in existence.

Sieur de la Motte reports that there is no one at that post to take charge of the sick, and that it is his wife and daughter who take care of them. He says that the Superior of the Grey Nuns[1] of Montreal will readily take charge of those sick, and that they are well adapted for a new Colony because they teach how to work, and are qualified for manufactures. He will be careful in passing through Montreal, to see and engage this Superior to adopt Sieur de la Motte's proposals, and will report the answer.

He will find hereunto annexed copy of the Treaty Sieur de la Motte concluded for the establishment of the Post of Detroit. He will verify whether it be faithfully executed especially

[1] Hospitaliers. *Text.*

whether the soldiers who have been given him by his Majesty's order have due justice as regards food and pay.

It appears from Sieur de la Motte's last letters that Arnold, Sieur de Lobiniere's son-in-law, was still actually at Missilimakinac carrying on trade along with a man named Boudor, a merchant of Montreal. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Raudot had orders to recall these two men, and if they be still in the place, his Majesty wishes that he order them to return promptly, the latter to his home and the other to Quebec, on pain of disobedience. He will take exact information of the trade these two men have carried on during their sojourn at Missilimakina and report thereupon.

Sieur de la Motte pretends that said Sieur de Vaudreuil has sent away from Detroit the interpreter of the Outaouacks who had always been paid by his Majesty and the Company, in order to have his Secretary's brother put in his place, because said Sieur de Vaudreuil has been desirous of having a man at that post entirely devoted to himself. He will inform himself of what has been done in that regard, and report whether the man removed from that office was as faithful as the said Sieur de la Motte pretends.

Sieur de Vaudreuil complains, on his side, that said Sieur de la Motte, from interested motives, wishes it to be understood that he thwarts him in his establishment, in order to render him suspected, but that Sieur de la Motte's only aim is to carry on a trade with the English, and to realize the largest profit possible from his post for his own interest exclusively.

Messrs Vaudreuil and Raudot write conjointly, that if there be any abuse in the sale of Brandy among the Indians, it can only proceed from Sieur de la Motte who carried with him some 15 barrels of it, and a large quantity of powder. They likewise observe to me that his agent at Quebec has written to him who is at Montreal, to give clearances to all the canoes who would go up to Detroit on condition of carrying thither 300lb weight in Brandy to Sieur de la Motte; and that, finally, it appeared to them that said Sieur de la Motte had a desire to trade, because he carried only Brandy and powder. As his Majesty wishes absolutely to enforce the prohibitions he has issued against carrying on any trade in Brandy with the Indians, he orders Sieur d'Aigremont to verify very precisely the quantity of liquor Sieur de la Motte has carried up, and inform himself what use he made of it. This is the principal motive that induced his Majesty to send to Detroit. Therefore, he must direct all his attention to thoroughly clear up the fact and to report fully thereupon.

He will proceed from fort Detroit to Missilimakinac in order to visit that quarter, and will inform himself of the number of French there, and the trade they carry on with the merchants of Montreal and Quebec, and finally, of all those who are interested in their trade. He will act in concert with the Missionaries on the spot respecting the conduct to be observed with the Outaouaks, and will take information of them as to the dispositions these Indians entertain towards the French. He will likewise acquire every information possible respecting the advantages of that post, so as to render an exact report thereupon when he returns.

His Majesty is informed that the English are endeavoring to seize the post at Niagara, and that it is of very great importance for the preservation of Canada to prevent them so doing, because were they masters of it, they would bar the passage and obstruct the communication with the Indian allies of the French, whom as well as the Iroquois they would attract to them by their trade, and dispose, whenever they pleased, to wage war on the French. This would desolate Canada and oblige us to abandon it.

It is alleged that this post of Niagara could serve as an entrepôt to the establishment at Detroit, and facilitate intercourse with it by means of a bark on lake Ontario; that in fine, such a post is of infinite importance for the maintenance of the Colony of Canada, and that it can be accomplished by means of Sieur de Joncaire whom M. de Vaudreuil keeps among the Iroquois. His Majesty desires Sieur d'Aigremont to examine on the spot whether the project be of as great importance for that Colony as is pretended, and in such case, to inquire with said Sieur de Joncaire, whether it would be possible to obtain the consent of the Iroquois to have a fort and garrison there, and, conjointly make a very detailed report of the means which would be necessary to be used to effect it, and of the expense it would require; finally to ascertain whether it would be desirable that he should have an interview with said Sieur Joncaire, and that they should have a meeting at Niagara.

It has been attempted to give his Majesty to understand that M. de Vaudreuil keeps said Sieur de Joncaire among the Iroquois for the purpose of trading there and of destroying the establishment at Detroit. His Majesty appears to be of a contrary opinion. Nevertheless he will not fail to inform himself of the conduct of said Sieur de Joncaire so as to be able to report thereupon.

Mess^{rs} de Vaudreuil and Raudot have informed his Majesty that they have thought proper not to farm fort Frontenac, and to retain it for his Majesty's account, being persuaded it will not be any charge. They state that they have given the command of it to Sieur de Tonty; As his Majesty has not been satisfied with the conduct of the latter whilst in command at Detroit, on account of the considerable trade, it is alleged, he carried on there, Sieur Daigremont will, when passing through that place, inform himself very exactly whether said Sieur de Tonty continues to carry on trade on his own account, because in such case it would be necessary to withdraw him from that post. A return will be rendered of the merchandise said Sieur Raudot will have sent to that place for purposes of trade and what they produced, and he will enter into the minutest detail possible thereupon in order to determine from the profit derivable from those merchandises, whether it will be proper to maintain that post on the footing said Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot have established it or whether it will be necessary to farm it.

He will be careful, likewise, to inform himself of the conduct, in respect of Trade, of all those who will be at that post; because it is not proper that any one pursue commerce there; and render an exact account to his Majesty of every thing he has learned.

Louis XIV. to M. de Vaudreuil.

Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General, and Sieur Raudot, Intendant of New France.

Versailles 30th of June 1707.

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His Majesty has approved their determination to send a canoe to Missilimakinac in quest of the prisoners the Outaouacks had promised to the Iroquois, so as to prevent the latter declaring war. He desires Sieur de Vaudreuil to keep up a good correspondence with all the Indian

Nations in order to prevent them declaring against the French, it being of the utmost importance to the preservation of the Colony. He empowers him to adopt all measures he will consider proper for that purpose, and if he be absolutely obliged to send some canoes to those Indian Nations, he recommends him in an especial manner to prevent any Brandy being conveyed to them. The best and most certain means of effecting that, would be to avoid entirely these sorts of voyages, because those who prosecute them, apply themselves exclusively to trade.

His Majesty has not approved their proposal to permit those who navigate the canoes they are obliged to send to the Indians, to carry 300^{ll} worth of Merchandise each. This would be authorizing the prohibited trade, which His Majesty is absolutely unwilling should be carried on. He has therefore disapproved the permission granted to the Frenchman whom they furnished the Indian that came down with Maurice Menard to assist him in getting back to Missilimakinac, to carry 300^{ll} worth of goods, and again strongly and absolutely recommends them not to send any canoe thither except under a necessity positively indispensable. In which case they must forbid loading these canoes with merchandise under pain of punishment, and must even have them inspected, in order that an example be made of those who shall contravene their prohibitions.

His Majesty expects that Sieur de Vaudreuil will oblige the Outaouacks of Detroit to make satisfaction commensurate with the offence they have been guilty of, in attacking fort Detroit and killing three Frenchmen. From all that has been reported of that action it appears that Sieur de Bourgmont, who commanded that fort, did not adopt proper measures to prevent it. M. de Vaudreuil ought to come to an understanding with Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who is at Detroit, as to what will have to be done to bring these Indians to reason and to maintain peace between them and the French, as that comports with the interests of the Colony.

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His Majesty would be very glad could the giving presents to the Indians be dispensed with, as it creates an immense expense which it is necessary to avoid; renders them lazy besides, and causes them to regard presents, if given them ordinarily, as their due. If, as they pretend, it be impossible to dispense with these presents, and to retain these Indians in the French interest, they must be reduced little by little, until they can be entirely stopped, whereunto all attention must be directed.

His Majesty has seen what they write respecting the answer M^{r} Dudley, Governor of New England, made regarding the proposed Treaty of Neutrality. 'Tis proper that such Treaty be general for the entire government of New France and the countries dependent on the Crown of England, and his Majesty is absolutely unwilling that Sieur de Vaudreuil treat with M^{r} Dudley on any other principle. Should the latter consent thereunto, M. de Vaudreuil is to be very careful not to insert any thing in that Treaty that can wound the honor of the nation, and he is to send a copy thereof by the first opportunity that will offer. He will take care that it be not in the name of Queen Anne, as his Majesty does not recognize her as Queen of England. M. de Subercasse, governor of Acadia, writes that he was working on his side to conclude a Treaty also with the English Governor. He has had orders sent him to report his proceedings to Sieur de Vaudreuil, and to follow all he will prescribe as well in that as in every other matter that regards his government. Sieur de Vaudreuil will have seen by letters he must have received from M. de Subercasse, what aid the latter demands for the

purpose of making an attempt on the English settlements towards Boston. His Majesty desires that he be afforded all possible assistance, without, however, depriving Canada of the means of defending herself if attacked.

His Majesty orders the remittance of the 3000^{ll} they demand for the vessel they have sent to Boston with a portion of the English prisoners that were at Quebec, in exchange for several Frenchmen whom the governor of Boston has sent to Port Royal.

His Majesty has been informed by letters from Acadia that the man Alain, who returned from Boston and whom the Superior Council of Quebec has acquitted of the charges advanced against him of having been connected with the English, is not wholly innocent. He has given orders to Sieur Begon to have him watched, and to examine into his conduct.

He has approved the diligence Sieur de Vaudreuil has made use of to stop the 5 or 6 settlers who had set off in a canoe to go and sell Beaver at Orange. It is to be regretted that the detachments sent for that purpose had missed them. Meanwhile, M. de Vaudreuil has done well to imprison the men named Culirier, who has been pointed out to him, and the father of the man named S^{t} Germain, whose son has run away, so as to oblige the latter to return. His Majesty desires that Sieur Raudot prosecute this affair in order that these settlers be punished as an example. If, however, proofs of their trading cannot be obtained, they must remain in prison at least 5 or 6 months.

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M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

Quebec, 24th of July, 1707.

My Lord,

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The attack on the Miamis by the Outtauois last year, back of Detroit, appeared to have embroiled the affairs of the Upper Countries so much the more, as, not only divers Indian Nations both on one side and the other found themselves implicated, but as we were ourselves interested in it, having lost in the action a Missionary and a Soldier. I had the honor to report to you at the time of the occurrence, the circumstances which attended it, and the reasons that obliged me, not to manage the Outtaouis, but to endeavor not to lose them altogether, under the apprehension I entertained that they would be some day necessary to us and that it was no longer time to deliberate on the propriety of attaching them to our interests. I had the honor, My Lord, last autumn to send you a copy of what the Outtauois had authorized one Miscouaky, and afterwards Sieur Boudor to say to me, to exonerate themselves in some sort from the deaths of the Recollect Father[1] and the Soldier.

The peace of this Colony as well as its interest requiring tranquillity rather than war among all the Indian Nations, I have considered it for the King's service to seek for means of accommodating this affair, without it appearing, however, that we were insensible to the blow received from the Outtauois. You have been able to perceive, My Lord, from my answers to

[1] Rev. Nicolas Benoit Constantin, a Franciscan, who had been killed on 6th June 1706. — Ed.

Miscouaky last fall, that without consenting to listen to the reasons he gave me on the part of Jean le Blanc his brother, one of the principal Outtauois chiefs, I did not make him despair, neither, of all hope of pardon; giving him, however, to understand that after the insult the Outtaouais had offered me in killing my Missionary and my Soldier, it is not an easy matter to appease me, and that French blood is not paid for by Beaver or Belts. Nothing could do that, but an entire resignation to my will and an abandonment as it were of one's self to my benevolence. These are the terms, My Lord, I used in speaking to him.

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I am with much Respect
My Lord,
Your most humble and most
obedient Servant
VAUDREUIL.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. Raudot.

Versailles 6th June 1708.

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You observe to me that it is impossible to prevent the Indians domiciliated among the French to convey beavers to the English. It is, however, what must be done by all means that can possibly be used. I do, therefore, recommend you to inquire into the means available for that purpose and to inform me thereof. It is in no way advisable that the Indians visit Orange and other English settlements, and an effort should be made to excite a vigorous and general war between these Indians and the English. I recommend you to turn all possible attention to this matter, by observing to arrange with M. de Vaudreuil whatever can be done for that purpose. I expect you to prosecute this business with all possible vigor because the safety of the Colony of Canada depends thereon. If any order be necessary at this side, I shall send it as soon as you have advised me thereof.

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Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Raudot.

Versailles, 6th of June, 1708.

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He refers to what he has written; in case Sieur de Vaudreuil conclude a Treaty of Neutrality with the Governor of New England it must be general for the entire extent of the government of New France and the countries dependent on New England; it must not be in the name of the Princess Anne because his Majesty doth not recognize her as Queen of England, and Sieur

de Vaudreuil must be careful that nothing be inserted in the Treaty that can wound the honor of the Nation. Should he happen to conclude this Treaty it is necessary that he transmit copy of it by the first opportunity that will present.

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You will, likewise, see by this Memoir the proposition that has been made to seize the post of Niagara, to build a fort and appoint a commandant there, it being in the midst of the Iroquois settlements from which it would be very difficult to expel the English if once established there. It is proposed also to have goods given to these Indians at a low price, to prevent them going to the English, and to fix a tariff of the prices at which they might purchase them; because if it approximate ever so little to the price of those articles they derive from the English, we may be certain that all those Indians will side with the French and make war against the English. As that would be an important point for the Colony, I should be very glad could he succeed in having these goods furnished. I pray you to inquire into the means available for that purpose, and to communicate your opinion to me more fully thereupon.

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Sieur de la Motte proposes also to form four or at least two Indian Companies at Detroit in addition to the French companies there. He pretends it would be of great use to the Colony as it would attach the Indians to the French, and no further fears need be entertained of the Iroquois nor of the English, because were they to undertake any expedition against Canada, he would be able with the French and Indian troops, to carry at a blow all the Iroquois villages and to capture their women and children. His plan would be to place these companies on the same footing as those of the French, and to have them commanded by the most popular Indians among their Tribes; to make a separate corps of them, directing that the youngest French Captain should command the oldest Indian Captain. As this might be of use, his Majesty desires Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot to discuss this proposition thoroughly with Sieur d'Aigremont, and send their opinion with their reasons for and against the same.

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Done &c.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Versailles 6th June 1708.

Sir,

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His Majesty explains to you in his common letter, his intentions in case you might negotiate safely with the Governor of Boston either for a general exchange of prisoners on both sides, or for a neutrality between both Colonies, and you have merely to conform yourselves thereunto.

He approves your having spoken as you have done to the man named Schaldin whom that Governor sent to you overland in quest of the English prisoners at Quebec, and even had you imprisoned him and those of his suite, it would have been no great harm. You did well to send these prisoners to Orange under the charge of an officer and a detachment of soldiers,

and to recommend that officer to inform himself of what was passing at Orange and in the countries in that direction in possession of the English. I have submitted to his Majesty what you report to me of the incidents that happened to that officer during his voyage. He has been very glad to learn that the Governor of New-York and the Commandant at Orange had appeared to him disposed to live in peace with the French, and not to meddle with European affairs. But all that must not stop you a moment from sending out expeditions against them, unless they agree on a Treaty of Neutrality.

You did well, also, to instruct that officer to send some letters to Boston, to give the populace to understand that, if war continued between both Colonies, it was solely the fault of the Council of Boston; so as to be able in this way to create division between the people and the Council.

After all that had been written directing you to cause the English of Boston to be harrassed either by parties of Frenchmen or Indians, His Majesty expected to receive news of some expedition against them, and is not satisfied with the inactivity in which you remain with such numerous forces as you have. The rather as the people of that government were thereby enabled to attack Acadia. He positively desires you to send frequent parties against them, and even to seize the first opportunity that will offer, to go yourself to attack them in their posts provided you be sure of success. Observe only that it be effected at the least possible expense, and transmit to me a report of what you will do.

I have received with pain your representation of the trade which the Indian allies of the French carry on with Orange. It is of the highest importance to prevent it because it would tend to make us lose the greatest portion of our Indians. Therefore I request you to endeavor so to manage and engage them to make war against the English, as to put a stop to all such commercial intercourse.

His Majesty has approved of the answer you caused to be given to the Deputies from the Mohawks who, under pretence of renewing the alliance with the French, came to the Indians of the Sault for the purpose of selling some English goods, and to induce them to remain neuter. I wrote to M. de Ramezy that his Majesty is satisfied with the conduct he observed with these Deputies in order to make them take back the goods they had brought. I recommend him also to adopt all possible measures to prevent that trade. You know of what importance this is to the Colony; I am therefore, persuaded that you will, on your part, give all necessary orders on that point.

His Majesty has approved your having furnished M^{r} de Subercasse the provisions he required. He writes me that he had received them, and that they were a great relief to him. He has orders to inform you exactly of every thing he will learn respecting the expeditions the English of Boston might yet attempt against Acadia, and to keep up a continual correspondence with you, in order that you may be aiding to him on occasions in which he might find himself straitened. By the copy of the letter I write him and which I send you, you will see the orders his Majesty gives him, whereupon you will please to arrange with him respecting the assistance you are to furnish him. I send you also copy of the despatch I write to M. de Costibelle, so that you may, likewise, be in possession of the orders his Majesty gives him for the preservation of Placentia.

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I am &c.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

Quebec, 1 November 1708.

My Lord,

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Peace or necessary in Canada depends, My Lord, on that we have with the Iroquois and in that view I see that I direct all my attention to the due extension of Neutrality with them. For that purpose I employ every year Sieur de Joncaire, who, having all possible influence among the Senecas and a great deal in Onnontague, is of great assistance to us in that country in counterbalancing the English party, which does not fail to be considerable principally in Onnontague. Sieur de Joncaire possesses every quality requisite to insure success. He is daring, liberal, speaks the language in great perfection, hesitates not even whenever it is necessary to decide. He deserves that your Grace should think of his promotion, and I owe him this justice, that he acquires himself with great zeal and attention in the good of the service.

Up to this time the Iroquois appear to me very well disposed towards us in spite of the distrust of us which the English are desirous of diffusing among them. It was not their fault this summer if matters were not smoothed, having in order to effect that object engaged a young Indian belonging to those who are with them in the village of Onnontague, to kill a soldier belonging to the garrison of Detroit who well merited his desertion. This affair having become known in the village, they sent several chiefs and others to Montreal to request me to seek, myself, the remedy to this affair, assuring me that the whole village had no hand in it, and that this young man considered himself justified in killing that Soldier because a deserter among us is reputed dead, and I had even said to the Senecas two years ago, when they requested me to pardon two deserters, that none but the King could do it. You will see My Lord, by their speeches and my answers, what transpired on that occasion. They promised me a prisoner in the place of this Soldier. I would have demanded of them the Indian who had committed the deed, but as the Soldier is a deserter, and the English were only waiting for that demand to make the nations they have in Onnontague rise up in favor of that young Indian, I considered it better to receive their submission than to pursue and hazard the war on account of an unfortunate fellow who had no brains knocked out only because he was a deserter. I considered it would deter the other Soldiers who would incline to take the same route. I, however, intend the Iroquois ever to consider a similar act deserving in them that a deserter is no less a Frenchman, and should that occur again I should be under the obligation of avenging his death, as I would that of any other person. They promised me that I should have no cause to complain of them, and as for me, I promised them that, if they would arrest the deserters and bring them to me here or to Fort Frontenac, I should reward them.

I have every reason to believe, My Lord, that a good effect will have been produced in the minds of the Iroquois by the surrender of the three prisoners on the part of the Outaouas to these Onnontague chiefs who came to Montreal. Father Lamberville, who has returned to Onnontague, informs me by a letter he writes me on the 2nd of September last, that he doubts not but the Onnontagues will assemble all the nations in their village for the purpose of deliberating on what I said at Montreal to the Chiefs and ancients who came to speak to me, and that he hopes they will afford me all possible satisfaction.

I see no prospect of concluding any accommodation or Treaty with the Governor of Boston. It seems to me even by the letters I receive from Acadia, that M. de Subercasse has no reason to praise them in the exchanges they have made with him. Nevertheless, if the good of the service require that I make a treaty with them, I shall follow step by step his Majesty's orders.

I had the honor to submit to you several times in my joint and individual letters, the reasons which led me not to send any expeditions against the government of New-York or Orange, having promised the Iroquois not to do so, as these nations, however friendly they be to us, are still more so to the Dutch. It would be dangerous to break my word which would serve them as a pretext for beginning the war. Therefore, My Lord, I pray you to approve of my not having undertaken any expedition in that direction; at least, until the Dutch begin first, or I have received fresh orders from his Majesty and yourself to do so.

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VAUDREUIL.

Reverend Jacques d'Heu to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Copy of a letter written by the Reverend Father d'Heu, Missionary of the Company of Jesus, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil from Onnontagué, the 24th of May, 1708.

Sir,

As Monsieur de Joncaire is to arrive here shortly according to his letter to me, and will communicate to you much better than I can do the state of the affairs of this country, and the disposition of men's minds, I fail not to embrace the opportunity which presents to obey with all the exactitude possible, the orders you have given me. Two Indians belonging to this village have set out, since my last letter, to go to the country of the Gannaouens,[1] Indians of Virginia who came here last summer in ambuscade, as I had the honor to write you at that time. These two Indians are intrusted with three belts; the first to demand of the Gannaouens if it be true that they have thrown in the fire the Belts the Iroquois gave them last summer in answer to theirs, and the reason why they did so; the second, to know if it be true that several of their Chiefs have died, and that they accuse the Iroquois of having bewitched them, and to advise them of the death of those of this place; the third, to inform them of the news of the Outtauois, and to induce them to join them in case of an open rupture. They have not yet returned from that country. The Indians according to their custom circulate a great many rumors to which much credit must not be attached. They reported that Pere Zant[2] has been killed whilst hunting; that the English of Virginia had received a great number of soldiers from Europe, in ten ships which arrived in that country in the beginning of winter; that the Chaouenons seeing themselves disturbed by some neighboring nations who are making war on them, talk of coming to join the Iroquois; that the Ouimiamis are to have this spring a Talk with the Iroquois at the place agreed on; that there will be another Talk in an embassy between the Saulteurs, Mississaguez and Iroquois; that a French Captain towards the Ouabache

[1] Kenhawas!

[2] Pesant, an Ottawa Chief. *Charlevoix*, II. — Ed.

and Mississipy had destroyed seven Indian villages. The news which gives them most pain is the pretended establishment of the Outauois at Kataracouy and Niagara, and of the French at the latter of these two posts and at La Gallette. The English emissary who arrived here at the end of February, and who is at present at Oneida, after having remained here a month and a half, and some weeks at Cayuga, said in a Council he had assembled here on his arrival, that Ksiter[1] was giving them notice of the design the French entertained of establishing themselves, this spring, in the two posts I have spoken of, and as he was ever watchful for their preservation, he advised them, on that account alone, to absolutely oppose it. He had no difficulty in persuading people who take umbrage at mere trifles, but when he would annex Ksiter's proposals to establish himself at the lower end of the river of Onnontagué, five leagues from its mouth, in a place called Gaskonchiage and at the head of Lake Thirogen near Oneida, he encountered more opposition. The proposal to settle at Gastonechiage was absolutely rejected and the other proposition regarding Tirogen was referred to the Oneidas. The design of the English if executed would be very prejudicial to the welfare of the French Colony, for it would attract several of the Upper Nations, by trade. I am persuaded that it will require but a few overcoats, blankets, etc. judiciously distributed to calm these spirits and to oblige them to oppose strongly the designs of the English, who frequently make a great deal of noise for nothing. The English emissary corroborated all the news from Europe, received from Quebec. He told me that a ship had arrived at Menade in the winter, but the news had not transpired; which means, that they were not favorable to them. The Chiefs will go this summer to Orange; it is Ksiter who calls them there. A portion of them will go to Montreal about the affair of *Pezant* and the establishments at Niagara and La Gallette; they wish likewise to bewail the death of M^r^ Hiberville. The English blacksmith has returned after nine months' absence. On his arrival those of the French party were not willing to give him the anvil which belongs to them, and concealed it at my house and requested that a smith be sent from Montreal. That matter, I told them, would be discussed on M. de Joncaire's arrival. It seems to me that it would be very important for the good of religion and the French Colony, were there a French blacksmith here; the Englishman would then decamp. But this Blacksmith should be under the Black Gown and an exemplary man. One Donné would be our man, but I see no prospect of him. The anvil was given to the English blacksmith, because those of the English party were beginning to mutiny. But I'm told that if a Blacksmith came from Montreal he would get at once the anvil and all the tools belonging to those of the French party.

This, Sir, is all that my memory supplies me at present. M. de Joncaire who is soon to arrive will be able to inform you exactly of every thing. I am with most profound respect Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant

Signed D'HEU, Jesuit.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I have the honor of writing to you at present in order to transmit you copy of a letter I have just received from Peter Schuyler, which will enable your Lordship to understand what

[1] Peter Schuyler. — ED.

ravages are committed by the Indian parties I send into the Boston government, and how necessary even it was for me to take the course I have this year adopted in order to induce them to continue the war. It appears in some way by this letter, that Peter Schuyler wishes to engage me in new negotiations. If that be the case I shall wait for them, My Lord, and will punctually follow the orders I have received from his Majesty and you.

M. de Longueuil, Major of Montreal and commandant of that place in M. de Rameżay's absence, informs me in other letters which I received at the same time, that an Englishman, lately taken prisoner by our Indians had, after having been expressly interrogated on divers indifferent matters by M. Meriel, a priest of the Seminary, answered the question—How happens it that, there being so many fine young men in your Country, no expedition was sent against us?—That the fault was not theirs; that over five hundred of them had demanded of the governor to be allowed to come to war to this country, on condition that they should themselves select their commanders from their number, in order to form several parties, and that they had even hired some Indians to act as guides. That the Governor of Boston had granted their request and that, as they were preparing to leave, Peter Schuyler had written to the governor of Boston that he was now master of the Christian Indians; that they had all promised him they would not go to war against the English, and they need not entertain any further fears of the French as they were not in a position to do much harm, having no Indians with them, and this it was that had put a stop to their expeditions.

The same prisoner, My Lord, also told M. Meriel that it had been reported in their country that our party consisted of sixteen hundred men; that when they learned it was a party only of about two hundred that had made the attack, they were greatly surprised, and that when he was taken, the Governor of Boston was still under the impression, that it was but a feint, and that we had other parties out in the woods; that that obliged them to be always under arms and that the people belonging to the Boston government were suffering greatly from these expenses; he, likewise, says that the populace of the Boston government is desirous to come to Canada in order to obtain revenge, but that the most influential and most wealthy say, It must not be, as perhaps we shall not continue our attacks on them; that a good defence is all that's necessary to repel us. This is what has been obtained from this prisoner.

M. de Longueuil informs me, next, that an Indian recently from Orange reports that Peter Schuyler has made a present to the Iroquois on behalf of the Governor of Menathe, of fifty pieces of cloth, half scarlet and half Iroquois *(estoffe à l'Iroquoise)*, fifty guns, ten barrels of powder, some lead, three hundred shirts, one hundred and sixty kegs of rum, being two quarts per man, ten bundles of stockings, three hundred hatchets, and three hundred knives.

Two days after this, another Indian reports the same thing, and in addition, that he saw two houses full of biscuit and that the commandant of the fort is having some baked now; he adds, that the Interpreter of that place spoke in these words:—"Brother. I am sorry I cannot avoid telling you bad news; it is, that next winter is to be the last of your days, unless you save yourselves by burying yourselves in the depths of the forests. The English whom you strike, are angry, and have resolved to go and devour your villages, and to establish themselves at La Prerie de la Magdelaine, and next spring several vessels will go and take Quebec. This is settled. Your country is ruined; if you do not wish to perish, you Indians, profit by the counsel I give you. Take my advice, Brothers. Let the English and the French fight, and have nothing to do with either of them."

I fear not these menaces, My Lord; and 'tis clear to me that if the Englishman were inclined to come and attack us, he would not send us word. One thing is certain however; that considerable presents have been made to the Iroquois, and that on the other hand the Dutch are fortifying themselves at Orange, and have at their own expense had the two Mohawk villages also fortified.

I shall be on the alert respecting all the movements they may make, and I have now two trusty Indians in Orange. I have some, also, dispersed among the Iroquois. Therefore, depend on it, My Lord, whether I act on the offensive or defensive, I shall neglect nothing in my power to contribute to the good of the public service and the preservation of this colony.

I consider myself obliged to speak here, My Lord, of M. de Longueuil. It is through him, as I have had the honor to advise you in the beginning of my letter, that I have obtained all this information. He is universally loved and esteemed. Even the Indians repose great confidence in him, and he performs his duties in a manner to entitle him to the honor of your protection.

As the English are sparing no pains to win the confidence of our Indians, and as, on the other hand, it is important to protect them from the insults of our enemies, if we wish to preserve them, I propose to have completed, this winter, all our Indian forts, as well as to have all the redoubts or little forts in the settlements inspected, in order to be prepared for whatever may happen. I have the honor to be with much Respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant

VAUDREUIL.

Quebec this 12th of November, 1708.

Colonel Schuyler to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Copy of a letter from M^r^ Peter Schuyler to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, translated by Monsieur Meriel, a priest of the Seminary of Montreal.

Orange, 26^th^ September, (7^th^ Oct.) 1708.

Sir,

I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the eleventh of August by Onongaresson. In regard to the Belt I sent for the purpose of preventing the Indians taking part in the War which is waging against the government of Boston, I must admit that I did send it from an impulse of christian charity. I could not help believing that it was my duty towards GOD and my neighbor to put a stop, if possible, to those heathenish and barbarous cruelties which have been but too frequently wreaked on the unfortunate people of that province. You will pardon me if I tell you that I am disgusted when I think that a war which is carried on by christian Princes, who by the example and the practice left by their noble ancestors, are bound to observe the most rigid rules of honor and generosity, should degenerate into savage and reckless barbarity. I cannot conceive how it is possible to put an end to the war by such means. I wish every one were of my opinion on this subject; some there are, and

I doubt not but there must be many others.* I should be very glad to induce you to participate my sentiments, which are prompted by a principle of generosity and honor whereby I feel myself obliged to tender you my sincere thanks for your obliging letter, and though I might not divest myself of common charity towards the human race, I pray you to continue to be persuaded that I am, saving always my duty to his Majesty,

Sir, your Lordship's most obliged
and most humble servant.
(Signed) P. SCHUYLER.

M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont to M. de Pontchartrain.

Extracts.

My Lord,

Pursuant to the orders you were pleased to honor me with, dated the 30th June and 13th July 1707, I left Montreal on the 5th of June last, to proceed to the frontier posts of Canada, and returned on the 12th of September following.

I shall begin, My Lord, by reporting to you what I remarked at Fort Frontenac, because that is the 1st Post met with in passing through the Lakes.

Captain de Tonty was then in command of it; near that fort is an Iroquois village consisting of six cabins, the chief of which and principal men of each cabin requested to speak to me. I at once granted their request.

They expressed much dissatisfaction of Mr de Tonty to me and made little of him; represented him as very selfish, and that if they were in want of any provisions, they must, in order to obtain them, carry him peltries, which he received as if they had made him a present of them. Otherwise he would not take notice of their necessities.

Under this pretence, My Lord, his Majesty's property has been somewhat wasted, which would not have been the case, had he not the administration of the ammunition and provisions; for it appears to me contrary to all sort of rule to intrust this detail to the Commandant whilst there is a Commissary of Trade. It would seem to me more natural were this Commissary intrusted with all the King's property, not to be delivered except on the order of the Commandant and on occasions when his Majesty's service would demand it.

Sieur de la Gorgendiere who is the Commissary, has reported to me that there arrived at that fort on the 5th and 6th of June last, three Canoes of Mississagets and Sauteurs, of whom a portion were those who had destroyed, some three or four years previous, the Iroquois Village established at said fort.

That they brought about 15 or 16 beavers to Mr de Tonty, telling him they were come to trade, and requesting him to cause them to be supplied with goods at a low rate; that Mr de Tonty had them furnished at the same price as the Iroquois, and that he, afterwards, had them treated to three half-pints of Brandy and a fathom of tobacco apiece; that when the Indians had drank the Brandy, they again presented Mr de Tonty seven martins, one fisher *(pekan)* and a beaver, telling him again to lower the price of the merchandise and to treat their young

men to some drink; that Mr de Tonty caused them to be supplied again with three half-pints of Brandy, which completed their intoxication to such a degree that when they were in their huts, they chanted there the songs of the Iroquois whom they had taken prisoners when they destroyed the village, and uttered many disagreeable things of them. Among the rest, that they were bewitched *(malingres)* which, among Indians, is the greatest of all insults. There happened at that time to be at the fort some of those Iroquois who had been prisoners, who, as well as the other Iroquois, were highly incensed at this, and it is a wonder that they should have had so much moderation as to be able to conceal this indignation.

Sieur de la Gorgendiere has also reported to me that, on the 20th of May, three more canoes of Mississaguets and Sauteurs arrived at said fort, who traded there a part of their beaver and all their peltry; that they requested him to ask M. de Tonty's permission to go to Onontagué to buy some Indian corn, which he did; but M. de Tonty having neglected to speak to them, and wishing to oblige them to apply directly to himself, these Indians went to the English to trade the rest of their beaver without our knowledge.

Sieur de la Gorgendiere has again reported to me that, on the 8th of June, three more Canoes of Mississaguets and Sauteurs arrived at said fort, who after having traded their peltry with the exception of the Beaver, told him that they were going to carry this to the English; that having advised Mr de Tonti of it, he had the Indians called before him and told them that he understood they wished to go to the English, but that he closed the road against them; that the Mississaguets and Sauteurs said among themselves, 'tis because we have not made him any presents, and told Mr de Tonti they would see him again in the evening, which they did, and brought him a Moose-hide and four beavers, saying to him, We again ask by these peltries that the road to the English be opened; that Mr de Tonti kept the peltries and did not allow them to pass, which was productive of a bad effect on the minds of these Indians and of the Iroquois present, who complained to me of it. When a request is not granted, the presents should not be retained. Such is the custom among Indians.

Several soldiers complained to me that Mr de Tonti had sold them Brandy at 8ll the pot. This is an exorbitant price because at Montreal it is not worth 5 dr the pot, and it cost him nothing to convey it to fort Frontenac. Moreover, he had them eaten up by the pretense of discount, and put it beyond their power to have their linen washed and to keep themselves in shoes and stockings. It is, however, to be remarked, My Lord, that notwithstanding all these petty larcenies, Mr de Tonti is deeply in debt; an evident proof that they have not done him much good. What may have driven him to it is, the numerous family he is burdened with, which is in such a poor condition as to excite pity.

Sieur de la Gorgendiere also reported to me that he had learned from some Iroquois Indians that a canoe belonging to four Frenchmen who were going up to Detroit had passed the winter in the bay of Quinté in Lake Ontario, thirty leagues from fort Frontenac; that they had come at the Epiphany to said fort whence they took an Iroquois with them to hunt; that on their return, they met some Outais coming to trade at said fort whom they brought into their hut and sold them Brandy for their peltries.

That the man named Conque on his way, afterwards, to the fort to trade, whilst passing by the hut of those four Frenchmen, sold them all his peltry for Brandy so that he was two days drunk.

It is of advantage to preserve this post, for, by its means, the Iroquois could not make any movement without it being known; and as it is convenient, 'twill be always easy to upset their

plans as soon as they become known; it being an invariable rule among the Indians to abandon their projects when once discovered. Information can always be obtained by means of these Indians of what is going on among the English, and consequently any expeditions they could organize against us would be opposed with more facility, it being certain that they are trying every means to embroil these Indians with us.

It would be of advantage were a greater number of these Indians settled near this fort, for they would serve as so many hostages to prevent the Iroquois waging war against us. To draw them thither it would be necessary to construct a fort there, at some distance, capable of containing about 30 or 40 families, and to make, from time to time, some trifling presents to them; namely, some powder, lead and tobacco, to the Chiefs, and some bread to the Women and Children. I believe that by these means as many would be brought there in a short time as such a fort could contain, and were this point once gained, this Village would be a great obstacle to all the projects those Iroquois could wish to organize against the prosperity of the Colony.

These Indians esteem the Jesuits, whom they call Black gowns, more than they do the Recollets, whom they call Grey gowns. Therefore it would be necessary to furnish them with a Jesuit as missionary to induce them, from principles of Religion, to be loyal to the King. The Commandant of the fort will supply the rest, under the orders of the governor.

It is of very great importance to prevent the English forming any new establishments on Lake Ontario, for were they once fixed there, they would cut us off from all communication with the Iroquois; which would be attended with marked prejudice to the Colony. If despite of all that has been already said, the Iroquois should make war on us, fort Frontenac would still be very important to us as a retreat to the Indian allies of the Upper Country, who would thereby be more easily led to make war on them, inasmuch as they will find there whatever assistance they will need.

I have the honor to transmit you herewith, My Lord, an informal balance-sheet, from which you will see the product of the trade at fort Frontenac, and the expense incurred there on account of that trade. This, My Lord, is all I have been able to observe at said fort.

I left there the 20th of June, on my way to Niagara where I appointed to meet Sieur Joncaire. I arrived, on the 27th of the same month, at the site of the former fort, where I found him. After conversing some time respecting this post, he admitted, My Lord, that the advantages capable of being derived from it, by fortifying it and placing a garrison there, would be, namely—that a number of Iroquois would separate from all their villages, and establish themselves there, by whose means we could always know what would be going on in those Villages and among the English, and that it would be thereby easy to obviate all the expeditions that could be organized against us.

That the Iroquois would trade off there all the Moose, Deer and Bear skins, they might bring, as these peltries could not be transported to the English except by land, and consequently with considerable trouble.

That the Mississaguets settled at Lake Ste Claire, who also convey a great many peltry to the English, will not fail in like manner to trade off their moose, deer and bear-skins there.

That the Miamis, having, like the Mississaguets, demanded by a Belt of the Iroquois a passage through their country to Orange to make their trade, would not fail to sell likewise at Niagara the skins that are difficult of transportation by land, and this more particularly as the English esteem them but little. But, My Lord, these considerations appear to me of little

importance in comparison with the evil which would arise from another side. This would be, that all the Beaver brought thither by any nations whatsoever would pass to the English by means of their low priced druggets, which they would have sold there by the Iroquois without our being ever able to prevent them, unless by selling the French goods at the same rate as the English dispose of theirs, which cannot be.

It is true that this post could be of some consideration in respect to Detroit to which it could serve as an entrepôt for all the goods required for purposes of trade there, which could be conveyed from Fort Frontenac to Niagara by bark; a vessel of 40 tons being capable of carrying as many goods as 20 canoes. Though these goods could, by this means, be afforded at Detroit at a much lower rate than if carried by canoes to Niagara, the prices would be still much higher than those of the English. This, therefore, would not prevent them drawing away from Detroit all the Beaver that would be brought there.

The post of Niagara cannot be maintained except by establishing that of La Galette, because the soil of fort Frontenac being of such a bad quality, is incapable of producing the supplies necessary for the garrison, its last one having perished only from want of assistance, as they almost all died of the scurvy.

La Galette by the fertility of its soil would produce all the grain and pork necessary for its garrison and that of Niagara. In this way would be saved the cost of transporting these articles more than 36 leagues, over 26 of which are Rapids that entirely ruin the Canadian transportation, the soldiers being obliged to go into the water up to the neck in several places in order to haul the bateaux which are loaded with these provisions. The only question then, My Lord, would be the transportation to La Galette of the clothing of the soldiers belonging to the garrison of that port and of Niagara, and the munitions of war necessary for these two places which would be but a trifle. With a favorable wind the bark would carry, from La Galette to Niagara, in twice 24 hours, every thing necessary for that post.

The establishment at La Galette would entirely supersede that of Fort Frontenac, and I am persuaded the Iroquois would like as well to go to La Galette as to Fort Frontenac, although the former post is 26 leagues lower down. For to reach the other, requires them to make a traverse of 8 or 9 leagues which they cannot effect, if the wind be the least unfavorable, whilst to reach La Galette they have nothing to do but to run right down. Were the latter post once well established, it would protect a country almost 26 leagues in length, extending in breadth from the river of fort Frontenac, which comes from the Great Lakes, to the Grand river of the Outaouis; because the former is almost full of impetuous rapids for said 26 leagues which renders the approach on La Galette side very difficult. In fine, My Lord, this post is entirely preferable to that of fort Frontenac, if that of Niagara be established. I do not think that this can easily be effected before one , at least great precautions would be taken at the present time, and whoever would propose an extensive establishment there at once would not fail to be opposed by the Iroquois. Such cannot be arranged with them except by means of M^{r} de Longueil or of Sieur Joncaire, one or other of whom could propose to settle among them at that point, as the Iroquois look on these two officers as belonging to their nation. But, My Lord, the former would be preferable to the latter because there is not a man more adroit than he nor more disinterested. I do not say the same of the other, for I believe his greatest study is to think of his private business, and private interest is often injurious to public affairs, especially in this colony, as I have had occasion frequently to remark.

As there is little prospect, for reasons above mentioned that the post of Niagara can be established, I do not send you, My Lord, the estimate of the expense it would be necessary to incur for that object.

I do not think the Iroquois will suffer the English even to take possession of that post, because if they were masters of it, they could carry on all the trade there independent of the former, which does not suit them.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil sends Sieur de Joncaire, every year, to the Iroquois. He draws from the King's stores for these Indians powder, lead and other articles to the value of 2000^{ll}, or thereabouts, which he divides among the Five Nations as he considers best. Some there are who believe that he does not give them all, and that he sells a portion to them; or at least that he distributes it to them as if it were coming from himself, thereby to oblige these Indians to make him presents. What's certain is, that he brings back from those parts a great many peltries. I am assured that they reach fully 1000 annually; in the last voyage he made, he brought down two canoes full of them. He left one of them at the head of the Island of Montreal *(bout de l'isle,)* and had the peltries carted in through the night. As for the rest, My Lord, I do not know whether the Marquis de Vaudreuil has any share in this trade.

He[1] told me that he had proposed to you, My Lord, to organize complete Companies of Indians. To this I could not help observing to him, that I considered it very bold to have made such a proposal to you, and that it did appear to me extraordinary to wish to undertake to discipline people who possess no subordination among themselves, and whose Chiefs cannot say to the others—Do thus and so—but merely, It would be proper to do so and so—without naming any person. Otherwise, they would do nothing, being opposed to all constraint. Moreover, these people having no idea of Royal grandeur nor Majesty, nor of the power of Superiors over inferiors, will not feel among themselves any emulation or ambition to reach those national honors and consequently no desire to perform their duties. Neither would they be influenced thereunto by fear of punishment, for, not tolerating any among themselves, they would suffer still less that others should inflict any on them.

In fine, My Lord, men are not esteemed great among those people except in so far as they are skilled in killing others by surprise, and successful in hunting. As these qualities are not found among the old, they entertain a great contempt for them; to such a degree that one John Le Blanc an Outaouis, had one day the insolence to say, as I understand, of the late Count de Frontenac that he was a good for nothing imbecile *(malingre)* since he required a horse to carry him.

I am persuaded that if any of these pretended Captains would give some command to the subaltern officers or soldiers of his company for the King's service, they would tell him curtly that they should not do it, and to let him do it himself. That would, verily, be a fine example for the French troops.

But, My Lord, though it were possible to teach these people subordination the one to the other, I believe sound policy would forbid it; and it appears to me that instructing the Indians in discipline would be procuring for that Colony the greatest misfortune that can possibly overtake it. For, their weakness consists in the trifling amount of discipline among them, and of what would they not be capable had they absolute Chiefs; as those people have no other profession than arms, they would soon render themselves masters of this country. I am persuaded, My Lord, that when M^{r} de Lamothe proposed to you the formation of Indian companies, he knew

[1] Meaning M. de Lamothe Cadillac. — Ed.

very well that it would not succeed, and his motive therein was only to derive some benefit by the funds which would be appropriated for these companies, either by securing the whole, or at least three-fourths, thereof.

14th 9ber 2708.

Mr. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I had the honor last fall to send you, with a private letter of the fourteenth of November, copy of one I had received from Mr Peter Schuyler; and to communicate to you at the same time the various news that I received from Montreal, together with the rumor that prevailed, that the English were collecting arms, provisions and moccasins at Orange. I did myself the honor to assure you, My Lord, at the same time, that I should be on the alert regarding all the movements that our enemies might make, and that whether I should act on the offensive or defensive, I would not neglect any thing at all that could contribute to the good of the King's service and the security of this Colony.

This intelligence, though brought by Indians, meriting all possible attention, I issued orders to M. de Ramezay to look carefully to it, and, so as not to be surprised even, and to pay our enemies back, I requested Mr Raudot Junr to have some biscuit made, also some sleds, *(traineaus)* snow-shoes and moccasins *(souliers sauvages)*.

M. de Ramezay having sent me word by two consecutive letters that these news were confirmed, and that even two Squaws recently arrived from Orange assured him that matters were as the others represented, I repeated the orders I had issued to Mr de Ramezay on leaving, to have posts hauled throughout all the settlements to repair the breaches that might be in the forts, especially those on the South shore, which were most exposed to the incursions of our enemies; and I enjoined him to have all the available force in his government ready at a moment's warning.

Mr de Ramezay having sent me the annexed intelligence on the twenty-ninth of December, though I considered it only as Indian news on which it is impossible to rely with any certainty, yet being preceded by others which referred in some degree to these last, and perceiving that several Abenakis who were hunting around Lake Champlain, were tardy in coming, as well as two Indians who were sent last fall in obedience to my orders to Orange by Mr de Longueuil in the absence of Mr de Ramezay, from Montreal, and having every reason to suppose that they were arrested, the one and the other, I thereupon took the resolution to proceed myself to Montreal with all the officers and the best soldiers in Quebec so as to be more convenient to intelligence, and to be able to oppose, with whatever Regulars and Militia I might have, the enemy should they come to attack us; it being my design to go as far as Lake Champlain to meet them.

I arrived at Montreal, My Lord, on the nineteenth of January, having left orders, before leaving Quebec, to dispatch at the first notice five hundred of the most active men, each with his arms, fifteen days' provisions, snow-shoes and moccasins. I left, in passing, the same orders at the government of Three Rivers, or to speak more correctly, I found all its settlers already warned, the Marquis de Crisafix having done so, in conformity to the orders I had given him in the fall, on the notice he had received from Mr de Ramazy; and I had this satisfaction,

that not a settler evinced the least dissatisfaction at that command. Far from it, they experienced a species of regret that the enemy were not arrived, winter being the only season of the year in which the farmer has least to do in that country, and when he can, with least inconvenience, quit his business, which, however, I have obliged no one to leave, having learned immediately on arriving at Montreal that people were somewhat too readily alarmed, and that we had, seemingly, nothing to apprehend this winter. However, as well to assure those farmers who had some just cause to fear the war, especially if the rumor were true that the Iroquois had declared against us, as to be more certain of the movements going on at Orange, whither, for that purpose I had sent some Indians, under pretence of trading, I remained at Montreal until the thirteenth of February, and did not leave that place until I was fully convinced that my presence there was no longer necessary.

During my sojourn at Montreal, My Lord, I received letters from Fort Frontenac, and I have the honor to send you hereunto annexed, what the deputies of the village of Onnontagué authorized Sieur de la Fresniere who commauds there, to advise me of; that they are not disposed to wage war on us. From the letters I have received from the Missionaries, it even seems to me, that they no not desire it. Nevertheless, I learn from another source that M^r^ Dudley is doing his best to make them declare war, and that he expects much from a new Governor who has arrived at Manathe, whose name is said to be Milord de Louvils,[1] who, I am even assured, hath instructions to wage war against us. Hereupon, I have dispatched Sieur de Joncaire with very full instructions, to the Iroquois country; renewed the orders to M^r^ de Ramezay, to place all the forts in a good condition; sent small parties out to make prisoners. I have some scouts on Lake Champlain, and I start myself for Montreal as soon as the navigation will permit.

I had the honor to send you, last fall, copy of a letter M^r^ Peter Schuyler had written to me. I now transmit you a second which I received on the eve of my departure from Montreal, in which he continues to make proposals to me on the part of M^r^ Dudley, offering to do his best to remove the difficulties that may exist between M^r^ Dudley and me. I shall answer M^r^ Peter Schuyler and shall see him come, praying you, My Lord, to be persuaded that I will not enter into any arrangement unless I perceive that it contains complete guarantees for this Country and Acadia, and is conformable to the commands I have received from his Majesty, and to your instructions.

According to his Majesty's and your orders of last year, My Lord, I dispatched Sieur de Manthet with one hundred men to the North. This expedition is at the expense of several private persons. M^r^ Raudot and I have experienced pleasure in taking an interest in it, so as to encourage the youth of this country, and to prove to them that there was no deception in it. Sieur de Manthet entertains great hopes of success and we have every thing to expect from his bravery and prudence.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will be satisfied with my conduct, and that His Majesty will be fully persuaded, on the reports you will please to make to him, that there is nothing I will not do for the interests of his Colony.

I have the honor to be with great respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble
and most obedient Servant
VAUDREUIL.

Quebec this
27^th^ April 1709.

[1] Lovelace. — ED.

Louis XIV. to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Raudot.

Despatch of the King to the Marquis de Vaudreuil Governor and Lieutenant-General, and Sieur Raudot, Intendant of Justice, Police and finance in New France.

Versailles, 6th July, 1709.

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His Majesty is satisfied of the application Sieur de Vaudreuil assures him he feels for the preservation of union between the Indians of the different tribes who adjoin Canada. That is so much the more necessary, as his Majesty would not be at present in a position to assume the protection of the one against the other. Therefore he must not neglect preserving this good understanding between them.

His Majesty has seen what they have written respecting fortifications. This is not the time to commence new works. Operations must be confined to keeping in a state of defence those already constructed. After the peace we can examine the expedients proposed by Sieur le Vasseur for raising, within the Country, the funds necessary for a portion of the new works to be built.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Clerambault d'Aigremont.

Versailles 6th July 1709.

I have received the letter you addressed me on the 14th of November of last year, in which you gave me an account of the voyage you made by my orders to the frontiers of New France. I am persuaded that you have acquitted yourself herein with all the strictness I have recommended you; that you paid no regard to the prejudices of the other officers of Canada, that in following your opinion, I shall advance the true good of the Colony, which is my sole intention.

I am satisfied with what you report to me respecting the state of fort Frontenac, and I doubt not but that it was on your suggestion Mr de Vaudreuil removed Sieur de Tonty from that post. It is greatly to be desired that the officer he sent in his place may observe better conduct. I doubt not but he will have him closely watched. For the rest, the resolution to deprive that commandant of the superintendence of the Trade carried on at that post for the King's account, will prevent him overstepping his prescribed limits.

The reasons you submit to me in support of the utility of that post, are sufficient at present to have it preserved, and I send orders in accordance.

Those suggesting the establishment of that of La Galette are not less conclusive. This post possesses so many advantages that it is to be regretted they were not known, or considered when Fort Frontenac was established. But this is not the time to think of it. 'Twill be necessary to examine it anew at the peace.

In regard to the post of Niagara, it is not expedient under any circumstances; and as there is no apprehension that the Iroquois will take possession thereof, it is idle to think of it. Therefore, we shall not require either Sieur Longueil, or Sieur Jonquaire for that.

The latter has been constantly mentioned to me as a man necessary to manage the Iroquois. I will have him watched in what relates to the avidity he feels to enrich himself out of the presents the King makes these Indians, so as to obviate this abuse in future.

I have noted all you write me respecting Detroit, as it was the main object of your mission. It seems to me that your sojourn there was not long enough to obtain a thorough understanding of it. Besides M^r^ de la Mothe complains that you did not confer a sufficient length of time with him, to appreciate the reasons whereon he acted, which, perhaps, might have led you to adopt other sentiments than those you embraced. In a new country like that, new maxims are sometimes necessary which may appear censurable on their face, and be intrinsically good. Nevertheless, I find a too great cupidity in said Sieur de la Mothe, and that his private interests in establishing that post may have engaged him to prefer his special advantage to the general good of the Colony. On the report I have submitted on the subject to the King, his Majesty has thought fit to withdraw his troops from that place, and to leave it to Sieur de la Mothe to do what he pleases with it, without any privilege over the other inhabitants of Canada, confining him within the limits of the laws, regulations and ordinances generally. I send his Majesty's orders accordingly to Mess^rs^ de Vaudreuil and Raudot. Give them what advice they will, in your opinion, need in the matter.

The reasons which have determined his Majesty thereto have been the prevalent dissipation of the beaver there for the benefit of the English, the introduction of their merchandises into the Colony, the difficulty of reconciling the interests and caprices of the different Tribes that were attempted to be introduced in that post, the great expense to be incurred for the support of the garrison, the difficulty of assisting that post should it happen to be attacked by the Iroquois, the bad quality of the soil, the disappearance of the animals which are objects of hunting, and the dispersion of the Colony of Canada.

The reason you submit in opposition to those of Sieur de la Mothe, on his proposal to organize Indian Companies, have appeared very conclusive, and I, on the part of his Majesty forbid him making any movement for that purpose.

Sieur de la Mothe pretends that he could at all times derive assistance from Montreal if he were attacked, by opening a communication from Lake Erié to Lake Ontario. He pretends that he knows the means. As you have passed over that route let me know what apppeared to you practicable.

You did well to acquaint me with what you learned respecting the rupture between the Outawas and Miamis. Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac's conduct towards the latter, does not appear blamable to me. On the contrary, it seems to me that he did what he could, and, provided these last keep their promise, to surrender to him those of them who killed and plundered the French, or to come and settle at Detroit, nothing but what is good and useful will result from what he has done. Let me know what you will learn respecting it.

I am very glad to hear that the Interpreter at Detroit has been changed, and to receive assurances from you that the one appointed in his place behaves better. Report to me what you will learn of him.

I have perused what you write me concerning Missilimakinak. The reasons you give as to the necessity of preserving that post appear very good, and I shall pay attention to them. It is to be regretted that all the land there is not good, but if it suffice for the support of the inhabitants and of those whom trade draws thither, it is to be hoped that no inconvenience will result therefrom. It is a matter of regret that the Hurons were driven away. Some

means must be adopted to get them back. I am very glad to learn the dispositions which you noticed among them on this subject, and that they did not relish the proposal of the Iroquois, that they should settle among them. The King will be induced thereby to adopt the resolution of appointing a Commandant at that post who will be agreeable to them.

Your proposal to reëstablish Indian licenses appears to me very incongruous considering the bad effect they formerly produced. We are always to apprehend the same inconveniences, whatever measures we may adopt to prevent them. The King has, therefore, not come to any resolution in the matter. He issues new orders prohibiting the abusive trade in Brandy. I send Messrs de Vaudreuil and Raudot a new ordinance on that subject, and another to prevent the conveyance of Beaver to the English. They will communicate them to you. I recommend you, on your part, to see that they be enforced.

His Majesty is pleased to pardon the French who have remained at Missilimaquinak contrary to orders, hoping they will be more obedient in future. I will have their pardons transmitted to them as soon as I shall have the list of their names.

I have written in strong terms to M. de Vaudreuil on the position he took to issue licenses under cover of the orders which he transmits, and command him to make use for that purpose of the passes which will be derived from his Majesty, without departing therefrom on any account whatsoever, and the Missionaries will have to do the same.

I write to M. de la Mothe respecting the complaint made to you by the Chief of the Ottawas respecting the detention of his Belt and Kettle. I doubt not but justice will be rendered him.

You can without any fear, communicate to me whatever you will have learned of the different intrigues of M. de Vaudreuil's people, of the interpreters and principal officers of Canada. You owe that to the confidence I repose in you, and you need not fear that I shall compromise you.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

Quebec, 14th November 1709.

My Lord,

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I did myself the honor to write to you this spring by way of Placentia, and rendered you an account of the reasons that obliged me to go up to Montreal, in the course of the winter, on the reports M. de Ramezay sent me in several consecutive letters, confirming the intelligence that the enemy were wishing to make some expedition on the ice. I informed you by the same letter, My Lord, of the efforts Mr Dudley, governor of Boston, was making through those of Orange to induce the Iroquois to declare themselves against us, having employed for that purpose the authority of the new Governor who had arrived at Menathe, and Peter Schuyler's influence over these Indians. This obliged me, on my side, to dispatch Sieur de Joncaire, at the first breaking up of the ice, for the purpose of maintaining these Indians always in their neutrality, making them understand that it is for their interest not to take any part between the English and us. He would have been entirely successful in this, could he have been every where, but having been absent on a tour to Seneca, whilst waiting until the Onnontagués were ready to come

down with him, as they had promised, the English sent Abraham Schuyler to Onnontagué with four Dutchmen and some Englishmen to sing the War song in the Villages, and to present the hatchet to the Nations on the part of the Queen of England.

Abraham Schuyler having had a long conversation with the Reverend Father de Lamberville, and having likewise expressed to him his regret at being obliged to present the hatchet to the Indians, managed so well that he persuaded this good father to come himself to Montreal to give me an account of what was passing; and as he desired nothing better than to send off Father de Lamberville, of whose influence over the minds of the Onnontagués he was aware, he took advantage of his absence, as soon as he saw him depart and told the Rev^{d} Father de Mareuil, who had remained, that his life was not safe, insinuated to him that the only means of extricating himself from certain danger to which he was exposed was, to accompany them to Orange, which this good Father complied with as appears by a copy of a letter that he himself addressed to Father d'Heu, Missionary at Seneca, and which I annex hereunto. In order to engage the Onnontagués the more to declare war against us, Abraham Schuyler immediately made some drunken Indians set fire to the Father's Chapel and house, which he first caused to be pillaged.

Sieur de Joncaire who was fifteen leagues off, having learned this news, did not think proper, knowing the Indian character, to risk the soldiers who were with him, but at the same time not wishing thus to abandon Father d'Heu who was at Seneca, nor to return without ascertaining whether there was not some means to accommodate matters, sent a canoe and his soldiers to Fort Frontenac with the annexed letter to Sieur de la Fresniere who commands there, and returned alone to the Senecas.

As all this intelligence, My Lord, conjoined to other news already furnished us by some English prisoners whom our Indians had captured since the spring, demonstrates to us that we were on the eve of a most sanguinary war in this country, and the more to be apprehended as it appeared that the Iroquois were declaring against us—I from that moment made preparations to give the enemy a warm reception; and the Abenakis Indians having brought me on the 26th of June an English prisoner 46 years old, a man of character, whose examination I adjoin, I sent this prisoner to Quebec in order to let the Intendant and his son understand better the necessity of being on their guard against all contingencies. I transmitted my orders to Three Rivers to Sieur de Cabanac, commandant of that post since M. de Crisafix death, and to M. de l'Angloiserie at Quebec, for the farmers to place their more valuable property in safety, and that all capable of bearing arms be ready at the first news of the enemy's ships, to repair to Quebec with as much provisions as possible, and their arms.

The government of Montreal being the most exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois, I called together at my house M. de Ramezay, M. de Longueuil, M. de Bellemont, Superior of the Seminary and Seigneur of the Island of Montreal, the Superior of the Jesuits, the Missionaries of the Indians and whatever there were of Captains at Montreal, and having communicated to them all the aforesaid news, it was resolved that it was necessary to oblige all the settlers within this government to remove their families, movables, grain and cattle into the town, so that should the enemy happen to hold the country with any considerable force, they could not, at least, find any supplies in the settlements, principally on the south shore which apparently would be most exposed to their incursions. And as fort Frontenac is untenable during hostilities with the Iroquois, unless at a vast expense, I called a second Council of War at my quarters, when it was resolved to abandon it. But Sieur de Joncaire having fortunately

arrived at Montreal, and having assured me that forty Senecas were coming down with him, who were bringing Father d'Heu and a French blacksmith whom they had for some years in their villages, I profited by the occasion, and the sojourn of these Indians at Montreal, to throw into fort Frontenac the supplies it needed.

I annex hereunto what these Indians have said to me and my answers. You will understand, My Lord, by their speeches and conduct up to this time, that I did not hazard too much when I stated, at the commencement of my letter, that if Sieur de Joncaire could have been every where, he would have counteracted the influence of Abraham Schuyler. It is very fortunate for him in such a situation, when he found himself out of danger, that he returned to the Senecas without knowing precisely what would turn up, and that, after he had made his men kill, not three weeks before, one Montour, a Frenchman by birth, but entirely devoted to the English and in their pay, who was endeavoring for the last two years to attract to them all the Upper Nations, exerting himself to make them declare against us. I owe this justice to Sieur de Joncaire, who, in this matter and by his return to Seneca, has given evidence of all the firmness that is to be expected from a worthy officer who has solely in view the good of his Majesty's service.

The Senecas, My Lord, having gone back very well satisfied with me, and I with them, I was making preparations to go down to Quebec to hasten its fortifications, when an Indian whom I had sent express for news to the Mohegans *(Loups)* residing near Orange, came and told me that the enemy were working hard and fast in constructing bateaux, and that they were even having their provisions carted along the river Orange, so as to be quite ready to come to Montreal as soon as they would have intelligence that their fleet was in the river.

This news, My Lord, conjoined to a letter I received next day from Sieurs de Rouville and de la Periere, copy whereof I have the honor to send you, caused me to adopt the resolution of having the enemy's stores seized and their wagons broken, and with this view instead of taking the troops to Quebec, where they were much required, I left them with M. de Ramezay, and having sent orders to Three Rivers to send up two hundred men and the Abenakis Indians of S^{t} Francis, I organized a force for M. de Ramezay of nearly fifteen hundred men, and gave him the annexed orders, fully persuaded that with such a detachment he had nothing to apprehend, and was in a condition to undertake any thing on Lake Champlain, as in fact, I have reason to believe that M. de Ramezay would have fully achieved had it not been that, unfortunately for us, he employed a young officer, his nephew, on the day he approached Crown Point, to go on a scout, who having advanced too far, was himself discovered by the enemy, which consisted of a party of a hundred and some odd men including Englishmen, Dutchmen and Mohegans *(Loups)*.

This mishap having deranged the plans which M. de Ramezay had laid down for seizing Crown point, he effected a landing three-quarters of a league lower down, and seeing the enemy defiling off in canoes and coming towards the place where he was, made preparations to give them a warm reception, when he got word that other Englishmen were in the woods in great numbers. This at first prevented him ordering a charge to be made in canoe against those on the river, but perceiving at length that the enemy, on discovering his position, were beginning to wish to get out in the stream, he ordered a volley to be fired at them by which some thirty of them were killed. It is unfortunate for M. de Ramezay that the enemy were the first to discover him; otherwise, he would have surrounded that party, and it may be added, would have performed other good service. This misfortune is the more serious as it

prevented M. de Ramezay pushing on further; because having, on the same night, heard the reports of two guns, and believing that it might be some wounded Englishmen in need of help, he sent two or three canoes to the spot, which discovered two Dutchmen, who having taken our Frenchmen for their people, came to the water side; but having found out their mistake, wished to make their escape. This they would have effected had Sieur de Rouville, who commanded this detachment, not ordered them to be covered by the men's guns, and obliged them to embark with him. I annex hereunto the statement of these two prisoners, to M. de Ramezay and their examination at Quebec.

I forgot, My Lord, to inform you in the beginning of my letter, that on arriving at Montreal on the 8th of May, I detached several small parties of Indians to take some prisoners so as to obtain intelligence. The English having the same design, a party of twelve or fifteen men, composed of Englishmen and Mohegans *(Loups)* met in Lake Champlain a party of our Indians of the Sault, two of whom they killed and scalped. Returning by the river Onouskyt[1] the same hostile party discovered another of our detachments from the Sault au Recollet on its way back with some English prisoners. Our men being surprised, the English killed one of them; but our Indians rallying, disembarked and so vigorously pressed the enemy, who were on shore, that after having killed four or five of their men, they routed the remainder who are in danger of perishing of hunger, having no provisions and almost all of them having thrown aside their arms.

This party of the enemy having experienced such bad luck, we have not seen any of them since near that river; but our Indians not being satisfied and feeling piqued, asked me to let them go on an excursion with some fifty of the most active Frenchmen and to allow Sieur de Rouville and de la Periere to command. I assented to this on the spot, in order not to throw a damp on their zeal, and at the same time to let them see, that their interests were not less dear to us than our own, and that it was sufficient for them to be attacked to induce me to make the French take the field.

This party, My Lord, having gone to the fork of the river Pynictigouk to carry off some English, who, as they were told, were there scouting, and not having discovered any thing, retraced their steps, and came to guerrefille[2] where having prepared an ambush for the English, they caught two alive, whose examination I annex hereunto, and came back with their party to join M. de Ramezay on Lake Champlain.

M. de Costebelle informing me, My Lord, that he was advised that an expedition consisting of 12 or 15 large ships, was fitting out in England, and that he had no doubt it was intended for him; I received advice, at the same time by M. de Subercasse that nothing was more certain than that the expedition getting up at Boston was designed for us, and that it was to be joined by a very considerable fleet from Old England.

On the strength of this intelligence and the examination of the two Dutch prisoners taken by M. de Ramezay in Lake Champlain, I renewed the orders I had issued to all the settlements; gave new ones to the scouts whom I had on both sides of the river forty and fifty leagues from Quebec; visited the settlements myself; reviewed the settlers, inspected their arms, had lists made out what were wanting, and of what required repairs; encouraged the one; answered the objections of others; increased even the officers of militia in order to insinuate

[1] Onion River, Vt.

[2] In June one of the Rouvilles, with one hundred and eighty French and Indians, made another attempt upon Deerfield. *Hutchinson*, II., 163. — Ed.

to the settlers what I wished them to do, and finally, having returned to Quebec, caused a Council of War to be held which was attended by M. Raudot, Junr, M. de l'Angloiserie, M. de Louvigny and whatever captains were in town.

On the night of the 16th or 17th of August, I received a letter from Sieur de Plaine dated 20 leagues from Quebec, advising me that he had discovered 3 leagues above Bic, that is to say, some forty-five leagues below Quebec, eight vessels under sail and two others which he thought he saw later to the North, with other particulars which you will learn from his letter. Notwithstanding all the precaution I had taken, I confess to you, My Lord, I could not help feeling some embarrassment at this news, for, according to M. de Subercasse's letters, I could not expect the enemy's fleet for a month at soonest, and according to the information Sieur de Plaine told me he received, I could not flatter myself that this fleet was French. The troops were still partly at Montreal; the town, in spite of all the care and pains Sieur le Vasseur took, was still open at many points; the cattle were to be driven, and the women and children sent, into the woods and the men brought into town—a matter so much the more difficult as those who ought to assist me in encouraging the people to make every sacrifice to defend themselves, were the first to insinuate to them, notwithstanding all the news I was receiving, that it was impossible the enemy would invade this country. This will appear incredible to you, but it is nevertheless, most true.

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Sieur de Plaine's letter having been handed to me at two o'clock in the morning, I first set about issuing what orders I considered necessary, and having thus spent the night of the 16th or 17th and the whole of the following day, I called another Council of War on the 18th and from that time drove work forward as rapidly as possible; but as the harvest was yet out, and as it was as dangerous not to gather it as not to employ the whole of that time in fortifying the city of Quebec, M. Raudot, Junr, and I considered it proper to send out new scouts to obtain information of those at Tadoussac, and meanwhile we put the farmers, who were arriving from day to day, at the most urgent work.

We had already taken the precaution, some time previously, to employ the sailors belonging to the vessels at Quebec, with a view to relieve, in some degree, the owners of the ships from the expense they were subjected to by being delayed, so as to diminish at the same time the number of the farmers we were obliged to furnish Sieur Le Vasseur, and by this means facilitate the country work; without which we would have run the risk of a famine next year.

Our new scouts having returned from Tadoussac, without either themselves or any body else there having seen any thing, I dismissed the people, and this justice is due to all the farmers in the governments of Quebec, and Three Rivers, that notwithstanding the reports which had been circulated [respecting] their harvests and little private affairs, I saw that they were favorably disposed to come and throw themselves into Quebec. Those of Three Rivers, indeed, have in some sort done more than was to be expected of them, for they went up twice to Montreal and came down once to Quebec. * * * * * *

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I have the honor, My Lord, to relate to you all the news that I have received up to the present time as well from the Iroquois, from Orange, from the English prisoners as from Acadia, all which together confirm the intended invasion by way of Montreal and Quebec. The lowest estimate was, that I should be attacked at Quebec by six thousand men and at Montreal by two thousand. It was even pretended that among the number of these 6000 men against

Quebec, there were to be five regiments of Regulars; the remainder were raked up in Scotland and promised, as a bounty, free plunder and fine lands already cleared in this province.

It is now proper that I give you a faithful return of the forces in Canada.

The government of Montreal, My Lord, contains about twelve hundred men between the ages of seventy and fifteen years.

The government of Three Rivers contains about four hundred men between seventy and fifteen years of age.

The government of Quebec contains two thousand two hundred men between the ages of seventy and fifteen years and that within forty leagues of territory; to wit, twenty leagues above and twenty leagues below Quebec.

The troops amount in all, exclusive of the detachment at Detroit, to about three hundred and fifty men, but I do not calculate on having at Quebec more than two hundred and fifty, it being highly proper to leave the remainder at Montreal, for without troops, however well disposed the farmers may be, there are always some disturbers, and such delicacy exists in this country that one Canadian cannot be got to arrest another.

The Sailors amount altogether to five hundred and some men, and in the Colony we may calculate on five hundred Indians under arms. All this footed up makes four thousand, eight hundred and fifty men. Deduct one-third for the old men, or the young people of fifteen years, incapable of bearing arms, and which would have to be sent into the country to guard the women, the children and the cattle, I should have remaining in all three thousand three hundred and fifty men. Of these three thousand three hundred and fifty, I should want at least one thousand men to defend the government of Montreal; there remain for Quebec two thousand three hundred and fifty men, who, according to the news, were to be attacked by six thousand.

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M. de Ramezay having sent Sieur de Joncaire to me with his letter of the 10th of September and an Indian named Arousent, lately arrived from the enemy's camp, I had the letter examined in presence of M. Raudot, Junr. He informed us that the enemy continued encamped on the river of Orange, with the design to come to Montreal, and that the Iroquois not being able to resist the powerful solicitations of Peter Schuyler had all finally declared in their favor; that Peter Schuyler in order to be better master of the Indians had taken the resolution to come and construct a fort at the end of Lake St. Sacrament, and that the English, to the number of six hundred, were to seize, as soon as possible, on Crown Point, so as to be more convenient to this place whenever they would think fit to come; that they had five pieces of cannon and several grenades, as well as mortars to discharge them; that their plan was to take Chambly, and, next, to get to Montreal, or down to Quebec; according to the news they would receive of their fleet.

As we were at the 15th of September, and, according to the report of this Indian, the enemy had not yet any news of their fleet, I thence inferred that we should have no more to apprehend for Quebec, considering the advanced season. But as they were still in camp, and if they should come to Crown Point, they would be within two days' march of Chambly, it appeared to me of the greatest consequence not to permit them entering our territory, and with this view I adopted the resolution of going myself to Chambly, and in order not to strip the government of Quebec, I took with me only the Regulars, four hundred Militia of that

government, the Indians who were at Quebec and on passing Three Rivers, two hundred men and the Abenakis Indians of S^{t} Francis. On arriving at Sorel, I sent the entire force to Chambly under the orders of Sieur de la Chassaigne, whilst I proposed to proceed thither myself, by way of La Prairie de la Madelaine.

M. de Ramezay having on the way advised me of a Belt, that Arousent had given in passing to the Indians of the Sault S^{t} Louis on the part of the Mohawks, I was very glad to learn from these Indians when at Montreal, the purport of that belt, and what were their sentiments. They told me that the Mohawks had sent them word by Arousent that it was with great regret they had consented to Peter Schuyler's message; that the hatchet which had been placed in their hands did not afford them any pleasure, but that it was impossible for them to refuse it, not daring to do so, considering the large military force that was at Orange and that was arriving there every day; that they advised them as good brothers, that the French never could resist the English army; that it was still time for those at the Sault to take their choice and to retire, but if they did not do so, they might consider themselves dead men, and that they need not expect any quarter.

The Chiefs of the Sault having told me this, and signified to me that they were very glad to see me arrive with a great force so as to be able to reply more easily to the Mohawks, they communicated to me the purport of their answer to these Indians.

They thanked their Brethren for the Belt that Arousent had brought, by which they gave them to understand that they had not willingly taken up the hatchet against Onnontio, but only because they could not help it; that if the thing were so, they could easily disengage themselves from a bad business; that they had only to continue their neutrality so faithfully observed on the part of the French; that for them of the Sault, they were resolved to live and to die with their father; that the threat of the English did not frighten them; that they knew by experience that the French up to this time had always beaten them; that they hoped such would still be the case, and that so long as they would be under Onnontio's wing, they feared nothing; that Arousent, the bearer of the Belt, could inform them how they were fortified at Quebec, Montreal, and of the force that was stationed at Chambly, awaiting the English; that it was for them, the Mohawks, to reflect on the past war so as to be able to adopt prudent measures respecting the present; that they ought to reflect that the English had abandoned them, in the last war, and would do the same thing again in this, as soon as there would be peace in Europe. I agreed with these Indians that they should give this answer, and made them add, that if Peter Schuyler caused the Mohawks too much regret they would always be very much welcomed by us.

This affair having thus terminated, My Lord, I left Montreal for Chambly where all the Indians came to see me. I remained until the 15th of October, when I saw myself obliged through want of provisions, to send back the Militia, as well as all the Indians, retaining at Chambly only the regulars to wait for two parties of fifty men each whom I had in Lake Champlain.

As the enemy continued according to all accounts, encamped about 15 leagues from Orange, I left, as I have just the honor of informing you, the regular troops at Chambly, where they remained until the 20th of October, when M. de Ramezay ordered them to return, on receiving news by a Dutch prisoner who was taken by four Indians of the Sault S^{t} Louis, and whom he sent to me at Quebec.

This prisoner, My Lord, who is doubly related to Peter Schuyler, is lieutenant of a Company of Militia raised within the government of New-York by order of the Queen. I have the

honor to annex hereunto a copy of his commission, as well as of the letter M. de Ramezay wrote me regarding him in which he relates all the prisoner had told. This letter, or rather what this prisoner states, shows that it was not without reason nor uselessly that I caused Quebec and Montreal to be fortified, and that I was on the alert during the summer. It is almost incredible that the enemy should remain four months without making any attempt on us, and that we should, during that time, have harrassed them so seriously that within the government of Boston two-thirds of the grain has remained in the field, through want of men, or not daring, to garner it. This is a fact and some of our parties have been as many as three weeks in the neighborhood of some English settlements without being able to take one prisoner, because no one would venture abroad.

The enemy being, according to the report of this prisoner, always designing to return next year, and having preserved for that purpose their bateaux and canoes, I shall on my part neglect nothing in my power to contribute to the defence of the colony; but as powder is an essential element in war, I beg you, My Lord, to reflect that as we have not received any this year, and are always obliged to furnish some to the Indians, to whom it is not prudent to let our scarcity be known, we shall fall very short of that article next spring, unless you be so good as to have some sent us, according to the request we make in our joint letter.

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VAUDREUIL.

Examination of Ensign Samuel Whiting.

Examination of Samuel Whiting, aged forty-six years, son of a Minister settled at Dunstable, eleven leagues from Boston. He is Ensign of Militia under M^r^ Ting, the brother-in-law of the Governor-General of New England. He was taken on Sunday, second of June 1709 and reports the following intelligence:—

A flyboat arrived at Boston about the middle of May, from England with orders to have in readiness one thousand men to be distributed throughout a fleet which is to sail from Scotland on the 12^th^ of April to attack Canada. This fleet consists of eight large men of war and twenty-two smaller vessels; there is to be a land force of six thousand men, all Scotch, except some officers who are English.

The General is named M. Maccardy, a Scotchman, who in his youth served in France, and on his return home, in the present war under the Duke of Marlborough, by whom he was recommended to his Queen, on her applying for a person fit to command the expedition.

M. Vetch, also a Scotchman, who is to be appointed Governor-General of Canada when reduced by the English, will command under him.

Queen Anne has obtained from her Parliament half a million for the expense of this expedition. New England is to pay and maintain the thousand men she furnishes.

The fleet is not to make any delay at Boston. For this reason the thousand men were at once raised on the arrival of the flyboat which brought out arms for those of New England.

Two Colonels settled at Boston are to accompany the naval forces; one is named Mr Taylor, the other Mr Hasby.[1]

Meanwhile, the people of New England, pinched by the continual subsidies they must pay, are dissatisfied with the war, and their Governor whom they accuse of encouraging it in order to have an opportunity to enrich himself and friends.

Colonel Vetch on arriving from England in the flyboat rode post to Orange, to consult with his uncle, Peter Schuyler. He was to be away only eight days.

Peter Schuyler received a letter in the name of Queen Anne to the effect that were he disposed to side with the French, he was to withdraw forthwith to them, but if he would be faithful to his party, she would appoint him Chief of the land expedition.

Fifteen hundred men are to be raised in the government of New-York; the Iroquois and as many Indians as possible are to join these.

In order to gain them over, the Queen sends out presents which she addresses to Peter Schuyler for distribution among them.

After the conquest of Canada, the fleet is to proceed to Acadia and Newfoundland.

The French of Canada are to be sent to England for exchange, the French having taken a large number of English at sea.

The Scotch are to have Canada if they take it. They have been thinking of making themselves masters of it for the past four years.

The Flyboat does not bring any news of the probability of Peace.

Reverend Pierre de Mareuil to the Reverend Jacques d'Heu.

Copy of a letter from Father de Mareuil, Jesuit Missionary at Onondaga, to Father d'Heu, Missionary of the Senecas, dated 16th of June, 1709.

Reverend Father,

As war with the Iroquois and English is, I perceive, certain, and as Mr Peter Schuyler has sent a belt to protect us against insult, and even given orders to conduct us to Orange, if we preferred, I have adopted this last alternative.

The Governor's brother would have been much pleased had it been convenient to you to be of our party. M. Joncaire's brother will propose to you to accompany him to Orange, and has even promised me to send, if necessary, for you by the interpreter. Adieu, my dear Father; try to follow us. I recommend myself to your holy S. S.

Your most humble and most
obedient Servant
(Signed) DE MAREUIL.[2]

[1] *Sic.* Hobby.

[2] Rev. PIERRE DE MAREUIL is stated to have come to Canada in 1706. He remained in the Iroquois country until the above date when he was conducted to Albany by Lieutenant-Colonel John Schuyler, "the Governor's brother." *New-York Colonial Manuscripts*, LIII. On the 23d June, the House of Assembly ordered "That the Commissioners for managing the Expedition to Canada, &c., do take care a decent Provision be made for the *French* Jesuit and a Servant that surrendered themselves to this Government from the *Indians*, as the Governor and Council shall direct." After experiencing every attention at Albany, he was finally exchanged towards the close of the year for Lieutenant Barent Staats, a nephew of Colonel Peter Schuyler, who had been previously taken prisoner. *Assembly Journal*, I., 255, 267; *New-York Council Minutes*, X., 456. He died in France, at the College of Louis le Grand, in the year 1742. *Charlevoix*, II., 334. — ED.

Examination of Querel Roulonse,[1] *by M. de Ramezay at Crown Point; 1st August,* 1709.

I commenced by signifying to him to tell the truth; otherwise I would hand him over to the Indians.

To wit, the news they had received from Europe and whether the fleet which was coming from England to attack this country had arrived at Boston?

The prisoner answered hereunto;—that a small vessel had arrived at Boston, by which they received news seventeen days ago, at the fort at the Forks,[2] to the effect that the fleet had sailed from Old England long since, for which they are very anxious on account of the delay; that the officers at the Fort are of opinion that the expense they incur to take this country is useless, as they have had news that Peace will undoubtedly be made this fall.

Asked, where the enemy were building their bateaux?

Said, at the Forks, ten leagues above the Little fall[3] on the way to Orange; that the enemy began by building a house and a redoubt where they constructed a hundred birch canoes, which they placed under cover, protected by this redoubt, that they afterwards built a stockaded fort which was closed merely ten days ago; that there were only three hundred men there in the beginning, but that when he had left, there were nearly sixteen hundred men including Englishmen of Boston, Manathe, Molande,[4] Dutch and Indians; that John Schuyler was commander of that fort, where there was, in addition to the officers of Militia, an Engineer who came from Old England last fall; that he had heard his pay was five pistoles a day; that there is, besides, a master gunner there with three other gunners under him, and that they have three hundred grenades, with their mortars; that there are, in addition, two other forts strongly garrisoned. The first is four leagues distant from the Forks, and the other fourteen; the third fort has nine brass pieces which they propose bringing here.

Asked, when, in his opinion, will they come to this country?

Said, he did not know precisely; that they were wishing for the arrival of the fleet, and that Peter Schuyler had orders not to pass the Little Falls until the fleet had sailed from Boston. He adds, that it is the opinion of the Dutch that they would experience great difficulty in coming to this country, but they were always at work because they were forced to be so. Says, their provisions are not good; the greatest portion of them, especially the pork, is spoiled.

That they worked very little at the bateaux in the beginning, but that when he had left, ten or twelve days ago, there were some twenty to twenty-five finished; that there were a hundred sawyers sawing plank, and they were about laying down others.

Says, there were three Mohawks out scouting two of whom were chiefs; that there were fifteen or sixteen of them at the fort of the Forks and that it was Tagayanon who had ordered out the scouts; three Oneidas and a Cayuga, who were on the scout, had left them and returned to Orange.

The two prisoners agree with one another in the entire examination to which I subjected each of them apart. [5]The taller of them is the most timid. He remained more at the fort where they are building the bateaux than the smaller one, who appears to me more cunning than the other.

[1] *Sic.* Carel Rolantse. [2] On Wood creek. [3] Whitehall, N. Y. [4] *Sic.* Maryland.

[5] The remaining lines follow, in the Text, the paragraph terminating above with the word "spoiled." Being seemingly out of place there, they are transposed. — Ed.

M. de Joncaire to M. de la Fresnière.

Copy of a letter from Sieur de Joncaire to Sieur de la Frenière, the King's Commandant at Fort Frontenac, dated Bay of the Cayugas,[1] 14 June 1709.

Sir,

Affairs are in such confusion here that I do not consider my soldiers safe. I send them to you to await me at your fort, because should things take a bad turn for us, I can escape if alone more readily than if I have them with me. It is not necessary, however, to alarm Canada yet, as there is no need to despair. I shall be with you in twenty or twenty-five days at farthest, and if I exceed that time, please send my canoe to Montreal. Letters for the General will be found in my portfolio which my wife will take care to deliver to him. If, however, you think proper to forward them sooner, S[t] Louis will hand them to you. But I beg of you that my soldiers may not be the bearers of them, calculating with certainty to find them with you when I arrive, unless I exceed 25 days.

The Rev[d] Father de Lamberville[2] has placed us in a terrible state of embarrassment by his flight. Yesterday, I was leaving for Montreal in the best possible spirits. Now, I am not certain if I shall ever see you again,

I am, Sir, and Dear friend,

Your most humble and

Most Obedient Servant,

(Signed) DE JONCAIRE.

M. de Ramezay to M. de Vaudreuil.

Copy of a letter from M. de Ramezay to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, written at Montreal the 19[th] of October 1709.

Sir,

Catnaret arrived yesterday night, having killed an Englishman and brought in a prisoner whom he took on the 12[th] of this month near fort Nicholson, at the other end of the Carrying Place; he is connected in two ways with M[r] Peter Schuyler, whose niece he married, and M[r] John Schuyler having married his aunt. He is Lieutenant of a company of militia, as you will see by his commission.[3]

He says, first, that when we were at Crown Point, they had notice on the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon of our march; that they immediately mustered about a thousand

[1] Sodus bay.

[2] Rev. JACQUES DE LAMBERVILLE was brother of the Missionary (*supra*, p. 171, *note*), and is said to have arrived in Canada in 1673. He went in 1675 to preach among the Mohawks, where he labored until about 1679, 80; he is found shortly afterwards at Onondaga, and remained there until 1686. He was sent again to Onondaga in 1702, and continued among the Western Iroquois until 1709, when he was forced to fly. He was finally stationed at the Indian Settlement of the Sault St. Louis, where he expired, says *Charlevoix*, worn out by labor and penitence. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, I., 575. — ED.

[3] Lieutenant BARENT STAATS. He belonged to Captain John D'honneur's Company. *N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, LIII.

Christians in less than an hour with two hundred Indians, and as their fort was not altogether completed, they erected retrenchments of large trees, six feet high, fearing we should attack them in the course of the succeeding night. Three days after, three hundred and fifty Iroquois, of all the Nations except the Senecas, repaired thither to join them against us.

You will observe, My Lord, that having been discovered it was impossible for us to proceed. But I would have done so had we been fortunate enough to defeat the entire scouting party, which apparently would have been executed agreeably to the orders I had issued were it not for the incorrect intelligence that had been given me, as I informed you in my former letters.

He assures me that their design was, on arriving above the Chambly portage, to detach a party by land to lay siege to that fort, after which they would have sent their bateaux and canoes down the rapid in order to come direct to Montreal, and have landed all their smartest Indians and Englishmen to cover those on the water lest they should be insulted. That they have two bombs with two hundred shells, sixteen grenade mortars with a thousand grenades, five pieces of cannon; that they proposed attacking Montreal and in case they should be repulsed in the first attempt, they were to retire towards Sorel where they would have constructed a fort and sent word to their fleet to dispatch a ketch or brigantine for them; that they have built a hundred and ten bateaux and eighty pirogues; that the former are capable of holding sixteen men, and the others seven or eight with their baggage, ammunition and six weeks' provisions, each; these they designed to take before embarking and ten canoes of birch with some of elm bark, the number of which he does not know.

He adds that they have three forts; the nearest to us they call Peter Schuyler's fort; here they have their wagons, and eleven hundred and fifty Englishmen, exclusive of the Indians, eight hundred of whom are always in the fort, and three hundred and fifty, coming and going throughout the day, but they sleep every night in the fort.

In the second, named fort Nicholson, which is at the other end of the portage, four leagues distant from the first, there are seven companies of Regulars from old England, each fifty men, all wearing red uniform, and one hundred and seventy militia; that in a fortified house, four leagues from this fort there are forty men to help up their convoys; a league below the latter portage is a second storehouse, fortified like the other; five leagues from this is a third fort where La Fleur lived, in which are seventy men.

He says that M^r^ Nicholson who has undertaken the execution of the Montreal expedition; a very wealthy and experienced gentleman, according to him; had returned to Orange, five days before he (the prisoner) was taken, but had left all his baggage, and had with him only an escort of fifteen men; he believes that he is to return thither; that M^r^ Peter Schuyler had remained there with the Officers waiting for the sailing of the fleet or an order from the Queen of England, and that M^r^ Leveston had gone to Boston thirty-six days ago, to learn whether the fleet had come or not, and in case it had not arrived, to ascertain whether they are to remain there, or to abandon their forts; that M^r^ Peter Schuyler and the Militia belonging to the government of Orange, appear to be disposed to let every one return home, but that those of Boston will not desist and wish to retain the posts, in consequence of the persecution they have experienced from the Indians in the course of the war; that there is an Engineer who is paid fifty francs a-day; that this expedition from Orange costs thirty thousand pistoles, equal nearly to four hundred thousand livres French currency; the expense at Boston is larger on account of their ships and the interruption of business. They all swear against M^r^ Vetch and wish him hanged, or at least with the fleet, he being, according to them, the cause of all this expense.

This ought to make us and Messrs the Intendants appreciate the value of the post of Chambly, so as to fortify and arrange it for the accommodation of the Upper Indians in the Spring.

I am respectfully,

Sir, Your most humble and

most obedient servant

signed, DE RAMEZAY.

Memoir on the Condition of Canada in November, 1709.

M. de Vaudreuil left Quebec in the month of May for Montreal as is his annual custom.

He received intelligence there from Sieur de Joncaire whom he had sent to the Iroquois, that preparations were making at Boston to attack Canada, by water and by land, and that the English were doing all in their power to induce the Iroquois to take part with them.

During M. de Vaudreuil's sojourn at Montreal, he received the same information by several French Indians and by an express which M. de Subercase had sent him from Acadia.

Sieur de Subercase informed him that Welch[1] who had made several voyages to Quebec, had gone to England to ask for some ships and orders for this expedition; that information was received from said Welch's[1] Secretary who had been taken on board a vessel carried into Acadia, that ships for such an expedition were to be sent from England, and that the said Welch[1] had returned to Boston in order to prepare every thing necessary to insure success.

M. de Vaudreuil wrote to the Commandant whom he had left at Quebec, to put every thing in order so as to be able to maintain a siege in case it were necessary.

During his sojourn at Montreal, he was informed that the English of Boston, and those of the government of Orange had organized a force of about two thousand men, and had constructed five forts between Orange and Lake S[t] Sacrament, which is sixteen leagues from Orange and fifty from Montreal, to serve them as a retreat and to prevent their being cut off in the woods; that they had adopted measures to build, under the fort they had erected on the borders of Lake S[t] Sacrament, the bateaux and canoes they required to convey them to attack the post of Chambly, which is on the Canada frontier, and afterwards to render them masters of the island of Montreal.

M. de Vaudreuil was advised, at the same time that several Onnontagués, an Iroquois tribe, had repaired to the English forts, and that all the other Iroquois nations were to wait the result of the English expedition before declaring themselves.

After having issued all necessary orders for the defence of the post of Chambly and of Montreal, M. de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec towards the close of August, and received news there from the owner of a little canoe that had come from Acadia, that he had seen eight large ships entering the river S[t] Lawrence; this left no room to doubt of its being the English fleet coming to attack Quebec.

Thereupon, he assembled a council so as to be able to adopt measures to maintain a siege, and it was resolved to construct at Quebec all the Works necessary for that purpose.

[1] *Sic.* Vetch. — ED.

As the fortification of the new Wall which was begun is not much advanced, the Engineer proposed to construct outworks to cover the old Wall which is good for nothing. This being approved, he worked at it with all possible diligence, so as to put this place in a condition sustain a siege of fifteen or twenty thousand men; as appears by the plan annexed to this Memoir.

These several works have been constructed with all possible economy, and this plan will show that though much pressed, this Engineer has not omitted any thing necessary for the maintaining a regular siege.

As three thousand men at least are requisite for the defence of Quebec, its extent being considerable, M. de Vaudreuil took measures to get a part of the garrison and of the militia down from Montreal, in case it could be done without exposing that place to be taken if attacked.

It is to be observed that it only requires twice twenty-four hours to run down from Montreal to Quebec, and that M. de Vaudreuil had dispatched along the river S^{t} Lawrence, orders to signalize the news of the approach of the English fleet.

In coming up to Quebec there are two or three very difficult places in the river S^{t} Lawrence to be passed. M. de Vaudreuil would have news of the enemy's approach, eight days before their arrival at Quebec by means of the signals and people he had stationed along the hills.

News was received about the same time that M. de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, had, pursuant to orders M. de Vaudreuil had left him, advanced with the troops that were at Montreal and a goodly number of militia along the route the English were to take to come to Chambly; also that a party which he had sent on the scout having met an Englishman with one hundred and twenty men, had fired a volley into them and killed ten @ twelve and wounded several others. This obliged the English to retreat.

'Tis certain that had they been able to penetrate as far as Montreal, the Iroquois would have joined them, but the bad success of this expedition has prevented them declaring themselves.

There is not sufficient people in Canada to garrison Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. All the Regulars there amount to no more than five hundred men, scarcely three hundred of whom are fit for service.

It were important that the twenty-eight companies, which are there, should consist of fifty instead of thirty men.

There is not sufficient powder to sustain a siege, because what there is of it amounts to no more than thirty-seven or thirty-eight thousand weight, and one hundred and twenty, at least, would be necessary.

The safety of the Colony would absolutely require the establishment of the post of Chambly, which is on the frontier by which the English can come. M. de Vaudreuil and the Intendant have adopted measures to effect that object.

M. de Vaudreuil could not refuse permitting to Sieur Levasseur, Engineer and Captain, to go to France to recruit his health, because the fatigues he has experienced in placing Quebec in a proper condition, has reduced him to the last extremity. M. Vaudreuil intrusted to him the joint despatch and divers other packages containing an account of the state of the Colony; but the small vessel on which he was on board, having encountered a privateer of fifty-four guns off Cape Finistère, he threw the papers of which he was bearer, into the sea, pursuant to orders he had received. By this capture he lost all he had, and repaired to Versailles in a post chaise from the place at which he disembarked, in order to render an account of the state of

the Colony. He begs he may be allowed the same gratuity which has been given from the establishment of the Colony up to the present time, to officers who have been intrusted by Governors-Generals with their despatches to France.

The annexed certificate which M^r^ de Vaudreuil has given said Sieur Levasseur, will show the good services he has rendered, and the urgency with which he demands his promotion.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I had the honor to report to you in our joint letter of the last year as well as in my special despatch, some designs which the enemy had formed against this Colony, and some movements I had made to prevent them undertaking any thing against us.

In my special despatch I submitted to you, My Lord, the reasons that induced me to go to Chambly with a force of 16 to 17 hundred men, and to remain there up to the 15^th^ of October.

In that same letter, My Lord, I had the honor to inform you that having left Chambly I had sent two detachments of fifty men each to Lake Champlain, under the command of Captains de Montigny and de l'Eschaillons. I have the honor to inform you now, that all those movements have had all the success I anticipated, as the enemy knowing I was at Chambly have not only precipitated their retreat under the impression that I was going against them with the entire force of the Colony; but further that they had, on retiring, burnt the forts they had constructed along the Hudson river, their bateaux, pirogues and a considerable amount of provisions.

This intelligence had been communicated to us in some way, early in the fall, by Sieur de Montigny who had been the eighth to visit the place where the bateaux were, and to count and measure them during the night, and had seen the enemy retire by detachments, but as he had only seven men with him, he had no opportunity to capture any prisoner.

Some Indians afterwards assured us that the enemy had burnt their forts and bateaux. This intelligence was confirmed this winter by the Onnontagués who have sent me some Deputies to solicit my friendship; to assure me that they did not entertain any unfriendly designs against us, and to request me not to harm Peter, that is, the government of Orange, protesting that Peter and the Dutch had been forced by the English to take up arms against us.

As these Indians requested me, My Lord, to be pleased to permit them to untie the cords of Peter's nephews—that is, of the Dutch prisoners—whom I held in my hands, I embraced that opportunity to learn distinctly the condition of things in the government of Orange, and pretexting an exchange with Peter Schuyler, of his nephew for Father de Mareuil, the Jesuit missionary of Onnontagué, and of three other Dutchmen for three Frenchmen, and of an officer belonging to the Boston government whom I have here for Ensign de Verchères, I sent Sieurs de la Perière and Dupuis and six other Frenchmen and an Indian to Orange with orders to pass over the place where the Great fort and the bateaux were, in order to ascertain if all had been really burnt as we had been assured; and with a view to receive the earliest intelligence, I instructed these gentlemen to send me back from that place two of the six Frenchmen whom I had furnished to them. This they executed, informing me in their letter

that not only is every thing burnt, but that they had discovered on the site of the magazines some remains of the pork which the fire had not been able to consume. I have learned also from our Indians who have been to Orange with these gentlemen and returned, that so great was the terror among the enemy on account of my encampment at Chambly, that the Mohawks had left their village and retired to Corlar, and that the one and the other had been throughout the winter on the alert.

Messrs de la Perière and Dupuis advise me by the first letter they wrote me when about twenty-five leagues from Orange, that they learned from two Englishmen whom they discovered at the Little fall, that Peter Schuyler had proceeded to Europe to defend himself at the English Court against Mr Nicolson, commander of the upper division of the army against us, who accused him of having taken advantage of his absence to have those forts and stores burnt. It appears to me even by the report of our Indians who have been at Orange, and have returned thence, that Peter Schuyler's voyage to England causes some altercations between the English and Dutch. Nevertheless, My Lord, I shall not be the less on my guard, and although some Mohawks are at present in Montreal, who have come to report to me the same circumstances as the Onnontagués, and even something more as I'm informed, I will not be the less distrustful of the Dutch and also of the Iroquois. I shall manage these latter, however, as much as possible, and as I know that the true means of obliging them to observe neutrality, is to make them apprehend war with the Upper Nations, I keep them always under that impression, insinuating, and causing it to be insinuated, to them, that our Indians await only my orders to declare themselves. It is with this view, My Lord, that M. Raudot, Junr and I have thought proper to dispatch a canoe to Michilimakina, with an officer and four Frenchmen, to settle some differences that have arisen between the Sacs, Folles Avoines, Sault Indians and other Outtauois tribes, and which may result in a war between these nations, and to state to the Iroquois that he has nothing to fear from that quarter. We have dispatched this message with a view also to induce them to remain always at peace and to establish a common union.

I go up to Montreal, My Lord, as well to answer the Mohawk deputies who are there, as to be in a better position for learning what is transpiring within the government of Orange and among the Iroquois, either by the return of Messrs de la Perière and Dupuis or from letters they will find an opportunity to write me by some Indians who have promised me to take charge of them.

As soon as I shall be at Montreal, My Lord, I will, in conjunction with M. Raudot, Junr, who makes the advances therefor on his Majesty's account in the expectation that you have had the goodness to authorize them, dispatch a convoy to fort Pontchartrain of Detroit to convey thither some canoes for the purpose of bringing down the garrison; and as owing to the lateness of the season, I have not been able to find an opportunity this autumn to advise Sieur de la Mothe of your intentions and his Majesty's orders, I wrote to him early in the spring by some canoes which left for his post, and informed him by the same opportunity, of the affair of the Sacs and Indians of the Sault, so that he may, on his side, issue orders in the premises.

M. de Subercasse having written this winter to Messrs the Intendants and me, requiring of us a supply of provisions as well as some officers and even soldiers, we send him, My Lord, 1100 barrels of flour, and I send him four officers, as he advises me that a portion of his have gone to France. As for the soldiers, I cannot send him any. It does not appear to me, even, that he has any great need of them, inasmuch as, whilst he is begging of me to send him some,

he is crying and complaining that we do not send for our invalids, who, he says, are wholly useless and a burden to him. We shall take advantage of the return of the vessel that carries the flour to him, to bring them back.

Our sowing has only begun; we flatter ourselves that it will afford a fine yield. I wish it, so that we may be able, as we were last year, to assist the other French Colonies in the Islands and at Placentia, with our grain. I know, My Lord, that it is his Majesty's and your desire that I assist the people there as much as lies in my power.

Captain Dulud died this winter; he was a very honest man. I take the liberty to recommend my family to you, and am with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most
obedient Servant

Quebec, this 1st May, 1710. VAUDREUIL.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Marly, 10th May, 1710.

Sir,

I have received the letters you took the trouble to write me on the 27th of April, 14th and 27th of May and 1st of October, 1709, wherein you inform me of your having been advised from various points, that you were to be attacked by land and by sea. I have had some difficulty in believing that this intelligence was correct, and the result has shown me that I have been correct in my opinion. Meanwhile, on the report I submitted to the King of your movements, and the measures you adopted to oppose any attacks the enemy might make, his Majesty has approved thereof, being persuaded that these advices have reached you through persons in whom you confide and whom you considered reliable. However, as your movements in the direction of Montreal and Chambly are exceedingly expensive, and as we are not in a position to incur any useless outlays, it is necessary that, whilst adopting every means to obtain information of those of the enemy, you avoid as much as possible all expenses which false intelligence may cause; and with this view, that you take most particular care not to employ any persons whose fidelity will not be perfectly known to you, and that you induce the Indians by every sort of good treatment, to give you exact information of all the enemy's movements.

I have experienced much pleasure in perceiving by the general address the Onnontagué deputies delivered, and by the letters you inform me the Missionaries have written to you, that said Nation wishes to live in peace with you; you cannot pay too much attention to keeping them and also the other Tribes in these sentiments, and to preventing the progress of the movements making by Mr Dudley and the new governor of Manatte to induce them to declare war against us and to join them. * * * * * *

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M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Versailles, 7th June, 1710.

Sir,

M. de Subercaze has informed me that the English of Boston and New-York were making great preparations for an attack on Acadia, and that it was necessary to send him some succor, particularly of provisions. As the Brigantine he dispatched with his letters has remained at Martinico, where it was obliged to stay, I did not receive his despatches before the end of May; I have, therefore, not been able to obtain information of his wants in sufficient season to adopt suitable measures to provide therefor at the time when it appears it would be necessary.

Sieur Pascaud undertakes to convey to Canada 1112 quintals 50lb of flour, and I doubt not but he will punctually execute his contract, whereunto it behoveth you to pay attention, as well as to the 1865 quintals 81lb of flour and 282 quintals 31lb of peas which he undertakes to convey to Placentia. I am making every arrangement to dispatch a vessel in a short time to convey all necessary supplies to those two Colonies. But as Acadia may, whilst awaiting this aid, find itself in a straitened condition, and unable to resist, should she happen to be attacked before the arrival of this ship, his Majesty's intention is, that you endeavor to succor it, if possible, by sending thither some regular officers, some ammunition, without stripping yourself; also, some salted provisions and some flour, on the supposition that Sieur Pascaud would not be in a position, on the arrival of the ship *l'Affriquain*, to send thither those he is obliged to furnish.

If you be safe from insult and do not apprehend any attack, you could send him some reinforcements, should he require, and you afford them, without straitening yourself or without its exposing you in any degree. I request you to pay serious attention to the preservation of Acadia; to afford it every assistance that may be in your power, and that you shall deem necessary. Inform me of what you will do, and of what you will learn of the expeditions the enemy will be able to undertake in that country. I send you a letter for said Sieur de Subercase, and request you to forward it to him at the earliest moment possible.

Abstract of M. de Vaudreuil's Despatch. June, 1710.

Since his letter of the 1st of May, 1710, he has been at Montreal where he found Sieur de Laperrière and Dupuis whom he sent to Orange, and Father Mareuil, Jesuit, whom the Dutch had carried off last year from his Mission at Onnontagué. This Jesuit and those officers have assured him that there was no appearance that Canada would be attacked from above, the enemy having themselves burnt the bateaux and pirogues; that, nevertheless, they were not disarming at Boston, where they were awaiting assistance from Jamaica and England in order to make an attack either on Canada, or Acadia. This intelligence determined him to send Mr de Subercase an additional reinforcement of two officers by way of the River St John, with twenty good Soldiers, and he has given orders to these two officers to carry with them all the Canadians and Indians they will be able to find willing to volunteer; he has written to said

Sieur de Subercase to retain in Acadia the reinforcement of eighty men destined for the Canada companies in case there be the least appearance of his being attacked.

He has sent divers small parties to make prisoners, and to harrass the people belonging to the company of the Boston government who are very weary of the war.

He continues the work of a stone fort at Chambly, on which he is employing the troops of the garrison, and he keeps a strong detachment in Lake Champlain, both to cover this work and to oppose the attacks of a party of fifty men belonging to the government of Boston, which threatens to insult our coasts.

He has learned by letters from Acadia, and from some Indians who have arrived from Orange, that an armament was fitting out at London against Canada, but he will not incur any additional expense until he have stronger certainty of that expedition, the rather as the fortifications are beyond surprise. Meanwhile, he will not neglect anything in his power which will contribute to the safety of the Colony.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil. August 10, 1710.

Secret Document copy whereof cannot be allowed to be taken. D'A.

[Veto of the Keeper of the Archives. J. R. B.]

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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By my separate despatch of last year, a triplicate whereof I have the honor to transmit you by this occasion, I communicated to you every thing that occurred in this country up to the departure of *la Bellone;* and by my letters of this spring, I had the further honor of reporting to you what has passed since.

By these despatches, My Lord, I already had the honor to advise you that the movement I made last year on Chambly had met with all the success I could expect from it, since the enemy, learning I was at that place, not only have precipitated their retreat under the impression that I was proceeding against them with all the forces of the Colony, but also, on their retreat, did themselves burn the forts they had constructed along the river Orange, their bateaux, pirogues and a large quantity of provisions.

This intelligence had been conveyed to us in some way in the fall by Sieur de Montigny, one of our Captains, who after he left a detachment of fifty men that he had in lake Champlain, had himself been the eighth as far as the place where the bateaux were, to count and measure them, and saw the enemy retire during the night, but having only seven men with him, he was unable to take any prisoner.

We have received, this winter, confirmation of this intelligence by the Onnontagués who sent me some Deputies to solicit my friendship, to assure me that they had not had any bad designs against us, and to request me not to injure Peter Schuyler, meaning the government of Orange, protesting that Peter and the Dutch had been forced to take up arms against us, and that they had consented so to do only because they were not in a position to refuse.

These same Indians having requested me, My Lord, to be so good as to liberate three Dutch prisoners I held, I embraced this opportunity to obtain certain information of what was going on at Orange, and pretexting an exchange of Peter Schuyler's nephew for Father de Mareuil, a Jesuit, and of three other Dutchmen for as many Frenchmen; also of a Militia Officer I have here belonging to the government of Boston for Sieur de Verchères, ensign in the Regulars, I sent officers de la Periere and Dupuis, to Orange over the ice with six other Frenchmen and an Indian as their escort, with orders to pass the place where the enemy's principal fort and all their bateaux and pirogues were, with a view to ascertain if truly the whole had been burnt, as had been reported to us. With a view to obtain the earliest intelligence, I directed those gentlemen to send me back from that place two of the six Frenchmen that I had given them. This they accordingly did, observing to me in a letter, that not only had the fort and bateaux been burnt, but that some remains of pork and codfish which the fire could not consume were still to be found on the spot where the stores had stood. I have since received confirmation hereof by the return of these gentlemen and by our Indians, all of whom have assured me that so great was the terror among the enemy in consequence of my encampment at Chambly, that the Mohawks had left their villages and had retired to Corlar, and that the Dutch and they had been the entire winter on the alert.

The Mohawks having sent me some Deputies to Montreal about the time of the breaking up of the ice, to tell me the same thing that the Onnontagués had informed me of, I annex hereunto, My Lord, the words of the one and of the other with my answers.

M. de Ramezay having advised me this winter, that a man named Pibesty, an Algonkin Chief, had informed him that Sukmiasndebé, chief of the Sault Indians, had tarried at the Grand river in order to engage the Nepissingues to join him and his allies in a war against the Sacs and Outtagamis, who, on their side, are allied to almost all the tribes of the Lakes. This affair has appeared to us, under existing circumstances, of the utmost consequence, and as it is our interest to prevent these Indians waging war against each other, so as to have it in our power to make use of them in case of need, should the Iroquois happen to declare against us, M. Raudot and I have concluded to send an officer thither to arrest their hatchet, and have selected, at the request of M. de Ramezay, Sieur d'Argenteuil, his brother-in-law, whom I furnished with the annexed instruction.

Sieurs de la Periere and Dupuis having left Orange so as to arrive at Montreal at the opening of the navigation, I found them there at my arrival together with Father de Mareuil, Jesuit, whom the English carried off last year from Onnontagué, where he was on the mission. This Jesuit, and those two officers have assured me that there was no appearance of our being attacked from above this year by a large party; the enemy having themselves burnt all their bateaux and pirogues; they informed me, however, that Boston was not disarming, and even was expecting a reinforcement from Europe to make an attack by sea either on this country or on Acadia.

On this intelligence, of which we received confirmation at the same time from some prisoners whom I had caused to be taken, I considered myself obliged, My Lord, to notify M. de Subercasse

thereof, and in addition to five officers and four hundred barrels of flour that M. Raudot and I had sent him, by way of Bay Verte, I further sent him, by the River S^{t} John, Captain de Montigny, Ensign de Contrecœur, the Abenaki Chief Scambeouy who has been in France, and some twenty of the best soldiers in this country with orders to take, on their route, all the Indians they might find willing to accompany them, and directions to M^{r} de Subercasse to retain the reinforcement that was in Acadia, which, however, he has since sent us back.

This envoy having been effected, My Lord, I dispatched, in the course of the summer, parties after parties into the field, as it was highly important for me to know what was doing at Boston; and managed matters so successfully that I received almost every eight or fifteen days some prisoners from whom I have had intelligence. This little war has entirely desolated the low country of the Boston government, and spread such terror of our Indians among the inhabitants of those parts, that they dare not move a step without their arms.

M. d'Argenteuil having arrived at Montreal, My Lord, on the twenty-ninth of July, and with him the Outtauois and other Indians of those parts, I annex hereunto copy of what these Indians said to me and of my answers.

The Onnontagués and Senecas having, in like manner arrived at Montreal whilst the Ottauois were there, I annex likewise the words of these Indians and my answers.

You will remark, My Lord, by what these Indians have stated, their resolution not to take up the hatchet against us in favor of the English, and ours not to attack these Indians in case the war continue. You will, also, see the complaints they presented me against the Poutouatamis on account of an insult offered in that Village to two of their people, whose ears a man had cut off after they had been made prisoners. What is unfortunate is, that during the sojourn of these Iroquois deputies at Montreal for the purpose of amicably transacting business, two more of their men have been killed about thirty or forty leagues from Fort Frontenac, by the band of Pascoué an Indian of the Sault tribe, but who has been some years separated from his Nation.

This news having been conveyed to Fort Frontenac by some Mississagués, on the same day the Iroquois arrived there on their return from Montreal, a grand council was held between these Indians and the Mississagués, and the latter having given two large calumets and other presents to cover the dead, they asked the Iroquois whether they were safe, and if they could, after this blow, remain undisturbed and without risk in the place where they have laid out their fields of Indian corn, which is about twelve or fifteen leagues above the spot where these two men have been killed. The Iroquois answered, that it was not they whom they had to fear, though they were the aggrieved party; that their hatchet was in the hands of their common Father at Montreal, and that they had reason to hope that I would cause justice to be done them.

This affair, My Lord, is so much the more delicate, as, in order to render suitable justice to the Iroquois, it would be necessary to surrender those who struck the blow to them, and this is not easy, as there is no one in the Upper Country capable of inducing the Indians of the Lakes to deliver up these murderers to me; to put the hatchet into the hands of the Iroquois in order to avenge themselves, is the no less dangerous to us; for they will strike indifferently all they will meet on their way, whether Indians of the Sault, Outtaouis or others. Such is their custom, and if they be asked, after the Indian fashion, Who is it that killed us? They will say, publicly, 'Tis Onnontio, which is tantamount to saying, Onnontio wages war against us. To obviate that, and to gain time until I might find means to arrange this matter, I have sent

Sieur de la Chauvignerie to Fort Frontenac, to cover these two dead on my behalf, and I have given him orders to proceed afterwards to Onnontagué to express to the entire Village, the great pain this affair has caused me, and that I am really thinking to have satisfaction made them; that they must have patience until spring, when I will send to Missilimakina in order to induce those of the Lakes to keep their promise to me, and to unite with me in causing the surrender of the murderers.

I flatter myself, My Lord, that M. Raudot who is going [to France] will cause you to understand how important it is to have a Commandant with some soldiers and a certain number of voyageurs at Michilimakina, in order to keep all the Indians under control, and to prevent them, at the same time, doing any thing that may be prejudicial to us, as well as to make them declare in our favor should the Iroquois happen to be obstreperous. The Memoir which we have the honor to transmit to you on this subject with our joint letter, will explain to you, My Lord, all that I could represent to you here.

We have the honor to propose to you, in the same letter, Sieurs de Louvigny and de Lignery to go together to Michilimakinac; Sieur de Louvigny as Chief Commandant, and Sieur de Lignery under his orders. The first, My Lord, is well acquainted with the manners to be adopted for the government of those Indians, and I owe him this justice, that there is no one in the country who is better able to acquit himself herein than he. He has been greatly mortified this year because his Majesty has, as it were, forgotten him in the promotion he has made. He does not perform his duty any the less, and I reckon greatly on his influence and ability to collect the Indians together at Michilimakinac. Sieur de Lignery has not less merit, and if he pass only a year or two with Sieur de Louvigny, will be quite conversant with the affairs of that country, and well qualified to command there in chief.

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On the sixth of September, My Lord, I received a letter at Quebec from M. de Ramezay, wherein he advises me that Onnongaresson, an Indian of Sault S^{t} Louis, had arrived, on the 1st of that month, at Montreal with an English prisoner, an inhabitant of a village eight or ten leagues from Boston. This prisoner reports that three men of War, a bomb ketch and several transports had arrived at Boston; that a land force of about one thousand men, as nearly as he judges, was on board these vessels, and that fifteen hundred more were to be embarked from New England; that this expedition was intended against Port Royal, but it was not certain, however, that this fleet would sail to that point, because two ships from Old England had arrived at Piscadoué a few days before he had been taken, which had sailed twenty days after the others; these have reported that articles of peace were drawn up and ready to be signed. On this intelligence, My Lord, I detached, as a matter of precaution, an officer and two Frenchmen and some Indians to Port Royal to communicate the news to M^{r} de Subercasse, and I was desirous at the same time to engage the Indians of S^{t} Francis and of the river Beauancourt,[1] but I found it impossible to persuade them, being loth, they said, to go any distance from their families at a time when these require their presence.

An Indian of the Sault S^{t} Louis, whom I had sent to Orange some time previously to obtain news from that quarter, returned thence on the first of September, and reports that a new Governor[2] had arrived at Menathe, who proceeded immediately to Orange where he had the Five Iroquois Nations assembled for the purpose of speaking to them, and these Nations being in attendance, he, after having made them considerable presents, thus addressed them:—

[1] *Sic* Becancour.

[2] Hunter. — Ed.

"Brethren, I am delighted at seeing you all assembled here to hear my voice. I thank you for it and exhort you to live with us in friendship as heretofore without being disunited. But in order that such may be, you must not for the future receive any of Onnontio's emissaries amongst you, and therefore I require that there be no longer a mat in your villages for them. Grant me this; otherwise I shall not have any reason to be pleased with you.

"I arrest your hatchet in the direction of the Flatheads; cease to wage war on them; remain at home and do not go more than two days' journey from your villages. You know as well as I that no confidence is to be placed in Onnońtio; which makes us, both the one and the other, to keep on our guard, and this is the sole means to preserve our country.

"Brethren, I inform you that a number of troops have lately arrived at Boston from Old England. Let us all turn our regards thither, and wait their pleasure."

From the tone assumed by this new Governor, My Lord, there is not a doubt but that he will do his best to excite the Iroqŭois against us, for though he have not given them the hatchet publicly, it is very visible that he disposes them as much as possible to receive it. I shall do my best to prevent this.

M. de la Chauvignerie, whom I sent to Onnontagué, as I had the honor already to inform you, will let us know, on his return, the real sentiments in which he found those Indians. Besides speaking Iroquois well, he has a decided talent for discovering their most secret thoughts, and scarcely any thing passes at Montreal, where he acts as interpreter conjointly with Sieur de Joncaire, that he is not the first to get wind of. I have for three years been continually asking you for an Ensigncy for him, My Lord. He has been fifteen years a reduced Ensign. His zeal and application in the service prompt me to solicit for him this favor—a commission as Ensign on the first vacancy.

The newly arrived Governor at Menathe, My Lord, is not only desirous to induce the Iroquois to wage war against us; he also wishes to engage our Indians not to commit any hostilities against the English at Boston, and with that view, has had a belt presented to them secretly to attract the principal Chiefs to Orange, and to invite at the same time the young men to remain quiet. Through the care of M. de Ramezay this belt has been sent to me, and the Indians of the Sault St. Louis have requested me to answer it myself—that is, to tell them what I wished them to do; and as it is our interest that the Governor and Peter Schuyler should know that our Indians do nothing without informing me of it, I have sent our Indians the following answers to be communicated to those who have brought this belt.

"It is useless for Corlar and Peter to invite us to Orange to speak to them, as we do nothing without informing our Father of it; we cannot listen to any thing except on his mat.

"Our young men being Onnontio's children, and consequently tied to him by a common interest, they cannot abandon their hatchets in the direction of Boston until Onnontio let his go. Application must, therefore, be made to him."

Such, my Lord, is the answer I have caused to be given to this new Governor and Peter Schuyler who greatly flattered himself when in England, as I am informed, that he would debauch all our Indians.

M^{r} Dudley, Governor of Boston, knowing as well as I do the advantage he could derive from the Abenakis on the sea-board, if he could win them over to his side, has omitted nothing this year to effect his purpose. He has even gone so far that some of the Indians having, after being tempted by several different propositions, attacked two Englishmen near a fort,

one of whom they killed on the spot, and severely wounded the other, the English, instead of charging them as they should have done, made them presents. expressing to them the regret they felt at being at war with them, and giving them to understand that if they would live in peace, they would be far happier in consequence, and would have goods furnished at a much cheaper rate than we could supply them in Canada. This proceeding of the English towards these Indians might have caused us considerable injury; and were it not for a party of these same Indians, whom I found means to send at the same time to strike a blow in the government of Boston, and the return of Father de la Chasse, a Jesuit Missionary at the Village of Panamské, I know not, My Lord, but M^r^ Dudley would have accomplished his design, these poor wretches being reduced to the lowest misery by the low price of Beaver, the high prices of goods, and by the length and risks of the road.

To obviate a blow like this, I see but one means, My Lord, which is, that his Majesty be pleased to have deposited in his stores at Quebec, every year, twelve to fifteen thousand livres' worth of assorted goods for the Indian trade, purchased on the same terms as the merchants buy theirs; to cause these goods to be furnished at the prime cost to some persons at Quebec to be conveyed to those Indians at their villages; to have them furnished there to these poor people at the Quebec rates, without increasing the price as is ordinarily done when merchandise is conveyed to trading posts. These Indians would, in this way, find supplies at reasonable rates at their doors, without losing any very considerable time in coming to Quebec. This would conciliate them to us, and the French who would convey this merchandise would be remunerated for their trouble by the difference between the first cost in France and the selling price in Quebec. His Majesty would not lose any thing, for the same amount that would leave his stores yearly in goods, would return there likewise in furs. Nothing would remain but the transport of these goods from France here. This is but a trifle for his Majesty, and it would be a master stroke of state policy *(coup d'etat)* for this country in respect to these Indians, who, sooner or later, if not prevented in season, would make their peace with the English and afterwards draw the St. Francis missions into doing the same thing.

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Chambly being a post, My Lord, of the utmost consequence for this country, we have commenced there a stone fort which is now beyond insult. M. Raudot and I have had the honor, in our joint and separate despatches of last year, to point out to you its importance; we have again the honor to write you on the subject this year. The troops have worked at it the entire summer and we have studied all possible economy therein.

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I am very much obliged to you for the goodness you have had in requesting of his Majesty a Company for my son. I have the honor, My Lord, to thank you for it, beseeching you to be pleased to honor us always with your protection, which I pray you to condescend to grant also to Madame de Vaudreuil who is in France.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most

obedient Servant,

Quebec, 31^st^ October, 1710. VAUDREUIL.

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Sieur de la Chauvigniere, My Lord, arrives from the Iroquois where he has been very well received by the Onnontagués and Cayugas, despite all the new Governor of Manathe could

say to them when they were at Orange. These Indians exhort me by their Belts to keep my promise to them, and to let them have revenge for the blow they suffered from the family of Pascoué, absolutely demanding his head of me. This is a very delicate affair, for it is no less a question than taking sides with either the one or the other. M. Raudot, Junr, who goes [to France] will have the honor, My Lord, to explain to you our views for satisfying the Iroquois without giving umbrage to our allies. I shall not do any thing on that point without previous mature examination and without being almost certain of my case.

I am, always, with great respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
most obedient Servant,

Quebec, 3d November, 1710. VAUDREUIL.

M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont to M. de Pontchartrain.

Extract.

It is true, My Lord, that the reëstablishment of the licenses might have some bad effects, the most serious of which would be the debauchery and trade in Brandy among the Indians; but there is a means to prevent that, which would be, not to issue these licenses except for Michilimakinak alone, the commandant of which post could possess a thorough knowledge of the conduct of those who would go, and of all the effects they would carry for the Outaois trade, and if any should be found with Brandy, he could confiscate it, and render an account to the Governor-general and the Intendant thereof, and of whatever else he should find them guilty, in order that they may be punished pursuant to the exigency of the cases. The commandant ought to be prohibited carrying on any trade except for his own support, for if he be permitted so to do, he would find himself obliged to tolerate many things through the want he would have of this one and that for his private trade. And as it would not be just to send an Officer there without some trifling advantages, he might be allowed annually a gratuity which may be taken from the proceeds of the licenses.

Though it would not be possible to prevent all the inconveniences that might ensue on reëstablishing the licenses in the manner I propose, I believe it will be indispensable to do it, in consequence of the greater inconveniences which would inevitably result. Firstly, it must not be expected to oblige all the Coureurs de bois to return to the Colony, nor even to retain in it those who are obedient there, except by reëstablishing the licenses. Those people not being accustomed to till the soil, will never submit to do so, however they be punished. This country is composed of persons of various characters, and of different inclinations; one and the other ought to be managed, and can contribute to render it flourishing. The Coureurs de bois are useful in Canada for the fur trade, which is the sole branch that can be relied on, for it is certain that if the articles required by the Upper Nations be not sent to Michilimakinak, they will go in search of them to the English at Hudson's bay, to whom they will convey all their peltries, and will detach themselves entirely from us, which would inflict a notable prejudice on that Colony. Experience sufficiently proves that it is not to be

expected that these nations will come in quest of them to Montreal; witness the few canoes that have come down within eight or nine years, except in 1708, when about 60 descended. When these Indians will be obliged to go to a great distance to get their necessaries, they will always go to the cheapest market; whereas, were they to obtain their supplies at their door, they would take them, whatever the price may be. Moreover, the means of preventing them waging war against one another is to be continually carrying on trade with them; for by that means, the commandant of Michilimakinak can be informed of every thing that happens, and by his mediation terminate all differences that might arise. Religion will derive an advantage therefrom; for the more French there are among those Nations, the greater will be the authority of the Missionaries there. This active intercourse may afford them also facilities to learn our language, and render them more docile and submissive to the instructions which will be given them.

It is to be remarked that to render these licenses valuable, a large number of canoes ought to be prevented going up to Detroit; for being unable to trade off within its limits the great quantity of goods with which they would be loaded, in the time ordinarily employed in bartering, those who would find their stock too large would not fail to go further off to sell them. Finally, My Lord, the value of these licenses will depend on the proportion of the number of canoes which will go up to Detroit, which ought to be fixed at 8 or 10 at most.

M^{r} de Frulain, in answer,

Show Father de Lamberville what he says about the licenses: Moreover, censure M. de Ramezay who abuses the protection he thinks he possesses.

18th November, 1710.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to send you an account, by the King's ship *l'Affriquain*, of what occurred in this country during the year 1710. I had the honor to send you by the same ship duplicates of our joint letter of 1709, and of my special despatch. I now do myself the pleasure of informing you of what occurred in this country from the departure of M. Raudot, Jun^{r}, to this day when I have the honor to write you.

M. de Subercasse having proceeded to France after the surrender of Port Royal, will render you an account of the unfortunate accident that obliged him to capitulate. I am fully convinced, My Lord, that, whatever resistance he could make, having only the garrison with him, he would be overpowered by superior force. This is a justice that I feel obliged to render him; but nevertheless I cannot help complaining of the little attention he has paid to the reiterated notices I sent him that he was to be besieged. It is very unfortunate that, through M. de Subercasse's neglect to retain the reinforcement of seventy men of ours that he had, the seven officers and fifteen soldiers that I sent him from this country, and through neglect to transport in sacks the provisions which were at Bay Verte, it is unfortunate, I repeat, My Lord, that he should be obliged to capitulate as he has done; for after all, however advantageous that

capitulation[1] may at first sight appear, it is only so for M. de Subercasse and his garrison, but not at all so for the King's subjects who have remained in Acadia, who—as well those of Port Royal as others—thereby find themselves utterly at the mercy of the conqueror. This you will understand, My Lord, from the letter M^r^ Nicolson has written to me, copy whereof I have the honor to send you.

M. de Subercasse having surrendered on the 13^th^ of October, he and M^r^ Nicolson, General and Commander-in-Chief of the Queen of England's forces on this Continent, have both sent Baron de S^t^ Castin and Major Levingston to me across the forest. I annex hereunto, My Lord, the letter M^r^ Nicolson has written me and my answer to him, which I have sent by Mess^rs^ de Rouville and Depuis, being very glad to employ these two officers on this occasion in order to obtain information through them of the movements of our enemies, and at the same time to make them acquainted with the Country and the most favorable routes to send parties thither.

The capture of Port Royal having somewhat cooled our Indians, as the English insinuate to them that they will reduce us as easily as they have reduced that post, and the new Governor of Menatte spares no efforts to induce the Iroquois to declare themselves against us, M. Raudot and I have thought proper to have all our Upper Indian allies in general brought down here, as well to encourage the people, whom war with the Iroquois terrifies, as to hold the Iroquois themselves in check; and as diligence appeared to us highly necessary on that occasion, we have selected some persons, whom we considered best qualified, to proceed at the same time to the different posts which it was necessary to visit. And in order not to incur any considerable expense by this embassy, M. Raudot and I have agreed that these Voyageurs should fit themselves out at their own expense, without being permitted to carry any thing with them for their own benefit on this first voyage, and that on their return we would permit them to go up on their own account.

M. de Subercasse having carried off by his capitulation all his officers in general, and no person remaining throughout the entire extent of Acadia sufficiently entitled to receive my orders and have them executed, M. Raudot and I have concluded that we could not do better for the public service than to send Baron de S^t^ Castin immediately back, the rather as the principal affair at present regarding his Majesty's service in those parts is the management of our Indian allies there, over whom said Sieur de S^t^ Castin possesses great influence; But as it is proper to compensate him in some sort for the loss he has just experienced at Port Royal, and also to authorize him to command the French of those parts as well as the Indians, I, in concert with M. Raudot, have given him, subject to the King's pleasure, a commission of Lieutenant in the troops of this country, and M. Raudot has handed him the emoluments thereof. M. Raudot and I hope, My Lord, that you will have the goodness to obtain his Majesty's approbation for what we have both done in the Baron de S^t^ Castin's regard.

As sending Baron de S^t^ Castin was not sufficient to maintain in our interest all the Indians of Acadia who are our allies, I dispatched at the same time two Frenchmen and two Indians over the ice with letters from me to the Missionaries stationed among the Indians below Port Royal, and at the same time adopted precise measures to be informed of the real sentiments of the inhabitants of Acadia who are at Minas, Beaubassin and other places. I expect daily the return of my two messengers, and have, in the meanwhile, upon divers letters which I have already received from the inhabitants of Port Royal, complaining of the severities they experience at the hands of the English, notwithstanding M. de Subercasse's capitulation,

[1] For this Document, see *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, II., 182. — Ed.

dispatched another conveyance to Bay Verte in quest of a number of the soldiers who after the surrender of the fort were unwilling to embark with M. de Subercasse through fear of being conveyed to Boston and remaining there, as was the case with a portion of Mr de Meneval's garrison, twenty years ago.

By this opportunity I have written to the Missionaries in those parts, to communicate to the inhabitants of Acadia my intention of affording them all the aid in my power.

M. de Ramezay's repeated letters informing me that my presence was altogether necessary at Montreal to encourage our Indians, who are, as it were, stupefied by the surrender of Port Royal, I went up on the ice, and after having spoken to our Indians, had the pleasure to see them all in the best possible disposition.

War with the Iroquois being totally incompatible with the interests of this Colony, the Intendant and I thought we could not do better than to send the Baron de Longueil to them early in the Spring, who offered, with the best grace in the world, to undertake that journey. I sent Sieurs de Joncaire and de la Chauvignerie with him, and strongly enjoined on him, in my instructions, to assure the Iroquois that they had nothing to apprehend from the coming down of the Upper Nations whom I invited to Montreal to witness what will take place between the English and us, if they be bold enough to come, as they say, into this country; but at the same time, that they had every thing to fear from these Nations and my just vengeance, if, contrary to the neutrality we had agreed on, they should take up the hatchet against us in favor of the English. M. de Longueil set out from Montreal the moment the navigation permitted.

Sieur d'Argenteuil, whom I selected, at M. de Ramezay's request, to go with my orders to Detroit, Pontchartrain, and to bring down the Indians from there, having died of apoplexy two days after I left Montreal, I have been obliged, after having with the Intendant held a council of war on the subject, to employ Sieur de Tonty, the Intendant and I and all the officers present at our Council of War not being able to find a better person in our then situation. Sieur de Tonty flatters himself, My Lord, by a letter he has written me before his departure, that this voyage will completely reëstablish him in our good opinion. I wrote to him, thereupon, very decisively before employing him.

Sieurs de Rouville and Dupuis arrived at Chambly eight or ten days ago. The English had not received any news from Europe up to the 17th of March, the date of their departure from Boston, yet different persons at Orange and elsewhere told them, that unless a revolution should break out in England there was not the least doubt but the Queen would give Mr Nicolson a considerable fleet to come and besiege Quebec, and that he went to England this fall for that sole purpose only. The Intendant and I will not neglect any thing, My Lord, that will contribute to our defence. Meanwhile, until we have additional intelligence, we shall not incur any but indispensable expenses and such as we shall not be able to postpone.

The manner in which I write you, My Lord, will let you see the good understanding that exists between M. Raudot and me. As regards myself individually, it affords me a sincere pleasure, being fully convinced that it gratifies you also, and that his Majesty's service is, in consequence, much better performed.

I have the honor to be with much respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,

Quebec, 25th of April, 1711. VAUDREUIL.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Extract. Marly, 7th July, 1711.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your despatches of the 1st of May, 25th October and 3d November of last year, with the papers annexed thereunto; and the duplicates of those of 14th November, 1709, and I have rendered an account thereof to the King.

His Majesty has been very glad to learn that your movements in the month of October, 1709, had obliged the enemy to burn the forts he had erected along the river of Orange, their bateaux, pirogues and the supplies of provisions they had collected for their intended expedition against Canada. His Majesty has approved of every thing you have done to obtain the particulars thereof; nothing must be neglected to be exactly informed of the enemy's movements, and to adopt the necessary measures to thwart them; but you ought at the same time pay great attention to unravel, as much as you can, the incorrect intelligence that may be communicated to you, so as not to make any false movement, nor causelessly incur any expense. His Majesty commends you to apply yourself particularly to these objects.

He has been much gratified by the assurances the Deputies from the Onnontagués gave you that they did not intend making war against the French. Neither these assurances nor those of the Mohawks must prevent you being constantly on your guard, and anticipating any movements they might make conjointly with the Dutch. His Majesty recommends you to pay strict attention hereunto.

He approves your exchange of Peter Schuyler's nephew for Father de Mareuil, the Jesuit, and of the other prisoners. You did very well to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by that exchange to obtain news of what was passing at Orange.

His Majesty has been satisfied with the assurances you afford him that you will in future prevent the frauds which the Interpreters commit in the matter of the Indian presents and the trade in Brandy. You cannot pay too strict an attention to this, and I cannot too strongly recommend it to your watchful supervision.

He has seen the messages of the Outaois, Senecas and other Indians of those parts, and has learned with pleasure their dispositions and assurances not to declare in favor of the English, and to live in peace with the French. You ought to direct all your attention to retaining them in these sentiments, and to nullifying all the movements whereby the new Governor of Menathe is endeavoring to win over the Five Iroquois Nations to his side and to induce them to rise against the French. There is reason to hope that he will not succeed, if you adopt suitable measures to prevent it.

His Majesty has highly approved the answer you have caused the Indians of the Sault St Louis to give to the proposal the Governor made them not to wage war any more against the English of Boston, and to observe neutrality with them. You must prevent this by all manner of ways, and keep these Indians in their present sentiment of never abandoning the interest of the Colony.

His Majesty has been likewise highly satisfied that you found means to break up Mr Dudley's design to draw the Abenakis of the sea-board to Boston, in order to carry their Beaver thither and to purchase goods there. That is of great importance, and his Majesty recommends you to prevent these Indians by every means trading at all with the English, and to engage them to continue hostilities.

You have done well to send Sieur Dubuisson to command at Detroit in Sieur de la Forest's place, as the latter's affairs obliged him to remain at Quebec during the winter. I doubt not but he has returned to his post early in the spring, and that M. de la Mothe Cadillac has taken his departure for Louisiana.

His Majesty has approved of your having permitted an inhabitant of Detroit to go to the Ouabache on the information you received of the existence of a Silver mine there, and that you have given him orders to bring you some specimens from that mine. Be so good as to send me word, at the same time, whether it be productive. This discovery, as well as that of the Copper mines which are reported to be abundant, is of great importance, and nothing must be neglected to acquire thorough information on the subject, and to discover the easiest means to render it useful.

It is desirable that you find means of arranging the affair of Paskoué's tribe with the Iroquois. It is of importance and deserves all your care. By the Memoir of the King you will see what his Majesty's opinion is of the expedient you proposed, and I have nothing to add thereunto.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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On the departure of Sieurs de Rouville and Dupuis from Boston on the 17th of March last, the English had not yet received any news from Europe. Different persons had, however, told them at Orange and elsewhere that, unless a revolution should break out in England, there was not the least doubt but that the King would furnish a considerable fleet to Mr Nicolson, who returned to England only with that sole view. This information, furnished by persons in whom I could not fail to have confidence, caused me to adopt the resolution to send back again to Orange, and as I required a pretext, I had recourse to that of restoring a servant that Major Livingston had left behind sick when returning to Three Rivers. I even added to this servant another English prisoner, whom I sent back on his parole in order to obtain Sieur de Beaunny, whom they have detained since three or four years from me in the Boston Government. They have retained up to the present time in Orange the three Frenchmen whom I sent to fetch back these two men, and I have not had, since that time, any news even of the English prisoner whom I had sent back on parole. This conduct of the English does not surprise me. They have done it, they say, to prevent me knowing what was passing among them, and herein lies their mistake; for by detaining my three men, they have afforded me more reason to suspect the truth of their expedition than if they had immediately sent them back to me.

The non-return at the time indicated of the three Frenchmen whom I had sent to Orange, as I have had the honor peviously to observe to you, leads me to suspect at once the cause, and to assure myself of the matter, I dispatched an Indian, who, under pretext of going to Orange like the rest to trade, employed every means to speak to these three men. Not having been able to effect this, he examined, pursuant to my orders, every thing that was doing at

Orange, and remarked that they were beginning to collect bateaux there, and that they were very busy purchasing up bark canoes. This intelligence was confirmed shortly after by other Indians, and left me no room to doubt that the enemy were preparing to invade this country. But as I was unwilling to incur useless expense, I contented myself then with communicating my opinion to the Intendant, and requesting him in my letters to facilitate Sieur Beaucourt's means to place us at least beyond insult from a sudden attack. Meanwhile, I issued orders to the farmers generally throughout the entire country to be ready at the first word of command.

Baron de Longueil arrived, at this juncture, with Deputies from the Onnontaguez; Sieur de Joncaire arrived some days after him, with six Senecas, and both rendering me an account of their voyage, gave me to understand that the English had spared no pains to engage the Iroquois to declare themselves against us; that, however, I could rely on the fidelity of many, but that there was a large portion of them in favor of the English, as they had been gained over by the presents which were heaped on them, and persuaded that we could never resist the forces that were to attack us.

I have done myself the honor to advise you already, My Lord, that M. Raudot and I had adopted measures to bring down to Montreal the Upper Indians, our allies. Sieur de Tonty whom I had sent to Detroit, arrived the first; Sieur de S^{t} Pierre and others who had gone up by the Grand river came some time afterwards, and altogether brought us nearly four to five hundred Indians. I employed the time these Indians sojourned at Montreal to endeavor to accommodate the differences that might exist between them, and also Paskoué's affair last year, and that of the Poutouatamis with the Senecas. I kept these Indians at Montreal nearly two months, but the season beginning to be unpleasant, they could not remain any longer. It would have been a hardship to wish to retain them, as some among them had nearly five hundred leagues to travel before arriving at their winter quarters. I, in like manner, detained two months the Iroquois who came down with M. de Longueil and Sieur de Joncaire; but perceiving that they began to grow weary, I thought 'twas much better to send them back than to retain them by force, and thereby furnish the remainder a reason to declare against us.

I already observed to you, My Lord, that I had adopted measures with the Missionaries of Acadia to be informed of the opinions of the inhabitants of those parts, who, I was previously aware from divers private letters, were discontented with the English, by whom they were very badly treated.

On the 4th of August I received at Montreal a letter from Father Felix,[1] a Recollet Missionary at Acadia, in which he informed me that Sieur Castin having sent forty Indians from Pintagowet to attack the English garrison at Port Royal, M^{r} Wetsche,[2] governor of that fort, sent sixty men with their arms in three pirogues up the river of Port Royal in the morning of the 21st of June to take two or three farmers prisoners.

These forty Indians of Pintagowet, commanded by one L'Aymalle, on perceiving these three pirogues, went to the water side and cried out to them to surrender. As they fired first, they did no injury to our Indians, but the latter having discharged their pieces, killed twenty and wounded several more at the first fire, and afterwards became masters of these three pirogues and all who were in them, except one man who escaped.

After this expedition, the Indians demanded assistance from the Settlers at Port Royal, who, having assembled from all parts, proceeded with the Indians to invest the Fort at Port Royal, expecting to take it because a great number of the garrison had died of sickness during the

[1] Rev. Felix Cappes.

[2] *Sic.* Vetch. — Ed.

winter, and M^r^ Weitche,[1] the Governor, had recently lost his Major, Engineer and three or four other officers.

On this news, and on the request of Father Felix on behalf of all the inhabitants of Acadia for aid, I resolved to send thither two hundred men, both Regulars and Militia, and twelve officers, under the command of the Marquis d'Alogny. My orders were already issued, the people warned, and waiting only for a few carriages which they required, when I received some letters from M. de Costebelle, on the morning of the 6^th^ of August, informing me that the skipper of an English bark, a prisoner of war at Placentia, after having been interrogated, and after having promised to tell the truth, had assured him that two 70-gun ships had arrived at Boston on the 10^th^ or 12^th^ of June with M^r^ Nicolson; that they had been detached from a fleet consisting of ten sixty, and one seventy-gun ships, with three bomb ketches, and thirty transports carrying from twenty-four to thirty guns; that there were two Boston ships of fifty guns with five transports, on board which three thousand New England Militia were to embark; that they were actually victualed and provided with military stores, in order to be ready to put to sea as soon as the men of war should arrive from Old England. M. de Costobelle's letter added, that these made their appearance on the 20^th^ of June, sixty leagues off Boston, according to the report of a Martinique privateer who had arrived at Placentia on the 8^th^ of July and stated that he had seen them quite close, and had counted as many as thirty-five sail.

This same English prisoner had further assured M. de Costobelle that two thousand Militia and Indians were to proceed against Montreal, and that it was very certain that it was intended to take Canada this year.

On this advice, and on information received from Teganissorens, an Onnontagué Chief, by an Express who brought me three strings of Wampum from him, to let me know that it was time that the English fleet had sailed from Boston for this country; that there were at Orange two hundred bateaux already built and that one hundred additional were to be brought there at the earliest moment; and, moreover, that Abraham Schull[2] had visited all the villages in order to engage the Iroquois to declare against us; add to which, the letter you did M. de Costebelle the honor to write, dated the 11^th^ of March last, copy whereof he had sent me,—I found it, to my profound regret, impossible for me to furnish any assistance to the people of Acadia, having no troops here to allow me to detach a number sufficient to be of any use to them, and the people of this place being unwilling, on hearing of the menaced attack, to leave their country to defend another.

On the receipt of M. de Costebelle's despatches, I assembled at my quarters in Montreal the Onnontagués and Senecas who had accompanied M. de Longueil and Sieur de Joncaire, and after having communicated to the one and the other the news and the three strings of Wampum that Teganissorens had sent me, I let them know that, as the Dutch had openly avowed themselves, I could no longer refrain from making some prisoners in that direction, in order to obtain intelligence.

The Iroquois answered me that I was Master; that they saw clearly that my reasons were valid; and it was thereupon resolved in the same Council, that, in order to strengthen our party at Onnontagué and among the Senecas, [it would be well to send back their Deputies,] who relating to the Ancients all that occurred at Montreal in their regard, and the treatment experienced by those who were going back, as well as by those that remained, would

[1] *Sic.* Vetch.

[2] *Sic.* Schuyler. — Ed.

assure the Chiefs anew on my part that I entertained no unfriendly design against them, and that far from desiring to break with them, my intention was to observe most exactly the peace concluded by the late Chevalier de Callieres; that in token of my sincerity, I was restoring to them three of their people whom I caused to be taken out of the hands of the Oyatonons; that I required nothing but Neutrality from them, and to abstain from taking any part between the English and us.

On the day following this Council, I agreed with M. de Ramezay as to the number of men he should furnish me from his government, and after having left to him the care of issuing the proper orders, I caused a grand feast to be given to all the Indians then at Montreal, including those domiciliated and the others, so as to get them to chant the war-song. It was attended by between seven and eight hundred persons.

Sieur de Joncaire and after him Sieur de la Chauvignerie having commenced to raise the hatchet in my name, the Indians of the Sault S[t] Louis, Sault au Recolet, the Nepissings of the entire Island,[1] immediately responded with loud shouts of joy. The Indians who had come down from the Upper Country did not follow their example. Some of them hesitated a long time between the desire to declare themselves, and the fear of thereby closing the path to the English; for, after all, My Lord, all the Upper Nations, even to the Indians of Lake Superior, resort thither. Meanwhile the Hurons of Detroit, to the number of twenty, having commenced to sing and to take up the hatchet, the other nations followed, and finally, in presence of the Iroquois of the [Upper] Country, who were spectators of this feast, all accepted the hatchet against Peter, and, after their fashion, made me master of their bodies to dispose thereof at my pleasure. However, as I have the honor already to inform you, I have not been able to take advantage of their good will, owing to the season being too far advanced. I have been constrained to send them back, contenting myself with retaining of all the tribes only a certain number, so as to let the English and Iroquois see that I was always master of the Upper Nations, as they left me their children as hostages. These remained with me until I became certain that the enemy could no longer invade this country.

Information so positive as that I was receiving from all parts, allowing me no longer any excuse for doubting that we were about to be vigorously attacked above and below, I, on my part, adopted all the precautions I considered advisable so as to oppose a vigorous resistance to our enemies. I wrote strongly on the subject to the Intendant; sent orders to the Marquis d'Alogny at Quebec to hasten the fortifications, and have the Women, Children, old men and the cattle not required within the town, removed into the depths of the forest, on the first alarm of the enemy being in the river. My orders on this point having been issued early in the spring, the farmers took the precaution to construct parks in the woods, and my mind was sufficiently at rest on this point. I was likewise perfectly satisfied that Sieur de Beaucourt would not neglect any thing on his part to place the town in a condition to stand a siege; and I heard, by every opportunity, that the fortifications were perceptibly advancing from day to day, which afforded me sincere pleasure. I owe this justice, My Lord, to Sieur de Beaucourt; he has discovered the secret to please every body; the farmer has returned, without difficulty and regret, as many as four times to the works; and, satisfied with the reasons that Sieur de Beaucourt gave him, went home contented and convinced that we should beat the enemy. Such good dispositions were not to be neglected; I have been myself in several settlements to

[1] of Montreal. *Charlevoix*, II., 353. — Ed.

hold reviews, to encourage the farmers to make a good defence, and to abandon every thing for the public good.

Meanwhile, however anxious I was to get to Quebec, I could not start from Montreal before the seventh of September, because the English made use of every means not only to induce the Iroquois to declare against us, but even to debauch our domiciled Indians, whom they assured that they did not intend to harm; who could remain undisturbed in their village, but that, if they joined us, they were irrecoverably lost and had no more quarter to expect.

All these threats having made some impression on the minds of the Indians, and even on certain of the French who were apprehensive that the Indians would abandon us, it became of imperious necessity that I should be on the spot to destroy those underground Belts, the more dangerous inasmuch as the Indians make it a point of honor, among themselves, not to inform us of them. I can assure you, My Lord, that I have succeeded therein in spite of all those promises and threats; for, when news arrived that the enemy were in the river to the number of eighty-four sail, not one of our Indians but occupied the proper position it was his duty to take—that is to say, the missions of S^{t} Francis and Bescancourt came to Quebec, and those of the Sault S^{t} Louis, Sault au Recolet and Bout de l'Isle proceeded to Chambly when it became necessary; the one and the other having, as a mark of their fidelity, sent their women and children to Montreal and Three Rivers. 'Tis true that I had the precaution before leaving Montreal to visit all the missions within that government, and afterwards, on my way down, to pass through S^{t} Francis and Bescancourt, where I had made all the Indians understand that the only means to resist our enemies was for us to unite together and all to form but one body; that it was a mistake to expect to be able to defend ourselves in different places; that this war was one of religion, but at the same time a common one, it being the intention of the English to utterly destroy them, if successful in conquering us and driving us from this Continent. These reasons, My Lord, backed by the Missionaries, having made an impression on their minds, I came down to Quebec, where I found matters in a pretty good state.

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Quebec, this 25th October, 1711. VAUDREUIL.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Marly, 28th June, 1712.

Sir,

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His Majesty has approved the measures you have adopted to obtain information of the enemy's designs, and the embassy you sent to the [Indian] Nations. You cannot employ a better agent than Sieur de Longueil when you will have any negotiation with the Iroquois.

He is likewise satisfied with the measures you have adopted with the Onontagués and the Senecas, who were at Montreal, respecting the prisoners you wished to be made in the territory of Orange.

You have done well to have the hatchet taken up against the English by all the Tribes, and to have retained their children by you until you were sure the enemy could no longer come

into the Colony, so as to give them and the Iroquois to understand that you are Master of the Upper Indians.

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It is fortunate that the enemy's fleet had been wrecked, without the Colony of Canada having lost a drop of blood, though I am well persuaded that the vigorous resistance you would have made, would have forced them to retreat as they did during Count de Frontenac's administration. It is an interposition of Providence and a visible mark of its protection, for which the entire Colony ought to return God thanks.

His Majesty is persuaded like you, that you ought not to embroil yourself with the Iroquois, by reason of the cruel war which would be the consequence in the Colony, but this must not prevent you making them thoroughly sensible of the fault they have committed, so that they may not in future again fall into it, and may attach themselves the more to us.

You must always prevent the Abenakis going to Boston to trade their beavers; and I am persuaded that you will find means to effect that object as you have already done. I exhort you thereunto, for his Majesty, in consequence of hard times and the war in which he is involved, is not in a position to remit the supply of goods which you require.

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I have learned with pleasure Sieur de Rouville's return, and that the Iroquois were preparing to come down. I doubt not but your reception of them has been consistent with the dignity that belongs to your character, and that you have given them to understand the wrong they have been guilty of, without, however, estranging them from you. You know how to profit by this opportunity so as to attach them more closely to you, by making the most to them of the pardon you have granted them. His Majesty recommends you to preserve peace constantly with them and the other Indians, and to adopt all the means necessary for that purpose.

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Whatever M^{r} Nicolson may say, I do not believe that the English will fit out another expedition this year against Canada. Nevertheless you ought to be constantly on your guard, and in a condition to repel the enemy. It appears to me so much the more easy, as you were last year well prepared for their reception.

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I cannot recommend you too earnestly to pay undivided and perfect attention to the preventing the trade in, and the sale of Brandy among the Iroquois. His Majesty's orders in this regard must be executed without favor to any person whomsoever. He desires that on this point you redouble your vigilance.

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M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain.

My Lord,

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I am very sensible of your goodness in assuring me of his Majesty's approbation of my services last year, and of his being pleased to approve of all the movements I had made to

oppose the designs which the enemy had formed against this Colony. I will always pay more attention to the proper performance of my duties, in order to merit, thereby, the favors his Majesty will be graciously pleased to bestow on me.

I did myself the honor, My Lord, to write you since the spring four letters by way of Placentia, and in my first three, copy whereof I annex hereunto, rendered you an account of every thing that occurred in this country up to the twenty-third of July, about which time, I went up again to Montreal, having already made one voyage thither at the breaking up of the ice.

My fourth letter, My Lord, being only an abstract of the contents of the others, and of what took place up to the arrival of the King's ship, I do not repeat it here.

I had the honor last year to give you an account of the situation of affairs in the Upper Country, and then took the liberty to represent to you, that if attention were not directed, at the earliest date, to the reëstablishment of Michillimakinac, we should run the risk of losing all our allies, who were destroying one another, having no person in that place to prevent their doing so. This is what occurred this year, for the man named Saguina having discovered during the winter the secret to unite with the Poutauatemis in order to wage war together against the Maskoutins and the Outagamis, not only destroyed a considerable number of them in the place where they were wintering, but having further found means to win over almost all the other tribes to his interest, pursued these unfortunate people as far as Detroit, where they have killed or taken prisoners nearly a thousand of both sexes.[1]

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The occurrences at Detroit, My Lord, in regard to the wholesale destruction of the Outagamis and Maskoutins who were there, made me apprehensive that the Iroquois would take the part of the former, who, two years ago, had been to renew alliance with them and place themselves under their protection, and to whom even a party had retired last winter. I was preparing to make some overtures to them on this subject, when I received at Montreal a letter from Sieur de Joncaire, which he wrote me from Fort Frontenac, where he was commanding in the absence of Sieur de la Fresnière, who had come down to be cured of the fevers from which he, as well as a part of his garrison, was suffering. M. de Joncaire informed me that the Senecas being on their way to Montreal, the Onontagués had induced them to abandon the journey and had sent him four Deputies with three strings of Wampum, to say

"That they were drawing by the arms their three children, M. de Longueil, Sieurs de Joncaire and La Chauvignerie, and that they invited them to Fort Frontenac to hold a general Council with all the Iroquois Nations who were to assemble there.

"That they had learned from some Iroquois who came from Detroit, that all the Upper Nations were to fall on them, and that to be in readiness for all events, they, on their part, had prepared canoes and all necessary provisions, so as not to be surprised.

"That they did not wish this news to be conveyed to me by any Indians, either belonging to them or settled at Katarakouy, but by the French of the Fort."

These demands of the Iroquois did not fail to embarrass me, the rather as it was not customary to go to Fort Frontenac to arrange matters, but to Montreal, or to their country

[1] M. Dubuisson's official report of the seige of Detroit in 1712, and of the Massacre of the Outagamis and Maskoutens, is published at length in General W. R. Smith's very valuable *History of Wisconsin*, III., 314. — Ed.

when I thought proper to send there. Besides, I was aware that Peter Scul[1] had made two consecutive journeys to Onontagué for the purpose of renewing the ancient league, and to create distrust in their minds at the same time in respect to the occurrences at Fort Pontchartrain of Detroit. However, not to have any thing to reproach myself with, I took the resolution to send Mons[r] de Longueil thither with Sieur de la Chauvignerie, Sieur de Joncaire being there already, and they set out on the the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, when, in the evening, I received another letter from Sieur Joncaire, in which he informed me that he did not succeed in preventing the departure of the Indians, and that, despite of all the Onontagues and Cayugas could do, the Senecas had adopted the resolution to go down to Montreal, forty-five in number, both Chiefs and men of influence; that the other four Iroquois Nations were always continuing their meetings at Onontagué, and that a great portion of their canoes were built; that some Indians even of Virginia had been with them, and that they amounted to as many as a thousand or twelve hundred warriors; that he considered it his duty to communicate this information to me, because the Iroquois did not declare the precise point where they would strike; that their canoes were constructed in the very spot in which they made those in the Marquis de Denonville's time when they came to attack the settlements of Lachine; that it did not appear to him probable that Peter Scul[1] would suffer them to strike the Upper Nations, from whom he annually derives a considerable quantity of peltries; that there was every reason to apprehend that they entertained some design against this country. I, thereupon, adopted what precautions I considered necessary to avoid a surprise below here, and, at the same time, gave notice, by some Indians, to our allies to be on their guard.

The Senecas arrived four days afterwards at Montreal, and told me that they should not speak unless Sieur de Joncaire were present. I granted them their request, being by no means sorry to retain them near me as long as possible, as I was persuaded that the others would not make any movement so long as those deputies were in my hands.

Sieur de Joncaire having returned from Fort Frontenac, the Senecas communicated to me, on the tenth of September, the message I have the honor to annex to this letter, to which I gave the answer which is thereunto adjoined.

During Sieur de Joncaire's absence I had time to interrogate the principal Seneca chiefs in private. They admitted to me that the main cause of their coming down was, that they knew better than the other Iroquois Nations how important it was not to have any war with the people of the Sault; that they were the principal sufferers in the last war, being daily exposed to the forays of our allies, whilst the others, less accessible to the Upper Nations, remained very quiet in their villages; that Teganisorens was singing the war song the whole of this winter against Saguina and the people of Detroit, being urged thereunto by the English to whom he is wholly attached; that being unable to stop this expedition, they took the resolution of first inviting Mess[rs] de Longueil, de Chauvignerie and de Joncaire, by whose means they hoped to effect their purpose; that being aware of the Teganisorens' obstinacy, they had, despite the Onontagués, who had stopped them, afterwards adopted the resolution to come down, flattering themselves that, so long as they were here, the others, though assembled, would not set out; that should they proceed I would at least be aware of the fidelity of Senecas, of which they supposed they could not give me a stronger proof than by coming and placing themselves in my hands.

[1] *Sic.* Schuyler. — Ed.

During that time, My Lord, up to the twenty-fifth of September, I received several notices that the Iroquois were always persisting in their designs; that they continued assembled at Onontagué, and, let whatever happen, that they should march, without troubling themselves about the Senecas who were at Montreal; they even sent Belts to the Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain, requesting them to remain passive on their mats, and not to take any sides, neither for nor against them in this affair. Our Indians made answer to this Belt, that they had no will but mine, and that, whatever I should do, they would do likewise.

Perceiving this, My Lord, and that the season was already too far advanced to permit me to await any longer your orders to be sent to Michillimakinac, I immediately adopted the resolution to send Sieur de Ligny thither. I also dispatched Sieur Deslietten[1] to the Ilinois and Sieur de Vincennes to the Miamis. * * * * * * *

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I have learned, with much satisfaction, by the despatch of the twenty-eighth of June, that you approve the answer I sent last year to the letter M^r^ Nicolson wrote me from Port Royal in conjunction with the Queen of England's Council.

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November 6, 1712. VAUDREUIL.

M. de Pontchartrain to M. de Vaudreuil.

Versailles, 4^th^ July, 1713.

Sir,

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His Majesty has approved the measures you have adopted on the information you received that the English were preparing another expedition last year, of which, however, there was no probability, after the ill succcess they had had the year preceding and the good understanding which existed between us and that Nation. This ought to impress on you the necessity of being constantly on your guard against the information communicated to you, the most of which is false and serves only to create expense and excite alarm throughout the country. You will have understood this by the advice I gave you, in the first instance, of the suspension of hostilities, and afterwards of the conclusion of Peace, which finally procures tranquillity for the country and security for trade and navigation, advantages by which merchants and farmers will usefully profit, if they will, and to which you ought to contribute protection and the necessary facilities, by your encouragement. His Majesty orders me to recommend you to pay attention thereto.

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[1] Delietto, a relative of Sieur de Tonti. *Charlevoix*, II., 265. — ED.

Memoir on Detroit.[1]

It is for the King's glory and the interest of the Colony to preserve the post of Detroit, for divers reasons.

The first and principal is, that if that post be abandoned, the English would render themselves masters thereof, as it is separated only by Lake Herié from the Iroquois, the near neighbors of the English, who have already made two attempts to seize it, and to form an establishment there by means of which they would carry on the whole trade with all the Indian nations our allies. The first was in 1686, when they sent 7 Englishmen from Orange with 5 Abenaki Mohegans *(Loups)* to sound the disposition of the Indians as to whether these would be glad to receive them the following year, when they would bring some goods; and, in fact, they did perform their promises to the Indians in 1687, but were met by the French who were marching by M^r^ de Denonville's orders against the Iroquois. The French and Indians to the number of 800 men, who had set out from Detroit and other posts occupied by the French, to join M^r^ de Denonville at the Senecas on the borders of Lake Ontario, encountered 32 canoes in which were 60 Englishmen and some Mohegans (*loups*) who had gone from Orange with merchandise to trade at the Detroit with the Outaois and Hurons then at Michilimakina; the whole of their goods were plundered and distributed among the Indians and French, as contraband and in the possession of a people without a passport either from the King or from Governor-general of New France. The parties were sent to Fort Frontenac, where they remained until the return of M^r^ de Denonville, who transferred them to Quebec, whence, after a detention of three weeks, he sent them back to Orange. Since that time, the post of Detroit has been established, which has prevented the English presuming to send out a new expedition.

The second reason is, that the King, preserving this post with a garrison, would afford means to prevent any movements the Iroquois might make and the engagements they might enter into with the Indians, our allies, either as emissaries of the English or on their own account.

The third reason is that, if we have war with the Iroquois, Detroit may keep them in check because between that post and them, there is only Lake Herié by which they can be attacked, as in 1687, when all the old and new grain of the Iroquois was destroyed; that this post would, moreover, furnish sufficient provisions to the French and Indians who might assemble there preparatory to going to war against the Iroquois.

The fourth reason is, that the preservation of this post is of importance for the proposed establishment at Michilimakina, since, from the commencement of the present year up to this time, more than 800 *minots*[2] of Indian corn have been exported from Detroit; and the more Michilimakina will augment, as the land there is poor and does not produce corn, of the more consequence is it that some Indians remain at Detroit to cultivate the soil, which is good thereabouts, particularly for Indian corn.

These reasons will show the necessity of fortifying that post and of garrisoning it with 20 soldiers, one sergeant and an officer, under the orders of the Commandant; this would be sufficient both to guard the fort and to prevent the Coureurs de bois going thither.

There are two modes of defraying this expense without any cost to the King. First, to give up the trade at this post exclusively to the officer in command there, as is the case at present, on condition of his defraying all the necessary charges, even the presents for managing the

[1] Supposed to have been written by Captain de la Forest.. — Ed.

[2] 2400 bushels.

Indians who come to trade there; whence it follows that the conditions heretofore imposed by M. de La Mothe on divers private persons can no longer exist, as these cannot derive therefrom any further advantage than that of carrying on trade there to the prejudice of the Commandant who must meet all the expense thereof.

These settlers are unable to improve any grant of land, as they possess no other retreat and asylum there than the fort, for were any houses without the fort, they would be exposed to be burnt, and their occupants to be killed; even the Hurons and Outawas are each in their fort, like the French, and the Poutouatamis, who have not as yet had time to erect one, have taken shelter between the French and Huron forts, and they often have alarms which oblige them to put their wives and children into the French fort. Therefore, M. de la Mothe's idea of establishing a colony there is impracticable and incompatible with the exclusive trade his Majesty [has conferred] on the Commandant of that post, which is not to be governed otherwise than Fort Frontenac, where there were formerly some settlers whom the King obliged to abandon said place; and if it be his Majesty's intention that the Commandant of Detroit enjoy the trade of that post as the King enjoys that of Fort Frontenac, it is necessary that the settlers who remain only in the fort have orders to abandon it.

When Sieur de La Mothe undertook this establishment, his Majesty granted him 150 soldiers, whose pay and clothing were provided by the King. Sieur Delaforest, who desires to be in a position to defend this post as he ought, requires from his Majesty only twenty soldiers and one serjeant, with their pay and clothing, which he will receive at Quebec without any charge for transportation, and these soldiers will not cost his Majesty any more than his other troops in garrison in that country, and would render his Majesty very good service there, it not being fitting for an officer who has the honor to command for the King in a fort 350 leagues from Quebec, in the centre of the Indian nations, to be alone and without troops.

The second mode would be, that his Majesty should manage this fort on his own account, as is the case with Fort Frontenac. It is indifferent to Sieur Delaforest, who has no other view in this command than to acquit himself to his Majesty's satisfaction.

These two plans can be applied equally to the establishment of Michilimakina, which is still less suited to the establishment of a colony than Detroit, the soil there being so poor that it does not produce Wheat, and so little Indian Corn that the resident Indians of the place are every year so very short of food that they are obliged to scatter themselves along the Lakes, where they live partly on fish, and on small berries called *bluets* which are very common in that country.

But if the free trade of licences be established, exclusive trade can no longer exist at Detroit either for the King or the Commandant, and in that case his Majesty will not be subject to any extraordinary expense for the Officer and the twenty soldiers who will be in that fort, because the officer will be satisfied with his allowances, and the soldiers with their pay in consequence of the privilege of trading which they will enjoy.

Done at Quebec, the first of October, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen.

M. de Vaudreuil to the Duke of Orleans.

Extracts of the Memoir addressed by M. de Vaudreuil to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, February, 1716.[1]

1st Extract.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-general of Canada, persuaded that your Royal Highness is convinced of the necessity which exists of preserving this Colony, will not here submit reasons in support of such policy. He will endeavor only to communicate in this Memoir the means of accomplishing it.

One of the surest is to prevent the imminent danger to which this Colony would be exposed should a new war break out with the English.

It is easy to comprehend this, if it be considered that there are at present, in Canada, only 4484 persons, between fourteen and sixty, capable of bearing arms;

That the twenty-eight companies of Infantry which the King maintains there, consists, in all, of only 628 soldiers, including Sergeants, Corporáls, and lance-corporals, and that this handful of men is dispersed over an extent of one hundred leagues of Country.

And if it be at the same time borne in mind to what degree the power of the English has advanced in this part of North America, there being in the English Colonies, contiguous to Canada, sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms;

It cannot be, for an instant, doubted but the English, on the first rupture between France and England, would employ all their efforts to seize the whole of Canada, and consequently the entire of North America, whence might follow the loss of Mexico, from which they would expel the Spaniards in a few years without any resistance.

They have made their intentions sufficiently clear by the expedition they fitted out in 1711, and even since the peace, by the twenty-second Article of the Instructions given by the city of London to its representatives, wherein it is expressly stated that they shall demand of the Ministers of the preceding government the reason why Canada and the Island of Cape Breton, at present called Ile Royale, were left to France.

Should this Island of Cape Breton pass to the English, with the rest of Canada, no further resource would be left for the Cod-fishery, which would be a serious loss to the commerce of the Kingdom.

It is impossible to express how much the power of England would increase should she seize the remainder of North America, and how formidable that power would become in Europe.

This must render sufficiently intelligible the necessity that exists to take advantage of the peace to fortify Canada by sending some people thither, as well to complete the Companies of Infantry as to augment the population.

The reëstablishment of the companies is within the ordinary rule, it not being just that the King reckon for the defence of a Colony on twenty-eight companies of fifty each, when they are found to be reduced to six hundred and twenty-eight men. A governor would render himself responsible for the consequences, should he observe silence in such a case.

The conjuncture is favorable for reëstablishing them; the great number of soldiers discharged from the regular army greatly facilitates the levies; they will cost little, and the

[1] Compare Charlevoix, II., 402, by which it seems a similar letter to this was addressed to M. de Pontchartrain in 1714.

balances remaining from the non-completion of the regiments of preceding years ought to make the ordinary funds of said years furnish sufficient for the reëstablishment of said companies.

It would be well to send out this year a reinforcement of five hundred men.

Two hundred can be conveyed in the King's ship which will go to Canada, and the remainder on board those destined for Ile Royale, whence it would be very easy to bring them to Canada, by obliging all the barks which sail thither from Ile Royale to take a certain number of them, and even the King's ship which goes to Canada and will touch at Ile Royale will be able, when there, to take one hundred more with the two hundred it would already have.

As many more might be conveyed next year, and one hundred and fifty annually during the following years, observing, when the companies are more than complete, to grant discharges to the old soldiers in order that they may marry and settle in the country; which would materially benefit it by peopling it insensibly with disciplined settlers adapted to labor, and placing it in a position to make it feared by the Indians and to upset the projects of the English, should there be war with them. With such assistance in case of war, a hope may even be entertained of recovering Acadia and the Island of Newfoundland.

2nd Extract.

One of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's principal objects of attention since he is Governor of Canada, has been to preserve peace with the Indians, and to prevent them as much as possible resorting to the English to trade.

He has succeeded herein pretty well up to the present time with very little expense, and dares to flatter himself that he will still succeed therein despite the advantages they find among the English, and the continual solicitations the English employ to attract them to themselves.

But he cannot do so except by making them some presents annually, and especially this year when they are impatiently expecting them.

He would be very illy received should he arrive without having wherewith to make them the necessary presents, and would run the risk of losing the confidence they repose in him; a confidence he is in such need of to terminate the differences these Indians have among themselves.

And the English, who only seek means to estrange the Indians from us, would not fail to seize this occasion, and give them to understand that they are not of any consideration in France.

Your Royal Highness is sufficiently aware how prejudicial to Canada the alliance of the Indians with the English would be, and how much its trade would suffer thereby.

It would be a pity to give these Indians cause to complain, for want of a few presents; their zeal and fidelity, of which they have afforded proofs on divers occasions, and principally in coming to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's aid as soon as he let them know that he was about to be attacked by the English, demand that some attention be paid them.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil hopes, then, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to send this year to Canada thirty thousand livres' worth of presents for the Indians, and to continue to send thither annually the usual gratuities.

It is more advantageous to make the purchases in France than in Canada (where they would cost 100 per cent more), provided those authorized to make them do not act as in preceding

years, when it was remarked that they charged the King more in France than the merchants of Canada sold them for; and that what was purchased for three livres by Canadian importers of similar goods, cost the King nine.

It would be proper to send annually to Canada forty thousand weight of powder, sixty thousand weight of lead in pigs, and six hundred Tulle fowling pieces; these are the best, the Indians are conversant with them and do not want any others.

The only article of our merchandize the Indians prefer to that of the English is powder, and it will be a great inducement to them to come to trade with us, especially if your Royal Highness has the goodness to order that it be sold at the King's store at thirty sous, the price previous to 1712, and not at forty-five, as at present. The Indians complain of this advance; they consume from twenty to twenty-five thousand weight of powder annually; the surplus will serve to form a reserve for fear of falling short, so as not to be in want of a supply in case war should break out with the English.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil supplicates your Royal Highness to be pleased to permit him to establish among the Indians such posts as he will find adapted to the good of the service, without being obliged to give notice beforehand, but merely to render an account thereof and of his reasons for establishing them; otherwise he will be obliged to postpone the establishment of these posts for two years, which might be very prejudicial.

I am of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to introduce licenses again for Michillimakinak; to issue twenty-five annually as heretofore; also to allow the sale of Brandy there; and at the posts that are to be and have been already established, such as Forts Frontenac and Detroit.

These licenses cannot but be of great advantage to the Colony, and will prevent the Upper Indians trading with the English.

The circumstance that has partly led them thither, heretofore, is the length of the voyage they have to make to Montreal in quest of supplies, which they find among the English at lower rates and without going so far. If goods be carried to them they will certainly prefer such to those of the English; their natural antipathy to the latter, and the risks they run in the journey, will engage them so to do.

Besides, a great portion of the Indians will, by this means, be attracted to that place, whereas they are all nomadic *(errants)*; and the Commandant of that post will be enabled to manage them more easily and even to make himself feared by those Tribes in consequence of the reinforcements he will annually receive.

By such means also will the Coureurs de bois be prevented, who, no matter what precaution is taken, do not fail to get off every year; these men are lost to the Colony, as the fear of incurring the penalties of the law hinders their return. Your Royal Highness will be under the necessity of granting them an amnesty.

Those who will obtain these licenses, which are to be examined *(visés)* by the Intendant, will be obliged to take their departure all at the same time, and to repair to the Commandant at Michillimakinak, to whose orders they shall be subject.

The disorders caused by the sale of Brandy, in past times, may be presented as an objection. They are easily remedied by permitting each canoe to take only a small quantity, and by obliging the proprietors of the Canoes to deliver it all to the Commandants of the posts to which they will go, who shall sell it to the Indians on their account and in their presence, observing to furnish these Indians only half a pint a day for four persons.

In this way there need be no fear of the evils which brandy may cause; on the contrary, it will do good, by preventing the Indians, who cannot do without it, going in quest of it to the English, who, in the hope of attracting them to themselves, do not refuse them any; they supply them with some even to take to their villages, which is the cause of those disorders, the prevention of which is aimed at by the abolition of the trade.

'Tis certain that the Indians, finding French brandy at home, will not go in search of any rum to the English. They know the difference between the one and the other and will always prefer that of France.

It is, therefore, necessary to have some at Fort Frontenac, at Detroit, at Michillimakinac, and at all the posts which it will be considered proper to establish.

The English, always alive to whatever will secure the friendship of the Indians, come even to their country to trade with them, and speak even of making establishments there. It is the Marquis de Vaudreuil's opinion that it would be well to put the Indians up to expelling them, should they execute the design they entertain of coming to establish themselves among our Indians, or on our territory.

They have, accordingly, wished to seize the territory occupied by the Abenakis and the Indians of the River S^{t} John, on the ground that it depends on Acadia which has been ceded to them by the French.

But the Indians made answer to them, that this territory has always belonged to them; that they were not subjects of the French, but only their allies and friends; that the French could not give the English a territory that belonged to them, and which they would not quit. They were correct in saying that the French are only their allies, the Marquis de Vaudreuil having always so styled them, in order not to be responsible for what they may do.

The Abenakis have done more, last year—at least according to the advices received by the Marquis de Vaudreuil; they have captured more than twenty small fishing vessels from the English.

As that may be attended with some consequences, the Marquis de Vaudreuil beseeches your Royal Highness to let him know your intention, and in what manner he is to act in case the English should establish themselves among our Indians and in our territory.

He requests also an order for the building of a Church for the Indians of the River S^{t} John, and another for the Abenakis of Piskadouë. They have long been promised it; it will cost little, and serve to attach these Indians more strongly to us.

The fortifications of Quebec were commenced in 1712, according to Sieur de Beaucourt's plan, which has been approved at Court. Were they once completed, that town would be in a state to resist the English, who will not fail, should war break out between them and us, to use every effort to take it, the consequence of which would be the entire loss of Canada. Your Royal Highness will have the goodness to give orders for their continuance.

You will also have the goodness to direct that Ile Royale be fortified. That island, so important for the preservation of the Cod fishery, would soon find itself under the dominion of the English, if advantage be not taken of the peace to put it in a condition to resist them during the war. In addition to the loss of the Cod, it would be also attended by that of the Canada trade. Should the English once get that island, they would be masters of the sea on that side; the risk the ships trading to Canada would then run, would greatly diminish their number.

The garrison of that island is in danger of perishing of hunger, should your Royal Highness not have the goodness to cause some ships to be dispatched in the month of April with provisions to it; those intended for it last year not having been sent off, and the season not permitting any to be sent so early from Canada. That garrison has need also of clothing.

Description of the Fortifications of Quebec.

Report on the Fortification and Situation of the city of Quebec, the Capital of Canada. By M. Chaussegros de Lery, Engineer-in-Chief.

The situation of this place is favorable on the side of the River S^{t} Lawrence, and unfavorable on that of the land, as the locality is difficult of fortification, there being a great pitch from the summit at Cape Diamond to *Côteau de la Potasse* (Potash hill), and as the works will be partially commanded by the hill at Artigny's mill, and by another hill, under-marked 17; the ground rising according as it recedes from the place, it is favorable, inasmuch as nearly two-thirds of its circuit does not require to be fortified. All that part from the Côteau de la Potasse marked S, which fronts the River S^{t} Charles around to the Redoubt marked H, or top of Cape Diamond, and beyond that height, in front of the River S^{t} Lawrence, has no need of any other fortification than that of the Batteries already there, as it is precipitous *(escarpé)*, and there are only some few small steps, which could be rendered impassable at the first necessity; there are three good bateaux, in the Lower town, at high-water mark *(a flotaison)*, marked F, D, E. Those on the escarpment, in the Upper town, are not so well situated, being too high, especially that of the Chateau.

The works on the land side, between the Cape Diamond Redoubt, H, and Coteau de la Potasse, S, do not amount to much, being open in several places, through which the town is entered; though some of these were left to serve as entrances to the town, they have no gates, not even a miserable barrier; the space between Cape Diamond Redoubt, H, and the edge of the escarpment, 2, is open, so that thirty men could enter the town abreast, that point having never been closed. This redoubt, though badly turned, having its left face undefended, is fit for use, being in good repair; and though it were well turned, flank 3 is situated too low to defend this left face.

Curtain R, and flank 3, and face 4, are commanded by the hill 5 of Cape Diamond, or more strictly speaking, concealed *(offusquée)* by that height in consequence of its proximity; the Curtain is raised only four, five or six feet above ground, and at one place as far as the cordon, as appears by the draft of the actual works, having a large breach towards its centre; some earth has been thrown up behind, which does not touch the wall; the flanks and faces of the tenail have open embrasures; to make use of them, it would be necessary to put some earth there for a platform and to construct the merlons. These works are without a ditch.

Note. It is commanded by the height.

The mill battery, marked G, is fit for service, and though it forms a dead angle, it is no less effectual, being greatly elevated.

All the fortification, 6, 7, 8, to complete the inclosing of the town, consists merely of an elevation without a ditch in front, open and crumbling in many places, having in one part a

bad upright pallisade at the foot, which can be scaled without any difficulty, there being nothing to prevent it.

Royal Redoubt, marked I. The barracks are good. This redoubt is not completed, as some earth still remains to be put on the terreplain, and the merlons are to be constructed, some doors and windows to be inserted and the flanks of the barracks to be finished. The *Dauphin Redoubt* is incomplete, much being still to be done to it. Its location is bad, being on the slope of a rising ground. The plans, profiles, elevations and drafts, which I have drawn, exhibit the actual condition of these two redoubts.

Saint Ursule's Redoubt, marked L, for the reception of cannon, consists merely of one double-faced platform with embrazures of gabions, without a ditch, being inclosed by a miserable pallisade stuck upright; it has no communication with the place and is open at its gorge; the guns that might be put there in time of need would be soon captured; as this redoubt is at a distance from the place, without communication and without a ditch, and surrounded only by a wretched pallisade, it would be cannon and people lost.

The fortification to inclose the palace is not advanced, having only the ditch, which is marked; it is excavated some 2 and 3 feet; the rampart is not begun, the earth which has been removed from the ditch having been used to repair the gardens and fill up a pond, so that there is only this excavation of 2 and 3 feet.

S^t Nicholas Redoubt, marked N, is a mere trifle, being very small, covered with wooden machicoulis, the same as the Gallows redoubt (*Redoute au Boureau,*) G G.

S^t Roch Redoubt, marked M, is surrounded by a small ditch; the parapet, almost entirely in ruins, is made of gabions.

The Potash Tenail, marked f f, is badly turned, not being defended at any point.

The fortification raised on Côteau de la Potasse, which occupies the border of the escarpment, is too low, being in some places only 6 feet high above the escarpment, which can be made use of at this point.

The fortification, Q, O, P, is imperfect; Joubert's demi-bastion Q, has neither its rampart nor parapets completed; it forms, on its left, a dead angle towads the escarpment, marked 9, 10, 11, where there is a gate; the approach to this angle is by a covert way along the escarpment, and there is a passage of 7 @ 8 feet between the end of the wall, 11, which goes down to this escarpment and the edge of the escarpment, 12, behind this wall, 10, 11; it is difficult to construct a rampart there, and at present there is no *chemin des rondes*[1] from which we could fire over its parapet; there are some loop-holes beside the gate, but they are situated too low, so that the fire would be completely traversed from without; the Curtain, 13, is raised six feet over the ground; in bastion O, the ramparts and parapets are not built; the Curtain, 14, is not formed, except by a retrenchment the same as that of the Place; the bastion, F, is not finished; it is raised over the ground, as shown by the sketch. This bastion is entirely opposed to the hill at Artigny's Mill, being raised above the ground, like all that fortification, but without a ditch, it being impossible to make any at the right face of the bastion, O, which is situate on the brow of the hill that is very precipitous; from the height at Artigny's Mill, the faces of bastion F and of bastion O could be easily destroyed. All the front, from 15 to 16, is exposed to this hill, the fortification not being covered by any ditch; and if it were desirable to construct one before bastion F, it would be necessary to lower the

[1] A space between the rampart and low parapet under it for the rounds to go about it. *James' Military Dictionary.* — Ed.

faces of said bastion, or to raise the counterscarp which would be built, and the covert way of about twenty feet above the level of the ground on which the faces of this bastion stand; this would cause a great expense, it being necessary to prolong the glacis of the covert way, which would not prevent the revétement of this bastion being always exposed at that height; as this bastion is situate in a low locality, I doubt if earth be found in the neighborhood within two hundred toises to construct its rampart, which will be thirty feet high, for the vicinity of this place is nothing but rock covered with a little soil.

I have remarked that there is neither cistern nor well within the fort, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil is badly lodged there.

Done at Quebec, the 15th October, 1716.

Signed CHAUSSEGROS.

Messrs. de Ramezay and Begon to the Council of the Marine.

Proposed establishment at Niagara.

Messrs. de Ramezay and Begon, Quebec, 7th November, 1716, observe that M. de Longueuil* had informed them on his return from the Iroquois that it would be necessary to have a small post North of Niagara, on Lake Ontario, at about 100 leagues from Fort Frontenac,† which could be reached in 7 or 8 days in canoe.

That this post would deter the Mississagué and Amicoué Indians from going to the Iroquois to trade, when passing from hunting in the neighborhood of Lake Earié.

But if this post be approved, the trade there must be carried on for the account of the King.

M. de Longueuil has also proposed to build a bark for the purpose of transportation from one post to the other, and considers it a sure means to conciliate the Iroquois, and to secure the greater portion of the peltries which go to the English, and produce a large profit for his Majesty's benefit.

This post being established, would afford means to prevent the Coureurs de bois going to trade to Lake Ontario, either by plundering or arresting them, their trade being very prejudicial to that carried at Fort Frontenac.

The advantage of establishing several posts is apparent from the intention the English entertain of establishing some in all the places to which they propose extending their Commerce.

Done and concluded by the Council of the Marine held at the Louvre, the 28th March, 1716.

L. A. DE BOURBON.
LE MARECHAL D'ESTRÉES.

By the Council,
LACHAPELLE.

* M. de Longueuil is Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal; much esteemed among the Iroquois, whither he is usually sent every year to manage that Nation.

† This is a Stone fort erected at the mouth of Lake Ontario, on the North Shore. It was abandoned for a season and afterwards rebuilt at the General peace concluded by M. de Callieres in 1703. The Iroquois desired it should be always maintained, and that a store be kept there from which they could procure their supplies on their way to and from hunting; this was promised them. The trade is carried on for the King's account.

M. de Vaudreuil says that it is not expedient to establish this post except the Iroquois demand it, and that when he will be on the spot, he shall see what will be proper to be done in the premises, and requests permission of the Council to establish this post, if the Iroquois desire it.

The Council approve M. de Vaudreuil's proposition, and defers to him in the case.

L. A. B.
The M. D'

M. de Vaudreuil to the Council of the Marine.

Quebec, 12th November, 1716.

I have just now received news from Detroit, informing me that the sons of Mr de Ramesay and M. de Longueuil had been killed, with 17 Frenchmen, on their way back from the Illinois to Detroit last spring, by some Indians belonging to the Tribe called Kaokias.[1] It is added that this intelligence has been brought by a man of influence to the village of Roença, a Chief of the Ilinois Canton, and that he states it to be a fact, saying that he recognized the clothing of the Frenchmen in the village of the Kaokias. As this tribe inhabits the country adjoining Carolina, it is presumed that the English of that province had, by their intrigues, induced them to strike this blow. If that be the case, I will see that measures be adopted to obtain justice, though this may be very difficult, owing to the great distance of that place.

I learn also at this moment, by a letter which M. de Ramezai writes me from Montreal, that Sieur Dauteuil's son, who has come back from the English on receiving word from his father that he had obtained leave from the Council to return to this country, reports that he happened to be at Orange [at] a meeting to which this bad news as regards Sieur de Longueuil had been brought, and on leaving this meeting, a lady of that place requested him to call on her the next day. She told him that she had learned the tidings of the death of these two young officers, but that, certainly, they were not dead, that she could not say any more, and requested him to keep secret what she had just told him.

As these circumstances afford reason to believe that, possibly, the Kaokias had not killed these officers, nor the Frenchmen who were with them, but that they had merely taken and bound them in order to give them up to the English, I shall send this winter, during the snow, to New-York, and shall write to Mr. Hunter, the Governor of that province, with a view to induce him to unravel this mystery for me, and to write to the Governor of Carolina so that he may send me back these Frenchmen should they happen to be detained within his government. I shall let him know that, if I discover that the English have had a hand in the attack perpetrated against the French, I will complain to the Council.

VAUDREUIL.

The Council of Marine to M. de Vaudreuil.

Paris, 26th June, 1717.

Sir,

The Council is in receipt of the letters you wrote in October and on the 13th of November of last year.

It has approved of your having permitted Sieurs de la Morandiere and de la Longueville, officers designed for Louisiana, taking with them the men necessary for conveying them to their destination, and it is requisite that these officers repair thither this year.

[1] "Kaskaisas" in next Document. Kaskaskias. — ED.

The Council approves your preserving a good understanding, externally, with the Governors of the English Colonies, and recommends you to pay, always, the same attention to the intrigues these Governors may employ with the Natives, so as to be able to prevent whatever might be prejudicial to the interests of the Colony.

It has observed, with pleasure, that M^r^ Hunter, Governor of New-York, is of opinion that trade between the French and English is not beneficial to both nations. You are to encourage him in these sentiments and to engage him to prohibit it severely within his government. The Council recommends you to apply all your care to prevent it on your side; and it is the King's pleasure that the French, who carry it on, be rigorously punished, and that all their goods, both raw and of foreign manufacture, be burned agreeably to the ordinance of last year. The Council approves your having sent back divers Englishmen who had come with passports to Montreal, and you have done well to have them watched during their brief sojourn there, in order to prevent them having any communication or trade with any of the French or Indians. He recommends you to continue to act with the same precaution towards those who will, possibly, come hereafter, so that they may be disgusted with this peddling, which is neither beneficial to the Colony nor of advantage to the Kingdom.

* * * * * * * * * * *

You will see, by the King's Memoir, that his Majesty is much pleased with the manner in which this war has been concluded. He recommends to you to employ all necessary means to render the peace durable and to preserve good understanding among all the Upper Nations. War does not benefit a Colony, and it is to be avoided as much as possible, unless absolutely driven to it.

* * * * * * * * * * *

There is reason to believe that the sons of M. de Ramezay and M. de Longueuil have not been killed on their way back from the Illinois, as has been reported in the Colony, and it is probable that the Kaskaisas will have delivered them up to the English. The Council approves, in order to their recovery, that you should send to New-York, and write on the subject to the Governor of that place and of Carolina, and in case you may not succeed in recovering them, and should learn that they are there, that you will give notice thereof to the Council, in order that it may have them reclaimed in England. * * * *

M. de Vaudreuil's Conference with the Indians on the 24th October, 1717.

To be taken to my Lord the Duke of Orleans.

The Council of the Senecas being assembled, Lieutenant Joncaire, whom he had sent in the month of December to the Iroquois country, declared to them that as they had requested to be notified of M^r^ de Vaudreuil's return into the Colony, he had sent him to them to inform them of his arrival at Quebec, and that he proposed going up to Montreal in the spring; that he had instructed said Sieur de Joncaire, besides, to demand of them the Illinois prisoners whom they retained, after having made an attack on that nation without any cause.

That he was much disposed to forget that bad act, because he had been assured that it had been committed through mistake, and was persuaded it would not occur again.

As he had learned that a large number of their warriors had set out towards the Mississipy, and as it would be unfortunate for the Nation should they attack the Illinois, they must send after those warriors to acquaint them that they should not go in that direction, and should turn their hatchet against their usual enemies.

The Iroquois expressed joy at his return, and regret at what had been done to the Illinois, which they assured was committed through mistake; that such would not occur again, and that they would forbid their warriors to approach the country of that Nation; they restored to Sieur de Jonquaire two Illinois squaws whom they detained prisoners, and who have been sent home.

The party of 300 warriors who, he feared, were about to go in the direction of the Illinois, returned shortly after to Seneca, on account of the death of their Captain and of several others from small pox.

Whilst Sieur de Jonquaire was wintering at Seneca, a rumor prevailed that he had been sent thither to amuse them whilst preparations were being made to march against them in the spring. On the other hand, certain Iroquois of Sault S^{t} Louis returning from Orange last winter, informed M^{r} de Ramezay that during their intercourse at Orange with some Dutchmen and Mohawks, they had discovered that the Iroquois of the country were meditating some expedition against the Colony, and that it would come off in the month of June. Convinced that that Nation would not make any movement without the knowledge of Sieur de Joncaire, who would not fail to give notice of it as soon as he should learn its existence, these rumors did not cause much uneasiness; He, nevertheless, gave directions to the French, whom he had permitted to go to New-York for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of Mess^{rs} de Ramezay and de Longueuil's sons, to endeavor to find out whether these rumors had any foundation.

The Senecas, much less content, could not abstain from making known their uneasiness to Sieur de Joncaire, and to inform him that they were afraid he was among them only as a Spy. That officer did all in his power to disabuse them, but though highly esteemed among and even adopted by them, he could not succeed in removing their suspicion, for at the moment of his departure for Montreal, they sent a Chief of high character with him, to know from him whether it were true that he designed to attack them. He satisfied this envoy, who returned quite contented, and assured him that the 5 Iroquois Nations would send their Chiefs to compliment M. de Vaudreuil on his return, and to condole the death of the late King.[1] These Chiefs did, in fact, arrive at Montreal on the 3^{d} of 7^{ber}, accompanied by several others of their tribe to the number of 40. They performed the ceremony of bewailing the King's death, on the 7th, and their lugubrious songs having been concluded, the Speaker, who was one of the Chiefs of the Onontagué Council, repeated to him how greatly the 5 nations were affected by that death; expressed to him their extreme desire to live at peace with him, and requested him to permit Mr. de Longueil, his son, Sieurs de Joncaire and de la Chauvignerie, whom they have adopted, to go into their Villages whenever they would wish to do so, or should be invited by their Nation. They added, that they were fully aware that there were some people (meaning the English) whom this would not please, but no notice must be taken of such; that they were the masters of their own country, and wished their children to be likewise its masters, and to go thither freely whenever M^{r} de Vaudreuil should permit them.

The Speaker concluded by saying to him:—Father, I have just spoken to a King who is dead: Now I address myself to the King regnant; as he who is dead evinced great kindness

[1] Louis XIV. died on the 1st of September, 1715. — Ed.

to us, and loaded us with benefits, we hope his successor will regard us as his children. We pray you to transmit this Belt to your young King, who is ours likewise, and to send it to him from the 5 Iroquois Nations. We beg of him by this Belt to have the same kindness for us as his Predecessor has had; to take us under his protection, and to be pleased to use the strength of his arm to protect us from any attacks that may be made against us. We ask the same favor for all those of the Sault St. Louis and of Sault au Récollet, for the Abenakis, the Outaŝois, the Nepissings, and all others who belong to us and are our brethren.

His Royal Highness decision. Approve his conduct. Transmit a present to the Iroquois Nations. L. A. B. L. M. D.

As he promised them to send this belt to the King, and to recommend it, and as he made them hope his Majesty would send a favorable answer to it, he applies to the Council and will await its answer in order to communicate it to them—he hopes this will be accompanied by a suitable present to be given them in the King's name. This he considers highly necessary for the good of the service, for too much cannot be done to win over these Nations.

Done and concluded in the Council of the Marine, the 25th of June, 1718.

L. A. DE BOURBON.
LE MARECHAL D'ESTRÉES.

By the Council.
LACHAPELLE.

Memoir respecting the Abenaquis of Acadia. 1718.

The English territory begins only at Kaskabé, where the first fort belonging to that Nation in the direction of Acadia is located. 'Tis true that the limits of New France and New-York were fixed, by virtue of the Treaty of Ryswick at St George's river, where the Arms of the two Crowns had been attached to a spruce tree, the branches of which had been cut off. But the war which followed soon after, changed the limits. The spruce tree has been thrown down, and the English have been again expelled, not only from the entire of the country as far as Kaskabé, but even from divers places in New-York. Moreover, the Abenaquis pretend that the whole of that coast, and all the rivers to be found therein, belong to them. And it is our interest to sustain them in their pretensions. In fact, it is the only means we possess to prevent the English establishing themselves throughout that entire country up to the height of land—that is, very near Quebec and Montreal.

If it be proper to maintain the Abenaquis in our alliance, the Governor of Boston must be given to understand that, if he undertake to settle any of the lands belonging to our Indian Allies, it will be impossible to refuse assistance to them, and the necessity of this course will be obvious if we reflect ever so little: 1st That this Nation is the only support of the Colony against the English or the Iroquois. 2nd If we do not admit or pretend to admit their right to the country they occupy, they will never be induced to take a part in any war for the defence of this same country, which is the rampart of Canada. 3rd If some interest be not exhibited in their defence, they will divide themselves between the French and the English, and inasmuch

as they experience better terms in regard to trade from the latter than from the former, it will not be long before they are wholly attached to them. More than half the tribe is already English by inclination, and retained only by Religion; their Missionaries alone have the power, it is admitted, to persuade them to submit to the will of the Governor-general. 4th If matters be allowed to proceed ever so little in the course they have been for some time pursuing, New France will be bounded on the South by the River St Lawrence; it will be necessary to abandon all our posts and settlements on that side, and nothing will prevent the English and the Iroquois making irruptions into the very heart of the Colony.

The English object the Treaty of Utrecht to us: But we answer them thereupon, that this Treaty speaks only of Acadia, and we have demonstrated elsewhere that the country in question is not Acadia. But is it not to be feared that we shall have to come to a war with England? No: The English have never been able to make head against the Abenaquis when backed by the French; when aware of this junction, the English will withdraw without waiting to be attacked. Such is the reply those conversant with the country consider themseves qualified to give. The Missionaries and Father de La Chasse, Superior-general of the Missions who has been nearly twenty years among the Abenaquis, are also of opinion that an agreement ought to be made, as soon as possible, with the Governor of Boston, as to how far his limits extend in virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht, and that the smallest delay may be followed by results which it will be impossible to repair, unless it be preferable to proceed like the English by violence, and make a settlement at Pentagouët and at the mouth of the River St John, where the fishery is good and the Indians would receive us with open arms.

In order to add further weight to what has just been set forth, it is proper to relate here what has occurred among the Abenaquis since the Treaty of Utrecht. It was from the English that these Indians received intelligence of that treaty. They began by telling them, in an insulting tone, that they were fully justified in warning them that the French, after having made use of them to wage war, would conclude peace at their expense; that the King of France had just made a Treaty with the Queen of England, one of the conditions of which was, that their country should belong, henceforth, to the English. The Indians, at first, could hardly credit this intelligence, and answered that their Missionaries had assured them of the contrary. The English replied, that they had not advanced any thing that they were not able to prove, and that whenever the Missionaries pleased, they would show them the Treaty in writing. The Abenaquis then became excited and demanded, By what right did the King of France dispose of their Country? Their excitement had been more serious had not the Missionaries appeased them by telling them that they had been deceived by an ambiguous expression, and that their country was not included in that which had been ceded to the English.

In the meanwhile, direct news of the peace was brought by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been in France; this general represented, at the same time, that the intention of the Count was, to remove all the Abenaquis to Isle Royale, which it was desirous to settle. Father de La Chasse, who was applied to for the purpose of conveying that message to the Indians, represented that people must be ignorant of the extreme attachment these Indians bear their country to make them such a proposition; that they would not comply, and that all that would be gained thereby is, that from friends, which they had hitherto been, and were no longer except from motives of religion, they would become enemies the more irreconcilable as they would believe they were trifled with; his opinion was, that instead of proposing to them this emigration, to which they would never be brought to consent, and which would be highly

detrimental to ourselves, inasmuch as it would leave us open to the incursions of the English, an understanding ought to be come to, as soon as possible, which would establish the boundaries of the two nations, extricate the Indians from difficulty, who ought to be guaranteed assistance from us even should they be constrained to have recourse to arms for the preservation of their country. All admitted the soundness of this advice, which was given by a man intimately acquainted with the Abenaquis — who exercises great influence over their minds, and to whom, it was acknowledged, the zeal exhibited by these Indians in favor of the Colony in the time of the last attempt of the English, was principally due. It was resolved to adopt it, and the Missionaries were instructed to reëncourage their Indians; but they have not been able to prevent several from having formed, and from still forming, attachments with the English.

Mr Begon has, since, incessantly urged the settlement of the boundary line, of the importance whereof he is aware, because he does not judge the Abenaquis of the present day by the Abenaquis of former times; and daily events justify him but too well. In fact, a goodly number of English families having made their appearance, some years since, at the lower part the River Quinebequi, below the Naurautsoak Mission, received permission to settle there, and have actually two forts there. Father Rale, Missionary at Naurautsoak,[1] did, indeed, make some efforts to prevent this settlement, the consequences of which he foresaw, but he did not consider himself bound to make any stronger demonstrations, because it would be an useless risk of his life; the English would not be the less established, and aware of the Jesuit's designs against them, would have done him serious harm. He knew that a price had been set on the head of his confrère, Father Aubry,[2] for the same reason, at the beginning of the last war, but this Father succeeded in removing the English and had nothing to fear then from any of the Abenaquis; circumstances which no longer exist.

However, the Indians of Naurautsoak beginning, last summer, to take some umbrage at their new guests, wished to know, in case it became necessary to use force to dislodge them, whether they could count on the aid of the French; they deputed some among them to wait on the Marquis de Vaudreuil to explain to him the situation in which they were placed, and to demand of him, who called himself their father, and to whom they had been always submissive as children, whether he was disposed to assist them against the English in case of a rupture, as they had assisted him at the expense of their blood on every occasion that he had required them. The general assured them he should never fail them, in time of need. But what assistance, Father, will you give us? they asked. My children, answered Mr de Vaudreuil, I shall secretly send you some hatchets, some powder and lead. Is this the way, then, the Indians retorted, that a Father aids his children, and was it thus we assisted you? A Father, they added, when he sees his son engaged with an enemy stronger than he, comes forward, extricates his son and tells the enemy that it is with him he has to do. Well, replied Mr de Vaudreuil, I will engage the other Indian tribes to furnish you aid. At these words the deputies retorted with an ironical laugh — Know, that we all who inhabit this vast continent will, whensoever we please, as long as we exist, unite to expel all foreigners from it, be they who they may. This declaration surprised the General, who, to mollify them, protested that rather than abandon them to the mercy of the English, he would himself march at their head.

[1] Now called Norridgewock.

[2] Rev. Joseph Aubéri received Holy Orders in Quebec in 1699, and became Missionary to the Abenaquis about the year 1702, 3. He subsequently was appointed to the mission of St. Francis, in Canada, and died, it is said, in 1758. — Ed.

They departed apparently satisfied. It seems, however, that they were not thoroughly convinced of the sincerity of this promise. They took care to report throughout all the villages, and perhaps with some exaggeration, as is their wont, what had transpired at M. de Vaudreuil's, and the Missionaries assure us, that the entire Nation is dissatisfied, and nothing is wanting to make them adopt some untoward resolution.

The General assures that there is a man of influence among the Abenaquis of Naurautsouak entirely devoted to him, by means of whom he will get the others to do whatever he pleases. Those best acquainted with these Indians are convinced that no reliance is to be placed on them. Mr Begon, on the other hand, would wish that some hair-brained fellow of the Abenaquis might make some attack on the English that would light up a war; but if this nation is not to be aided by some men, can we, with honor and in conscience, precipitate it into a war against an enemy greatly its superior? What will become of ourselves if these Indians be worsted, and the English become masters of their villages, some of which are in our midst? and if there be any disposition to assist them, is it not more natural to let the Governor of Boston know that, if the English do not retire from a country belonging to our allies, and which we cannot, and do not pretend to cede to them by any treaty, they will have to do with the French, who will not be able to refuse their assistance to men from whom they received aid in time of need, and who assisted them only on condition that such favor would be reciprocated?

This proceeding seems to be so much the more necessary and urgent, as we are informed that the Iroquois are soliciting the Abenaquis, by Belts which they send them underhand, to coöperate with them against the French; that the English have within three or four months proceeded towards Pemquit; that the Abenaquis, of Panaouaske have consented thereunto in spite of Father Lauverjat, their missionary, who thought he effected considerable in providing that this establishment would be confined to one trading house; but things must not be expected to remain in that position; besides, this conduct shows that these two Nations, whose mutual enmity has been, up to this time, our security, are beginning to be reconciled, from which nothing can follow but the ruin of the Colony.

Father Aubery pretends that were some post established in the direction of Pentagouët and at the lower end of the River St John for fishing, which is very good in that quarter, the Abenaquis would receive us with open arms under the conviction that we would not come there except to defend them against the English; and he adds, that these posts would be of great advantage to the Colony. We have as much right as the English to settle the places in dispute, and as the Indians are on our side, we are in no fear of being disturbed in those establishments.

Father Lafitau's Remonstrance against the Sale of Brandy to the Indians.

Memoir of Father Lafitau,[1] Jesuit Missionary of the Iroquois of the Sault S[t] Louis, on the sale of Liquor to the Indians, and the Council's Order thereupon.

The trade in Brandy and other similar liquors is entirely opposed to the good of the Colony and of the State, for four principal reasons, the first of which is, that it affects the peace and interests of the Indians.

When these people are intoxicated they become so furious that they break and destroy every thing belonging to their household, cry and howl terribly, and go in quest, like madmen, of their enemies to poignard them; their relatives and friends are not, at these times, safe from their rage, and they gnaw even their own noses and ears.

Father Bruyas, an ancient Missionary, has repeatedly assured him that he knew more than one hundred persons who came to settle at the Sault S[t] Louis in the expectation of avoiding the persecution of this description of drunkenness, but that several of them had left the place, finding that drink and drunkenness were as common and frequent there as in their own country.

Although the Indians love to drink, they are, nevertheless, sorry for having done so, because in their drunkenness they lose all they possess; wherefore they feel extreme regret when they come to their senses.

Disunion and the dissolution of their marriages are always the result of their debaucheries, in consequence of the sorrow and despair experienced by their wives on beholding themselves robbed by their drunken husbands, who strip them of every thing in order to obtain drink, and defrauded of the products of the chase, which belong to them, and are taken away from their husbands by their creditors before arriving at their village.

These Indians, loaded with debt and despoiled by their creditors, who do not leave them even their guns, are often obliged to abandon the country and to go over to the English, despairing of being able to pay their debts.

These people have so clearly perceived the injury they were suffering from this trade that they have demanded, and still demand of the governors, almost every year, that it be abolished by their authority.

The answer given by the Governor of Manhate, on this subject, to a Missionary[2] who had been forced, by the Chiefs of the Mohawks, to write to him, is an incontestable proof of this.

[1] Rev. Joseph François Lafitau was a native of Bourdeaux, and is said to have emigrated, in the year 1700, to Canada, where he succeeded Father Bruyas as missionary to the Indians of the Sault Saint Louis. He labored five years in that mission (*Mœurs Sauvages*, I., 2), and returned to France, where he was professor of Belles Lettres. In 1718 a treatise appeared from his pen, "concerning the precious plant called Ginseng," which he discovered in Canada; the title is "Memoire presenté a son Altesse Royale M. le Duc d'Orleans, regent du royaume de France: concernant la precieuse plante du Ginseng de Tartarie, découverte en Canada par le P. Joseph François Lafitau, Missionaire des Iroquois du Sault Saint Louis," 8vo., pp. 88, with a plate representing the plant. In 1723, he published his elaborate work entitled "Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers temps." Paris, 2 volumes, 4to., 41 plates. It contains a great detail of the manners, customs and religion of the Indians of America, particularly of those of the Iroquois, and is the most exact we have on the subject. His parallel of the people of antiquity with those of America has been considered as very ingenious, and supposes a great knowledge of ancient history. This work was reprinted, badly enough, the following year, at Rouen, in 4 vols. 12mo. In 1733 was published his work on the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa, under the inappropriate title, however, of "Histoire des Descouvertes et conquêtes des Portuguais dans le Nouveau Monde." Paris, 2 vols., 4to., plates; also in 4 vols. 12mo. Father Lafitau died in France in 1740. *Biog. Universelle.*—Ed.

[2] Father Pierron.

Copy of the Governor of Manhatte's letter.

Father. From your last letter I learn your complaint, which is seconded by that of the Chiefs of the Iroquois Captains, as appears more fully by their petition inclosed in yours, touching the vast amount of liquors that some of Albany take the liberty to sell to the Indians, causing them thereby to commit excessive disorders, more of which are to be apprehended if steps be not taken to prevent them. In answer, you will learn that I have adopted every possible precaution, and shall continue, by very certain fines, to restrain and prevent the supplying of the Indians with any excess, and I am very glad to learn that such virtuous thoughts proceed from Heathens to the shame of many Christians; but such is to be attributed to your pious instructions; you who are well versed in strict discipline, have given them the example of mortification both by precept and practice.

Your very humble and most obedient servant,

Dated Fort James, 18th November, 1668. FRANCIS LOVELACE.

The second, that it is opposed to the good of the Colonists, who, attracted by the hope of gain from this trade, abandon their farms and families to go among the Indian Nations, sometimes even without leave, where many, giving themselves up to debauchery, live without law, scandalize the Indians, and after having consumed the goods they have often obtained on credit, and seeing themselves without the means of payment, settle among the Indians and become bankrupt to their creditors.

The third, that it is absolutely opposed to the interests of the Merchants, who, being under the necessity of advancing the Indians their outfit, and the Colonists the freight for their canoes to proceed to the Far Nations, ought to receive the peltry directly from the one and the other, and do not receive any thing in consequence of the derangement invariably caused by brandy, which they drink on their arrival or have previously drank, and for which they are still in debt, and for which they are obliged to pay in goods that they bring.

And the fourth, that it is capable of alienating the Indians from us, 1st, inasmuch as several of their Tribes have been almost wholly destroyed by Brandy, particularly the Algonkin Nation; and in the second place, because the French runaways, not daring to return home again, seduce the Indians over to the English, in order to assist them to transport the merchandise they intend to purchase there, and in that way teach the Indians the road to the English.

He hopes that these reasons will engage the Council to give such precise orders for the prevention of this trade, which is almost the sole obstacle to the labors of the Missionaries, that the Governors will be obliged to enforce them, and that no one will dare to elude them as has been the case heretofore.

NOTE.—Several Memoirs and letters have been sent to the Council on this subject by Messrs. de Vaudreuil, Begon and Ramezay.

All agree as to the inconveniences of the trade in Brandy, but at the same that it is necessary; and Mr de Vaudreuil having observed that it was indispensable to give 2 or 3 pots of brandy, a man, to the Indians of the upper countries who visit the Colony, and even to have them treated, moderately, at Fort Frontenac—

Whereupon the Council deliberated on the 31st of March, 1716, that it was necessary to continue the general prohibitions which had been formerly enacted, and meanwhile to permit

the conveyance of Brandy in moderate quantities to the places proposed by Mr de Vaudreuil. Should he think proper to renew the prohibitions, it must be done without in any way changing the preceding ones.

OBSERVATION.

The sale of Brandy, of which Father Laffitau complains, is apparently that which is carried on in the towns of the Colony, which it appears always necessary to prevent.

Done and concluded the 1st of June, 1718.

L. A. DE BOURBON.
LE MARSHAL D'ESTRÉES.

By the Council.

LA CHAPELLE.

To advise Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon that the Council is informed that a great many other permits have been issued in addition to the licenses already allowed. To forbid the issuing of these sorts of permits on any pretext whatsoever. To issue, for another year, the regular number of licenses, after which to declare that no more will be issued. The bearers of the licenses, will notify the Indians thereof, so that these may afterwards bring their goods. To forbid the including in the licenses, which will be issued this last time, the carrying of any Brandy, not even for the use of the Voyageurs.

M. de Vaudreuil to the Council of Marine.

Quebec, 30th October, 1718.

The five Nations, constantly occupied in war with the Flat-heads, continue to live in peace with us. They are impatiently waiting for the King's answer to the Belt that I have sent from them to the Council to be presented to the King.

Five Onontague Chiefs came to Montreal on behalf of the Five Nations, and have spoken to me on the 26th of August by two belts. They signified to me, by the first, that as I had promised to send the King their Message, which went from their heart to enter that of his Majesty, and convinced that I had not failed to transmit it, they had come to learn the answer, and in case I had not yet received it, to inquire if I were advised of the presentation of their belt to the King. By the second, they told me that they had likewise come for the purpose of communicating to me very bad news for them—that they had learned by a man named Changaroton, who has been brought up among them, and who now resides towards the Mississipy, that he had seen the English of Carolina making the Flat-heads, the enemies of the Iroquois, considerable presents of powder, lead, guns, pistols, swords and sabres, in order to wage war against the Five Nations and invade their peace, the said English having also promised these Flat-heads, if that were not sufficient, to supply them with more, until they should be all armed, and even to join them for the purpose of destroying the Iroquois. These Deputies likewise added, that when they set out from their Village, others started for Orange to communicate this news to their brother, the Englishman, and to Peter Schuyler, and to

demand from him the same aid that he was affording to strangers, with whom he had only two days' acquaintance, with orders, should he refuse, as they will understand that he is their enemy, to reproach him with the fact that if his land still remain, he is indebted for it to the Iroquois, since it is out of regard for them that Onontio has not waged war on them.

I informed these Deputies that their belt had been received at Court, and that I will send them the answer to it as soon as I shall receive it; and that what they told me of the English did not surprise me, for I had warned them long ago of the design those entertain to seize their land as they have done that of the Mohawks. I observed to them, likewise, that they will afford me pleasure by letting me know the answer the Deputies will receive whom they have sent to Orange.

It is to be wished that this news is true, and that those of Orange might refuse the Iroquois the aid they demand, as, in that case, should the Iroquois not absolutely embroil themselves with the English, they would at least entertain sufficiently serious distrust of the latter, not to allow them to establish any posts on their territory, as they have long proposed to do.

VAUDREUIL.

Memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi.

Memoir on the Indians of Canada as far as the River Mississipi, with remarks on their manners and trade. 1718.

The Niagara portage is two leagues and a half to three leagues long, but the road, over which carts roll two or three times a year, is very fine, with very beautiful and open woods through which a person is visible for a distance of six hundred paces. The trees are all oaks, and very large. The soil along the entire of that road is not very good. From the landing, which is three leagues up the river, four hills are to be ascended. Above the first hill there is a Seneca village of about ten cabins, where Indian corn, beans, peas, water-melons and pumpkins are raised, all which are very fine. These Senecas are employed by the French, from whom they earn money by carrying the goods of those who are going to the Upper Country; some for mitasses,[1] others for shirts, some for powder and ball, whilst some others pilfer; and on the return of the French, they carry their packs of furs for some peltry. This Portage is made for the purpose of avoiding the Cataract of Niagara, the grandest sheet of water in the world, having a perpendicular fall of two to three hundred feet. This fall is the outlet of Lakes Erié, Huron, Michigan, Superior, and consequently of the numberless rivers discharging into these lakes, as well as of other lakes towards the Sioux, with the names of which I am not acquainted. The Niagara portage having been passed, we ascend a river six leagues in length and more than a quarter of a league in width, in order to enter Lake Erié, which is not very wide at its mouth. The route by the Southern, is much finer than that along the Northern shore. The reason that few persons take it is, that it is thirty leagues longer than that along the North. There is no need of fasting on either side of this lake, deer are to be found there in such great abundance; buffaloes are found on the South, but not on the North shore.

[1] This is another instance of the adoption of Indian words by Europeans. Mitas is not a French, but an Algonquin word for stockings or leggings, in the Vocabulary in *La Hontan*, II., 223. — ED.

A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the South side, is a river called Sandosquet, which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flat-heads and other nations towards Carolina, such as the Cheraquis, the Indians residing on the River Casquinampo[1] and the Chasanons. They ascend this Sandosquet river two or three days, after which they make a small portage, a fine road of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river[2] that empties into the Ohio, which means Beautiful river; it is indeed beautiful, for it is nearly a quarter of a league in width, with a fine current without rapids, except one of about half an acre, and this river falls into the Ouabache,[3] thence into the Mississipi forty leagues below the village of Rouinsac,[4] where the Fathers are settled and where some Frenchmen live. This Ohio, or Beautiful river, rises 30 leagues south *(derrière)* of the Seneca nation. Beyond Fort des Sables on Lake Ontario and near the River *aux bœufs* is a river that flows into this Beautiful river.[5]

Whoever would wish to reach the Mississipi easily, would need only to take this Beautiful river, or the Sandosquet; he could travel without any danger of fasting, for all who have been there have repeatedly assured me, that there is so vast a quantity of Buffalo and of all other animals in the woods along that Beautiful river, they were often obliged to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves. They say that two thousand men could very easily live there. To reach Detroit from this River Sandosquet, we cross Lake Erie from Island to Island and get to a place called Point Pelée,[6] where every sort of fish are in great abundance, especially Sturgeon, very large, and three, four and five feet in length. There is on one of these Islands so great a number of Cats that the Indians killed as many as nine hundred of them in a very short time. The object of the Indians in making this traverse is to shorten their road considerably, and were they not to do so they must go as far as the river which flows from the Miamis, and which is at the head of the Lake.

At the mouth of the Detroit river, which is very wide, are four Islands called L'île au Bois blanc; that before it, L'île aux poux; the other, L'île aux esclaves, and the fourth, Grand Island, which is very fine and fertile, and extensive, being, as is estimated, from six to seven leagues in circumference. There is an extraordinary quantity of apple trees on this Island, and those who have seen the apples on the ground, say they are more than a half a foot deep; the apple trees are planted as if methodically, and the apples are as large as small pippins *(pommes d'apis)*. Abundance of excellent millstones are found on this Island; all around it are very fine prairies. It was a long time doubtful whether Detroit should not be founded there. The cause of the hesitation was, the apprehension that the timber might some day fail. Both shores of this Detroit river are lined with the most beautiful prairies that can be seen; the soil is the best that can be met, and the climate is very mild. It is six leagues from Bois blanc Island to the Fort of Detroit, where our Frenchmen are. Two leagues from Fort Detroit is an Island called Isle aux dindes. It is so called because Turkies are always to be found there. It contains very little timber; only prairie. Four or five years ago, a man named Le Tonnerre, principal Chief of the Foxes, and two of the same tribe, were killed there by the Hurons settled at Detroit. The two Foxes who were with Le Tonnerre, were devoured by wild beasts, crows,

[1] The ancient name of the Tennessee river. See *De Lisle's Map;* also *Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee*, 87.

[2] The Scioto. [3] The Wabash falls into the Ohio. [4] Kaskaskia, Illinois.

[5] Fort *des Sables* was on Irondequoit bay, Monroe county, N. Y. The river beyond is the Genesee. The *Rivière aux Bœufs*, or Buffalo river, is supposed to be the present Oak Orchard creek, Orleans county, N. Y.

[6] General Harrison took this route in 1813. *Darby's Tour; Map*, 185. — Ed.

or other vermin; but Le Tonnerre was still uninjured a year afterwards, not an animal having touched him. The fort of Detroit is South of the river. The village of the Poutouatamies adjoins the fort; they lodge partly under Apàquois,[1] which are made of mat grass. The women do all this work. The men belonging to that Nation are well clothed, like our domiciliated Indians at Montreal; their entire occupation is hunting and dress; they make use of a great deal of vermillion, and in winter wear buffalo robes richly painted, and in summer, either blue or red cloth. They play a good deal at La Crosse in summer, twenty or more on each side. Their bat is a sort of little racket, and the ball with which they play is made of very heavy wood, somewhat larger than the balls used at tennis. When playing, they are entirely naked, except a breech cloth, and moccasins on their feet; their body is completely painted with all sorts of colors. Some, with white clay, trace white lace on their bodies, as if on all the seams of a coat, and at a distance it would be apt to be taken for silver lace. They play very deep *(gros jeu)* and often. The bets sometimes amount to more than eight hundred livres. They set up two poles and commence the game from the centre; one party propels the ball from one side and the others from the opposite, and whichever reaches the goal, wins. This is fine recreation and worth seeing. They often play village against village; the Poux against the Outaouacs or the Hurons, and lay heavy stakes. Sometimes Frenchmen join in the game with them. The women cultivate Indian corn, beans, peas, squashes and melons, which come up very fine. The women and girls dance at night; adorn themselves considerably, grease their hair, put on a white shift, paint their cheeks with vermillion, and wear whatever wampum they possess, and are very tidy in their way. They dance to the sound of the drum and Sisiquoi,[2] which is a sort of gourd containing some grains of shot. Four or five young men sing and beat time with the drum and Sisiquoi, and the women keep time and do not lose a step; it is very entertaining, and lasts almost the entire night. The old men often dance the Medelinne;[3] they resemble a set of demons, and all this takes place during the night. The young men often dance in a circle *(le tour)* and strike posts; it is then they recount their achievements, and dance, at the same time, the war dance *(des decouvertes[4])*, and whenever they act thus, they are highly ornamented. It is altogether very curious. They often perform these things for tobacco. When they go hunting, which is every fall, they carry their Apaquois with them to hut under at night. Every body follows, men, women and children, and winter in the forest and return in the spring.

The Hurons are also near; perhaps the eighth of a league from the French fort. This is the most industrious nation that can be seen. They scarcely ever dance, and are always at work; raise a very large amount of Indian corn, peas, beans; some grow wheat. They construct their huts entirely of bark, very strong and solid; very lofty and very long, and arched like arbors. Their fort is strongly encircled with pickets and bastions, well redoubled, and has strong gates. They are the most faithful Nation to the French, and the most expert hunters that we have. Their cabins are divided into sleeping copartments, which contain their Misirague, and are very clean. They are the bravest of all the Nations, and possess considerable talent. They are well clad; some of them wear close overcoats *(juste au corps de capot)*. The men are always hunting, summer and winter, and the women work. When they

[1] Apàquois — matting made of flags or rushes — from *apee*, a leaf, and wig*quoi*am, a hut. They cover their huts with mats made of rushes platted. *Carver's Travels*, London, 1778, 232.

[2] Carver calls them Chickicoes. Compare Charlevoix, note, III., 207.

[3] Medicine dance?

[4] Lafitau; also Charlevoix, III., 297. — Ed.

go hunting in the fall, a goodly number of them remain to guard their fort. The old women, and throughout the winter those women who remain, collect wood in very large quantity. The soil is very fertile; Indian corn grows there to the height of ten @ twelve feet; their fields are very clean, and very extensive; not the smallest weed is to be seen in them.

The Outaoues are on the opposite side of the river, over against the French fort; they, likewise, have a picket fort. Their cabins resemble somewhat those of the Hurons. They do not make use of Apaquois except when out hunting; their cabins in this fort are all of bark, but not so clean nor so well made as those of the Hurons. They are as well dressed, and very laborious, both in their agriculture and hunting. Their dances, juggleries and games of ball *(la crosse)* and of the Bowl[1] are the same as those of the Poux. Their game of the Bowl consists of eight small pebbles *(noyaux)*, which are red or black on one side, and yellow or white on the other; these are tossed up in a bowl, and when he who holds the vessel tosses them and finds seven or the whole eight of the same color he gains, and continues playing as long as he achieves the same thing. When the result is different, the adverse party takes the bowl and plays next, and they risk heavy stakes on all these games. They have likewise the game of the Straws, and all the Nations gamble in like manner.

The timber, in all those countries, is very fine, and, as well as the fruit, of all sorts. There are Nut trees with nuts similar to those of France; very fine apples and very handsome mulberry trees which bear excellent fruit, large in size and very long, and a vast quantity of chestnut trees bearing a large number of chestnuts. Lake Erié, which is fully three hundred leagues in circumference, is bordered with them.

One league from Fort Detroit is an island called Isle aux Cochons,[2] a league long, having the finest timber in the world, and prairies without end. It is one of the handsomest islands that can be seen; and of very rich soil. Five leagues from the Fort is a small lake, called Lake S^{t} Clair, seven leagues long and not very wide. The shore is visible on both sides. This lake is well stocked with fish, and especially white fish, which, however, is not so good as that at Missilimakinac. Before reaching this lake you come to the Peninsula *(Presqu'île)* where the Foxes were treacherously defeated.

I forgot to state the number of men belonging to the Detroit Tribes. The Hurons number one hundred men; the Poux,[3] 180; the Outaouaes, about one hundred men and a number of women.

Twelve leagues from Fort Detroit, always going up the river, you will find the Misisagué Indians, who occupy a beautiful island where they raise their crops. They are about 60 or 80 men. Their language resembles that of the Outaouae; there is very little difference between them. Their customs are the same, and they are very industrious. All these Nations construct a great many bark canoes, which is a great assistance to them; they occupy themselves in this sort of work; the women sew the canoes with roots; the men finish them and make the [ribs] of these canoes, smoothen and floor *(varanguent)* them, and the women gum them. It costs some labor to build a canoe; it requires considerable [pains] and preparation, which are curious to behold.

Eight leagues further on is the mouth of Lake Huron, which is fully as large as Lake Erié. Thirty leagues up Lake Huron, tending to the West, on the route to the Missilimakinac, you find Saquinam, where some Outaouaes are settled to the number of 60 men. They

[1] For a description of these games, see *Carver's Travels*, London ed, 363; or Philadelphia ed., 1796, 237.

[2] Hog Island.

[3] i. e. Poutouatamies. — Ed.

occupy some islands at the entrance of the Saquinam, where they have their village and raise their crops and grain. When they are not at war with other Nations they make their fields on the main; but they plant always in the two places for fear of a failure. The soil there is very good; game and fish abundant and of all descriptions.

This Nation is the most mutinous and the hardest to govern in all these parts. Their manners, resemble, in every respect, those of the Outaouaes. On the opposite or North shore of Lake Huron you have Matechitache; some Mississagués are there, whose manners are the same as those of the Outaouaes. You have the Toronto Carrying place, leading from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron, fifteen leagues long.

From Saquinam you go to Missilimakinac, the residence of the Jesuit fathers and of some Frenchmen. The voyage to Missilimakinac may, if you please, be dispensed with, in going to the River S^{t} Joseph, or to Chicagou. The Bay is on the same side as Missilimakinac; it is settled by the Puans and Wild Rice Indians *(les folle avoine)*; there are some Frenchmen there also. The Sacs, another Indian Nation, are convenient to these Tribes, as I have been informed, and fifteen or eighteen leagues the one from the other. The Puans and the Folle Avoines are not numerous; each nation may number 80 or 100 men. The Sacs are 100 or 120 men. The two latter have, as I learn, the same customs as the Outaouaes and the Poux. Their language is not altogether the same, but whoever understands the Outaouaes can be understood by these Tribes. The Sacs resemble the Poux, because they are intimately allied together and have the same manners. The Sacs have their cabins on the same Fox river, that leads to the Carrying place of the Ouisconsin river, which falls into the Mississipi; it is pretty convenient to the Sioux.

All these tribes are very industrious, and the women are four times more numerous than the men. The Foxes are 18 leagues distant from the Sacs; they number five hundred men, and abound in women and children; are as industrious as can be; raise large quantities of Indian corn, and have a different language from the Outaouaes. An Outaouae interpreter would be of no use with the Foxes. They are well fortified; have the same sort of dances and games as the Poutouatamis, but differ in regard to dress, for the men wear scarcely any cloth clothing, and the major portion of them do not wear any breech clout. As for the women, they all have them, and the girls wear, in addition, a black or brown fawn skin, embellished all round, some with little bells, others with a sort of copper, or tin, tags; they also wear blankets. They are pretty enough and not black. There is excellent hunting in these parts, and the people live well in consequence of the abundance of meat and fish, of the latter of which this Fox river is very full.

The Foxes are fifty leagues, in the direction of Chicagou, from the Mascoutins and Quicapous, who reside together in a village on the bank of a river, the name of which I forget.[1] Both these tribes together do not amount to 200 men; they are clever people and brave warriors. Their language and manners strongly resemble those of the Foxes; they are of the same stock *(jambe)*. They catch deer by chasing them, and, even at this day, make considerable use of bows and arrows. The Quicapous and Mascoutins are not far, perhaps fifty leagues, from Chicagous, which they must pass on their way to Detroit or to the River S^{t} Joseph.

The River S^{t} Joseph is south of Lake Michigan, formerly the Lake of the Illinois; many take this river to pass to the Rocks,[2] because it is convenient, and they thereby avoid the

[1] Rock river, Illinois.

[2] Rock Fort, Illinois. For an account of this curiosity, see *Flint's Geography*, I., 331.; also *Charlevoix*, III., 381. — Ed.

portages *des Chaines*, and *des Perches*. It is situated at the head of Lake Michigan, and leads to the Rocks, an Illinois village.

The Miamis and Poutouatamis formerly resided with some Missionaries at the River S^t^ Joseph; it is not long since they were there. 'Tis a spot the best adapted of any to be seen for purposes of living and as regards the soil. There are pheasants as in France; quails and perroquets; the finest vines in the world, which produce a vast quantity of very excellent grapes, both white and black, the berry very large and juicy, and the bunch very long. It is the richest district in all that country. I believe they left it only because of the war between the Foxes, Sacs and Outaouaes and all the other tribes of those parts. It is thirty leagues from the river S^t^ Joseph to Chicagou, which is thirty leagues from the Rocks. The Oujatanons were also at Chicagou, but being afraid of the Canoe people, they left it. It would not be difficult to induce them to return there, and it would be important that they should do so, for divers reasons; principally, because they are within reach of the English and Senecas in consequence of the facilities of the road, and at Chicagou it is very different, there being nearly one hundred leagues of land travel.

The Illinois occupy the Rock on the bank of the river, and the French reside on the Rock which is very lofty and impregnable. As far as the eye can reach, is prairie. From the summit of the Rock you behold, roaming through the prairies, herds of the Buffalo of Illinois. This Nation is at war with the Foxes and Oujatanons. The Illinois of the Rock number 400 men, and are eighty leagues from the Oujatanons, and over a hundred and fifty leagues from the Foxes. Their language is different from that of our people at Detroit, yet our Poutouatamis partially understand them. Bows and arrows are considerably in use among them; they are comfortably clothed in deer, buffalo, wild cat, wolf, panther, beaver and otter skins; and all the tribes above mentioned have the entire body tattooed with all sorts of figures and designs. This description of Indians do not kill a great deal of beaver. Their games are the same as those of all the other tribes. They dwell on the borders of the Illinois river, and are very expert in whatever they manufacture, whether garters, sashes, or belts for powder horns, which are very beautiful in the finish and designs. The women are well made and not black; they spin buffalo hair themselves, of which they make all those articles. The cabins of this Illinois tribe also are covered with Apaquois. They protect themselves against rain and snow, and are very adroit.

On this same river is an Illinois village called Pimytesouy, distant about fifty leagues or more from the Rock; about the same distance, on the same river, are the Caokias, who are Illinois. A priest, named Monsieur Varlet,[1] is their missionary; he proposes to return thither

[1] Rev. Dominique Marie Varlet was born at Paris on the 15th March, 1678; he was a Seminarian of Saint Magloire, and a licentiate in the house of Navarre, and was raised to the priesthood and became Doctor of the Sorbonne in 1706. He soon after was connected with the Foreign Missions, and was sent by that body to Canada (in 1707, according to the *Liste Chronologique*), and labored zealously as a missionary among the Illinois for six years, viz., from 1712 to 1718, when his superiors recalled him to France, and on their recommendation he was nominated Bishop of Ascalon, and coadjutor to the Bishop of Babylon. He was consecrated 19th February, 1719, on which occasion M. de Mornay, coadjutor-bishop of Quebec, assisted. Intelligence was received on the same day of the news of the Bishop of Babylon's death. M. Varlet immediately set out for his new see; passed through Holland, thence through Russia into Persia. Meanwhile the Court of Rome learned that his opinions were not entirely orthodox, and he was obliged to return. He stopped in Holland, where he eventually founded the Schismatical Church of Utrecht, consecrated bishops and archbishops irregularly, and issued various Jansenistical volumes. He resided at Amsterdam until 1727; afterwards at Schoonaw and next at Rhynwick. Repeated efforts were made to reconcile him to the Church, but he was too much attached to his party to return. He died at Rhynwick, near Utrecht, 14th May, 1742, and was interred in the last mentioned city in the cloister of St. Mary's church. He was interdicted, deposed and excommunicated by no less than three popes. *Biographie Universelle.* — Ed.

next spring, 1718. He has come down in quest of a priest to accompany him. This Nation is thirty leagues from the village of Roinsac, called Cascachias, where the Fathers reside; all are Illinois and have the same manners. The French who reside in this village represent it as the finest of all the Indian Missions, and that they are very devout and an example to the French. This nation is very numerous and all have the same manners; very industrious and hard working. They raise, in these parts, a quantity of French melons, the pulp of which, inside, is green and of a most excellent quality. The climate there is very fine. In addition to raising a large supply of Maize, the Indians thereabout produce also considerable Wheat. There are three grist-mills; one of these is a wind, another a horse, mill; the third, a quern. They have oxen, cows, hogs, horses, fowls; in fine, every thing suitable for life. The wheat comes up very fine there; it is sown in the Autumn, and the climate is milder than in France.

It is eighty leagues from this Illinois village to the mouth of the Ouabache,[1] and 60 from the Ouabache to Natahou,[2] down the River Mississipi. This is the only village to be met with along this river. It is five hundred leagues from the Sea to Rouinsac, where the Fathers reside, and in ascending the Mississipi from the Sea, a strong current is constantly encountered.

I return to the Miamis river. Its entrance from Lake Erié is very wide, and its banks, on both sides, for the distance of ten leagues up, are nothing but continual Swamps, abounding, at all times, especially in the fall and spring, with game without end; swans, geese, ducks, cranes, etc., which drive sleep away by the noise of their cries. This river is sixty leagues in length, very embarrassing in summer in consequence of the lowness of the water. Thirty leagues up the river is a place called La Glaise,[3] where Buffaloes are always to be found; they eat the clay and wallow in it. The Miamis are sixty leagues from Lake Erié, and number 400, all well formed men, and well tattooed; the women are numerous. They are hard working, and raise a species of Maize unlike that of our Indians at Detroit. It is white, of the same size as the other, the skin much finer and the meal much whiter. This Nation is clad in deer-skin, and when a married woman goes with another man, her husband cuts off her nose and does not see her any more. This is the only Nation that has such a custom. They love plays and dances, wherefore they have more occupation. The women are well clothed, but the men use scarcely any covering and are tattooed all over the body. From this Miami village[4] there is a portage of three leagues to a little and very narrow stream[5] that falls, after a course of 20 leagues, into the Ohio, or the Beautiful river, which discharges into the Ouabache, a fine river that falls into the Mississipi 40 leagues from Cascachias. Into the Ouabache falls also the Casquinampo,[6] which communicates with Carolina, but this is very far off and always up stream.

This River Ouabache is the one on which the Ouyatanons are settled. They consist of five villages, which are contiguous the one to the other. One is called Oujatanon, the other Peanguichias, and another Petitscotias,[7] and the fourth Les gros. The name of the last I do not recollect, but they are all Oujatanons,[8] having the same language as the Miamis, whose brothers they are, and properly all Miamis, having all the same customs and dress. The men are very numerous; fully a thousand or twelve hundred. They have a custom different from all the other nations, which is to keep their fort extremely clean, not allowing a

[1] The Ohio. At this time the Wabash was considered the princial river and the Ohio one of its tributaries, an error Charlevoix also falls into. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, III., 406. — Ed.

[2] Natches? [3] Defiance, in the N. W. of Ohio. [4] Now Fort Wayne, Indiana. [5] Little river, Indiana.

[6] Tennessee river. [7] Petikokias. [8] Weas.

blade of grass to remain in it. The whole of the fort is sanded like the Tuilleries, and if a dog happen to make any filth in it, the women take and remove it outside. Their village is situated on a high hill, and they have over two leagues of improvement where they raise their Indian Corn, pumpkins and melons. From the summit of this elevation nothing is visible to the eye but prairies full of buffaloes. Their play and dancing are incessant. All these tribes use a vast quantity of vermillion. The women wear clothing; the men very little. The River Ohio, or the Beautiful river, is the route which the Iroquois take. It would be of importance that they should not have much intercourse, as it is very dangerous. Attention has been called to this matter long since, but no notice has been taken of it.

The Mississipi rises in a lake in the direction of the Sioux and passes near the Illinois.

Such is about what I know of all those parts. A great many other rivers come from the direction of the Flat-heads and also fall into the Mississipi, but I am not acquainted with their names. One of them is called the Chaouenon.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon.

Extract of the draft of the Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-general, and to M. Begon, Intendant of New France, 23 May, 1719.

His Majesty has had communication of what they have represented respecting the Indians of the River S^{t} John and the boundary with the English. He has instructed his Ambassador in England, to propose the nomination of Commissioners on both sides, agreeably to the Treaty of Utrecht, for the settlement of the boundaries of New France; and meanwhile, in order to prevent every thing that might cause any difference between the two nations, his Majesty has asked that the Governor of New England be forbidden to undertake any expedition; that the Governor of Boston be ordered to withdraw the settlers whom he has sent to the River S^{r} John, and be forbidden to send any others into the territory in dispute, and to disturb the French on that of which they are in possession. His Majesty is not yet informed that this request has been complied with, and cannot prescribe to Sieur de Vaudreuil the conduct he is to pursue in this regard. As he is aware how important it is to prevent the English settling on those lands, he submits it to his prudence to prevent it, either by means of the Indians or in any other way that would not, however, bring about any cause of rupture with England.

His Majesty recommends them to pay constant attention that the French do not import nor retail in the Colony any foreign merchandise; they ought to adopt proper measures to prevent absolutely all foreign trade under any pretence whatsoever.

M. de Vaudreuil to the Council of Marine.

I am in receipt of the letter the Council did me the honor to write me on the 24th of May last.

I continue to give all my attention to maintain peace among the Nations of the Upper Coûntry.

I dispatched Captain de St Pierre and Ensign de Linctot with some soldiers in the month of September of last year, to establish a post at Point Chagouamigon on Lake Superior, because the Indians of the Sauteux Nation who reside there, and those of the same tribe at Kioueouenau, having publicly threatened the Bay tribes to revenge on them the death of their Chiefs killed in the Fox war, it became necessary that there should be among them people capable of diverting them from this design, the execution of which might have caused war among all the Nations. Sieur de St Pierre, who has great influence among those of the Sault, has succeeded so effectually in tranquillizing them, that they no longer think of any thing but peace.

Three deputies from the Fox tribe, who arrived this year at Montreal in company with a Kikapss Chief who was sent by his people and the Mascoutins, came to assure me that they were all disposed to preserve peace with all the Nations, and had surrendered all the prisoners they had taken during the last war. In fact, all the tribes who happened to be at Montreal when these Chiefs spoke to me, admitted that they had no more to ask of them. All would, therefore, be peace in this Continent had it not been for the war which always continues between the Ilinois, the Kikapss and the Mascoutins, in which the Foxes are now involved, because the Ilinois have attacked them on divers occasions since the last year, and killed and made prisoners of several of that Nation, regardless of what those have done for them in sending back to them, on eight different occasions, the prisoners whom the Kikapss had taken from them, and whom they presented to the Foxes, who, in restoring these prisoners to liberty, had always instructed them to say, on the part of their Chiefs, that if they were disposed for peace they had only to come to their village, where they would be safe. As these excuses on the part of this Nation have appeared to me reasonable, and as the Kikaps also represented that he did not commence hostilities, but that the Illinois had attacked him at the time he entertained no idea except to live in peace with all the Nations, and being, moreover, informed of the truth of all these facts, I thought proper to treat them favorably; But I gave them to understand that this peace must be made, and in order to conclude it, they must prevail on their Allies, the Sacs, to labor to that end; I have recommended them not to make any movement against the Illinois Nation pending this negotiation; they promise to inform those that sent them of my pleasure, and to do all in their power to prevail on them to conform themselves thereunto. But it is to be feared that these good dispositions will change, when on returning home they will have learned that a party of forty Illinois, who had just struck a blow, having fallen in on their way with the Foxes, Kikapss and Mascoutins, where they were summer-hunting together, had been so completely surrounded that not one of them escaped, twenty of them having been killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners.

As this affair will have engaged these three Tribes to organize a large force for the purpose of attacking their enemy in his own country, it will be impossible to conclude this peace unless the officer commanding at the Illinois find means to prevail on that nation to take steps to

secure it. I have much less trouble in keeping the Five Iroquois Nations in their present favorable dispositions towards the French, than in managing all the other Nations of the Upper Country, and in having peace maintained among them.

I should not have thought of sending the Council the Belt the Five Iroquois Nations gave in 1717 for his Majesty, had it not been presented on the occasion of his happy accession to the Throne. I therefore conform to the order of the Council not to send any more such Belts.

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I learn from the last letters that have arrived from the Miamis, that Sieur de Vincennes having died in their village, these Indians had resolved not to move to the River S^{t} Joseph and to remain where they are.

As this resolution is very dangerous, on account of the facility they will have of communicating with the English who are incessantly distributing Belts in secret among all the Nations, to attract them to themselves by means of certain Iroquois runners and others in their pay, I had designed Sieur Dubuison for the command of the post of the Ouyatanons, and that he should, on going thither, employ his credit among the Miamis so as to determine that Nation to proceed to the River S^{t} Joseph, or, if not willing to leave, that it should remain at its place of residence in order to counteract the effect of all those Belts it was but too frequently receiving, and which, as they caused eight or ten Miami canoes to go this year to trade at Orange, might finally induce all that Nation to follow their example.

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VAUDREUIL.

October 28th, 1719.

Reverend Father Aubery on the Boundary of New France and New England.

Memoir of the Reverend Father Aubry, Jesuit Missionary of Canada, on the Boundary of New France and of New England. January, 1720.

It having been provided, by some articles of the Peace, that Acadia in its entirety, up to its limits and its dependencies, should be conceded to the English, and, moreover, that the limits of that territory and of all the others of that country should be determined as soon as possible, in order that it may be known what is the property of the English and of the French, and what Indians are deemed to belong to each, it became necessary to cause the said limits to be settled so as not to expose the English or the French to encroach on, or retain contrary to the articles of the peace, a territory not belonging to them. We, therefore, sent to the Court a map, the most exact that could be seen, of the Country of Acadia, with a Memoir indicative of the disposition of that Acadian territory, and of the other lands lying on the opposite sea-coast, corresponding with those of the River S^{t} Lawrence. We explained therein that through ignorance of the situation of these lands the English might deprive us of, and the Court cede to them, what does in no wise belong to Acadia.

The Court, not having determined any thing respecting these Memoirs, at that time, what we foresaw, did in fact happen, for we learn by a letter from Father Rasles, Missionary to the Indians of those parts, that the English have brought several hundred families to settle on the sea-coast throughout the entire extent of country which has never been admitted to be Acadia by any of the English, Dutch or French Geographers, ancient and modern; that should the Court think proper to allow these families to remain on said Coasts, it will surrender a space of 80 leagues of land along the sea, which is not Acadia, and consequently still belongs to us, within which distance are found the mouths of the Rivers S^{t} John, Peskadamskkan, Pentagset, the Carribas, and rivers inhabited by the Indians, who, from all time, are considered to belong to us. Thus, in addition to the Country which the Court will again cede to the English, it will seem to surrender to them our Indians also, since the English, when Masters of their rivers, will regard themselves also as their Masters, and will soon find means to force the Missionaries to retire, as they did those who were among the Iroquois previous to the conclusion of the Peace.

By thus ceding that extent of territory, which does not belong to Acadia, it is impossible to fix just and certain limits between New France and New England, or Nova Scotia, which is the name the English give Acadia. These limits, to be certain, should only be the height of land; but to fix them there, is to surrender a vast portion of New France, inasmuch as these heights of land approximate very near to the River S^{t} Lawrence in the neighborhood of Quebec, as laid down in the map. The result will be, that the English will be easily master of the entire country, for being master of Newfoundland and Acadia, the Bay of Fundy and the whole coast as far as Boston, and of the interior as far as the height of land — that is, as far as the gates of Quebec — is that not surrendering to them, as if in advance, the entire country? Can the little Island of Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, which remains to us, alone resist, and prevent the closing of the Gulf of S^{t} Lawrence against us?

The only course remaining for us to pursue is, to let the English know, 1st That Acadia, in its integrity and with its limits, is the peninsula terminated by a tongue of land called Beaubassin that forms the head of the Bay of Fundy and of Bay Verte, across which the Indians make a portage with their Canoes. The course of this peninsula is about southwest from the head of this Bay of Fundy as far as Port Royal; from Port Royal to Cape Sable, southeast first, and then east from Cape Sable to La Hêve, continuing east from La Hêve to Isle Verte; from Isle Verte to Canseau, and from Canseau, which forms the gut between Isle Royale and said peninsula of Acadia, to Bay Verte, that belongs to the Gulf of S^{t} Lawrence.

2nd From the head of the Bay of Fundy at Beaubassin to Kaskebay, the first English fort,[1] — which is no more Acadia than the continuation of that Coast as far as Boston, or the tract of country from Bay Verte to Gaspé, from Gaspé to the Mountains of Notre Dame and thence to Quebec — that coast, I say, from the Bay of Fundy to the said English fort, remains under the dominion of the French, as before the War; or if it do not extend as far as Kaskebay, (as it is supposed that Pemkuit, where the English had a fort which M. Iberville captured during the War, has been surrendered to the English by the Peace), it extends at least to the River St. George, where by mutual agreement the arms of England and France were set up as Boundary marks at the preceding peace, and where the English, therefore, have no right to settle any families.

[1] Portland, Me.

3rd From this fixed point where the limits were laid by common consent, let a straight line be run to the parallel of the Hudson river *(à la hauteur de la Rivière d'Orange)* in the interior of the country, to be agreed on as another boundary; this line [will] separate the lands belonging to New England and New France and divide our Indians from those that are not ours. Continuing a line from this river parallel along the height of land, a just and certain boundary will be laid down of the territory deemed to be under English or French dominion, and of the Indians who will, in like manner, be deemed to belong to the one or to the other; for all the territory and Indians whose rivers will flow towards the St Lawrence, or the lakes from which they run, shall be considered as belonging to the French, the same as all those lands and Indians whose waters will run to the opposite coast from said height of land, will be deemed to belong to the English.

This, in my opinion, is the fairest that can be submitted, and what should be arranged as soon as possible. I see no other way of accomplishing what is expressly laid down in the articles of the last peace on the subject of that country; and so long as the settlement of these boundaries will be postponed, the English will not fail to encroach further and further on the lands belonging to us in the upper section of the country, as they are endeavoring to do now in regard to those which he is trying to pass off as Acadia, though they be no such thing.

This is a matter, then, which it is of the utmost consequence to settle as early as possible, if it be desirable to prevent the English extending, advancing and making their settlements in our territory during peace, and thereby rendering themselves masters of Canada, a scheme wherein they could not succeed during the War, and which they will find so much the more easy, as no opposition is offered to, and no notice is apparently taken of, it.

Census of Canada. 1719.

14 November, 1719. M. Begon sends the general Census of the Colony, according to which, there are:—

Churches,		77	Grist-mills,		76
Presbytères (Priests' houses),		52	Saw-mills,		19
Government houses,		2	Land under cultivation (arpents),		63,032
		—	Meadows	(arpents),	8,018
Priests of the Seminary,	18		Wheat	(minots),	234,566
Jesuits,	16		Indian corn	(minots),	6,487
Récolets,	12		Peas	(minots),	46,408
Nuns of the Hotel Dieu,	106		Oats	(minots),	50,416
Nuns Ursulines,	50		Flax	(pounds),	45,970
Nuns of the General Hospital,	12		Hemp	(pounds),	5,080
Nuns of the Congregation,	68		Horses,		4,024
Parish Priests,	51		Horn cattle,		18,241
Males above 50 years of age,	1,241		Sheep,		8,435
Males under 50 years of age,	2,575		Swine,		14,418

Males above 15 years of age,..	2,388
Males under 15 years of age,..	4,978
Women and Widows,.....	3,557
Females above 15 years of age,	2,461
Females under 15 years of age,	4,997
	22,530

Fire-arms,.....	3,726
Swords,.....	792

Done and concluded, 20th April, 1720.

Signed, L. A. de Bourbon, and
Marshal d'Estrées.

By the Council.

Signed, La Chapelle.

Abstract of Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon's Report on Niagara.

Canada.

Letter of 26th 8ber 1720. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon transmit a report on the post established this year at Niagara, which is required both to prevent the English introducing themselves into the Upper country and to increase the trade at Fort Frontenac.

This report sets forth that the above post is situate about four leagues from the entrance into Lake Erié. It is the only pass of the Indians who come by the lakes from all the Upper countries; the portage necessary to be made by land is 4 leagues, for which distance they are obliged to carry, on their backs, their goods and canoes.

The English had proposed to an Iroquois chief, settled at Niagara, to send horses thither from Orange, which is 130 leagues distant from it, for the purpose of transporting goods, and to make a permanent settlement there, and offered to share with him whatever profits might accrue from the speculation.

The English would, by such means, have been able to secure the greatest part of the peltries coming down the lakes from the Upper countries; give employment not only to the Indians who go up there and return thence, but also to the French. They have a store there well supplied with goods for the trade; and have, by means of the Indians, carried on there, up to the present time and since several years ago, a considerable trade in furs in barter for merchandise and whiskey *(eau de vie de grain)*.

This establishment would have enabled them to purchase the greater part of the peltries both of the French and Indians belonging to the Upper country.

Sieur Joncaire, aware of the importance of this post by the quantity of goods which could be disposed of were there a permanent establishment at that place, caused the Indians to construct last spring, by order of Messrs de Vaudreüil and Begon, a picketed house *(une maison de pieux)*, which they were prevailed on to do the more readily through the influence he has over them, being an adopted son of the Iroquois.

The English being advised of this, used all their efforts to have this house demolished, and with that view sent the Commandant at Orange to the Seneca village to persuade these Indians to oppose it. He even sent an Englishman with an Indian to tell Sieur de la Corne, whom Mr Begon appointed to trade at that place, to withdraw, and that they were going to pull down that house. La Corne answered them that he should not permit them to do so, without an

order from Sieur de Joncaire, who, on being advised thereof by an Indian, went to the Senecas to prevent them consenting to that demolition. He experienced great difficulty there, because they had been gained over by the presents of the English. Nevertheless, he prevailed on them to change their minds, and to maintain that establishment, by making them understand the advantage they would derive from it. Therefore, though the English should renew these attempts, Sieur Joncaire is confident that the Indians will maintain this post.

That determined Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon to send Sieur Joncaire thither with some articles of trade. He left at the close of September, and is to remain there until the month of June next. No one is better qualified than he to begin this establishment, which will render the trade of Fort Frontenac much more considerable and valuable than it has ever been. He is a very excellent officer; the interpreter of the Five Iroquois Nations, and has served 35 years in the country. As all the Governors-general have successfully employed him, they have led him to hope that the Council would be pleased to regard the services he will have it in his power to render at this conjuncture.

Council of the Marine, January, 1721.

The Council's advice is, to approve of the whole.
Approved.

Census of Canada. 1720.

26th October, 1720. Messrs de Vaudreil and Begon transmit the Census of the Colony, consisting of, to wit—

Government houses and forts,	5	Grist Mills,	82
Churches,	88	Saw Mills,	28
Presbytères,	59	Lands under cultivation (arpents),	61,357
	—	Meadows (arpents),	10,132
Priests of the Foreign Missions,	31	Wheat (minots),	134,439
Parish Priests and Missionaries,	69	Indian Corn (minots),	4,159
Jesuits,	24	Peas (minots),	55,331
Récolets,	32	Oats (minots),	62,053
Nuns,	175	Flax (pounds),	67,264
Males above 50 years of age,	1,274	Hemp (pounds),	1,418
Males under 50 years of age,	3,020	Horses,	5,270
Males absent,	315	Horned Cattle,	24,866
Males above 15 years of age,	2,677	Sheep,	12,175
Women and Widows,	3,782	Swine,	17,944
Males under 15 years of age,	5,052	Fire-arms,	4,632
Females above 15 years of age,	2,734	Swords,	915
Females under 15 years of age,	5,249		
	24,434		

Done and concluded 24th May, 1721.
Signed,
L. A. de Bourbon.
By the Council.
Signed, La Chapelle.

Governor Burnet to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Copy of a letter written to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on the 11th of July, 1721, by Mr William Burnet, Governor of New-York.

Sir,

Your letter of the 26th March to Colonel Peter Schuyler, which he has communicated to me, induces me to do myself the honor of writing to you by Mr Cuyler, who requests my passport to go to Canada on his private affairs, and who is highly deserving of whatever favor I may have in my power to grant him. I reckon that I shall confer a very great pleasure on him when I afford him this opportunity of most respectfully kissing your hands.

I assure you, Sir, that I regret exceedingly having experienced, on arriving in this country in September last, so much to oppose the inclination I felt to salute you by a notification of my arrival. I heard such a high eulogium of your family and of your own excellent qualities, that I flattered myself with a most agreeable neighborhood, and was impatient to open a correspondence in which all the profit would be on my side. But I had not passed two weeks in the province when our own Indians of the Five Nations came to advise me, that the French were building a post in their country at Niagara; that Sieur de Joncaire was strongly urging them to abandon the English interest altogether and to join him, promising them that the Governor of Canada would furnish better land near Chambly, to those who would remove thither; and would uphold the rest against the new Governor of New-York, who was coming only with a design to exterminate them; that the French flag has been hoisted in one of the Seneca castles, and that this Nation appeared quite ready to revolt from their obedience to our Crown. This news did, indeed, surprise me, and caused me to doubt what course to pursue on occasion of the ill observance of the articles of the Peace of Utrecht, by which the Five Nations have been conceded to the English. The intelligence afterwards became still more interesting; I was informed that the Indians were about to receive Priests and a Blacksmith from the French; that an effort was making to persuade them to close the passage through their country to the English, in case the latter should disturb the post at Niagara, and that M. de Longueuil had gone thither for that purpose, and to complete the seduction of the Indians from their ancient dependence on Great Britain.

You will not consider it strange if this news obliged me to advise the Court of the condition in which I found affairs on the frontier, and to await orders so as to understand in what manner I should comport myself at this conjuncture. I was always in expectation of these additional orders, that I may write to you more fully on this subject, but as you were pleased to mention to Colonel Schuyler some rumors that were afloat, and which alarmed you, I considered it my duty to show you that if some misunderstanding is beginning to arise, it is due entirely to the French.

You will perceive, by the Treaty of Utrecht, that all the Indians are to be at liberty to go to trade with one party and the other; and if advantage be taken of the post at Niagara to shut up the road to Albany on the Far Indians, it is a violation of the Treaty which ought justly to alarm us, especially as that post is on territory belonging to our Indians, where we were better entitled to build than the French, should we deem it worth the trouble.

You say, Sir, that your orders, as well as mine, are, not to undertake any thing until the Treaty respecting the Limits, which will regulate every thing. Why, then, be so hasty, on

your side, to seize disputed posts before the arrangement be made? I regret, exceedingly, that whilst the intelligence continues so good between the two Crowns in Europe, the proceedings of the French, in these Colonies, has been so different. I wish to believe that such is done, in part, without your knowledge; that the most of these disorders are due to this Joncaire, who has long since deserved hanging for the infamous murder of Hontour,[1] which he committed. I leave you to judge whether a man of such a character deserves to be employed in affairs so delicate, and in which every occasion of suspicion ought to be carefully avoided. You see, Sir, that I speak to you in all frankness, and that I see, with pain, every thing that can cause ill blood among numbers in this Country. The danger would not be ours.

I hope, Sir, you will follow the dictates of your natural disposition, and place things on a better footing, whereunto I shall be always ready to contribute whatever will depend on me, and to endeavor, by all means, to convince you that I am, with all the esteem in the world,

Sir, Your most humble and most obedient Servant.

M. de Vaudreuil to Governor Burnet.

Copy of a letter written on the 24th of August, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to Mr William Burnet, Governor-general of the Province of New-York, in answer to the one which that English governor had written to him on the 11th of July, 1721.

Sir,

It affords me pleasure to take advantage of the return of Mr Cuyler, who handed me the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 11th of July last, to present you my humble thanks for the first intelligence, you were pleased to convey to me, of your safe arrival at New-York, and of the favorable opinion towards me with which you assumed your government. I beg of you to do me the kindness to be persuaded that to retain you in those sentiments, which afford me a very sensible pleasure, I shall exert myself as much as I have done with Mr Huneter, who has always honored me with his friendship.

I am greatly obliged to you, Sir, for the frankness with which you have been pleased to explain to me the subjects you believe you have of complaint, and I flatter myself that you will permit me, when answering them article by article, to state to you, with the same frankness, that I do not consider them well founded.

You complain that the French have established a post at Niagara, which you have been informed is intended to stop your communication with the Indians who are to be at liberty to trade with one side and the other, according to the Treaty of Utrecht; and you pretend that, as the Five Nations of Indians have been ceded to the English, the French have no right to settle on the territory which, you say, is dependant on them; that this post being on the lands of the Five Nations, the English have a better title to establish themselves on it than the French, and that, inasmuch as my orders are not to undertake any thing until the conclusion of Treaty of Limits, which will arrange the disputes, I must not seize this disputed post before the

[1] *Sic.* Montour. — Ed.

arrangement be completed. I have the honor to observe to you hereupon, that you are the first English Governor-general who has questioned the right of the French, from time immemorial, to the post of Niagara, to which the English have, up to the present time, laid no claim; that it is upwards of fifty years since that post has been occupied by the late Sieur de la Salle, who had an establishment there, and had vessels built there to navigate Lake Erie; that his Majesty had a fort there thirty-four years ago with a garrison of 100 men, who returned thence in consequence of the sickness that prevailed there, without this post, however, having been abandoned by the French, who have ever since always carried on trade there until now, and without the English being permitted to remain there; also, that there has never been any dispute between the French and the Five Nations, respecting the erection of that post, and that the latter always came there to trade with the same freedom that they repair to other French territory, as well as to that which is reputed English.

I flatter myself, Sir, that this establishment[1] will disabuse you of the idea you appear to entertain, that this post is an infraction of the Treaty of peace, and ought not to be erected until the limits had been settled, inasmuch as it is not of a more recent date, nor more objectionable to the English, than Fort Frontenac, from which I do not think you would propose that I should withdraw the garrison until the arrangement of the limits be concluded; such arrangement referring only to territory which the English dispute with the French, and not to what has always belonged to them. This is the reason for my requesting M^r^ Schuyler, on hearing of the rumor last winter that the English of Albany intended to go to Niagara with a force of 200 men, to inform me of the truth of that intelligence, observing to him that this proceeding would be an infraction of the treaty of Peace, inasmuch as it would be troubling the peaceable possession of this post which the French enjoyed from all time; a circumstance that obliges me to request you not to permit any English people to go there to trade, as I could not help having them pillaged, which I should greatly regret.

Respecting the report you received, that the establishment of this post closes the path to our Far Indians who could no longer go to trade with the English, I have the honor to observe to you, that they will always enjoy the same privilege of going to the English that they have hitherto had, and that no Indian in my government has been compelled to trade with the French rather than with the English. The proof of this is evident, for a great number of their canoes went again this year to Albany, and those domiciled in the neighborhood of Montreal and Three Rivers trade there almost altogether.

Regarding your representation that it has been reported to you that Sieur Joncaire was strongly urging the Indians of the Five Nations to abandon the English entirely and to side with the French; that I would furnish better land near Chambly to those who would come and settle there; that I would uphold those who would remain in their ancient villages against the Governor of New-York, who was coming only with the design of exterminating them; that the French flag had been hoisted in one of the Seneca Castles, and that this Nation appeared disposed to withdraw from their allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; I can assure you, Sir, that such false information can be communicated to you by none but evil-disposed persons who are endeavoring to disturb the Peace, since it is certain that I never entertained an idea of drawing any Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations to the neighborhood of Chambly, and that I even do not prevent the Iroquois of the two Villages domiciled in the neighborhood of Montreal going to live with those of the Five Nations whenever they desire to do so; that

[1] Etablissment; *Text.* Qu? *eclaircissement* — explanation. — Ed.

Sieur de Joncaire has not held any other discourse, and that no French flag is hoisted among the Senecas.

You observe to me that you have been also notified, that the Indians of the Five Nations were about to receive French Priests and a Blacksmith, and that M. de Longueuil had gone to that country for such purpose, and to put a finishing hand to persuading the Indians to withdraw from their ancient dependence. In reply to this, I have the honor to observe to you, that M^r^ de Longueuil is adopted by the Onontaguez, and that his family belongs to those of that Nation; that the same is the case with Sieur de Joncaire, whose family is, in like manner, adopted by the Senecas, which has obliged them to go thither almost daily at their solicitation.

The Senecas have twice sent me delegates from their villages urgently to entreat of me to send them two Missionaries, having expressed to me their regret at the withdrawal of those they formerly had. I told them by M. de Longueuil that if they would come to get some, I would have them supplied, not considering myself at liberty to refuse this favor to Indians who believed themselves to be independent, and with whom I am ordered to maintain good intelligence. As for the rest, although the Treaty of Utrecht look upon the Indians as the subjects of France or of England, we treat our Indians as Allies, and not as subjects, and I question if the English did otherwise in regard to the Five Iroquois Nations, who are neither more humble nor more submissive than those attached to us.

In regard to their demand for a Blacksmith. This is nothing new, since the Senecas required that one should be furnished them by the last Treaty, which the French made with them twenty years ago.

I conclude from all you write me respecting Sieur de Joncaire, a Lieutenant of the King's troops kept in this Colony, that you have been misinformed as to his character and qualities, as he possesses none but what are very good and very meritorious, and has always since he has been in this country most faithfully served the King. It was by my orders that he killed the Frenchman named Montour, who would have been hanged had it been possible to take him alive and to bring him to this Colony.

I hope, Sir, these explanations will not be less satisfactory to you than were those to M^r^ Hunter, which I furnished him about four years ago in answer to a letter he wrote me on the reports rendered him by the Merchants of Albany, somewhat similar to those which gave rise to your complaints; for, having discovered that they were false, he informed me that he should not hereafter attach credit so easily to any representations from those people on such subjects. I flatter myself, also, that you will be fully persuaded of my attention to prevent the occurrence of any thing on this side which may create ill-will between the Nations, without, however, my feeling any apprehension of danger, should a rupture unfortunately occur; for the great numbers you believe to be on your side did not prevent the people of New-York suffering considerably during the last war, whilst those of this country then enjoyed the same tranquillity that they now do, and if the people belonging to your government have not experienced the horrors of the war, it is because the Five Iroquois Nations presented me with some Belts, to beg of me not to commit any hostilities in the direction of New-York; a request I did not wish to refuse, in consideration of the fact that they had invariably resisted the urgent solicitations of the English to unite with them in hostilities against the French, and had always lived in friendship with us, which was sufficiently strong to enable me to prevail on them to unite with me in operations against the English, had I been disposed to excite them to such a course,

instead of contenting myself with not requiring any thing from them except to take no part in that war, and to remain neuter.

I have the honor to be, with all possible esteem and consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble and most

Obedient Servant,

Signed, VAUDREUIL.

Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon to Louis XV.

Extract of the answer dated 8th October, 1721, rendered by M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-general and M. Begon, Intendant, of Canada, to the King's despatch of the 8th of June preceding.

Father Rasles, missionary at Narautsouak[1] informed Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon last spring that on his remonstrating with the Indians of his Mission against suffering the English to continue residing on the lower part of their river, they had killed, two years ago, a great number of their cattle, and had since threatened them, that if they did not retire, acts of hostility would be renewed in order to oblige them thereto; that two parties had sprung up in that village last fall; one-half were of opinion to continue their opposition to the establishments of the English, who had gained over the other to permit their settling there; that the opinion of the latter absolutely prevailed; that by consent of all the Indians of that mission, they had the weakness to surrender four hostages who had been sent to Boston.[2]

He also informed them that the English having invited the Indians to a conference, in order to endeavor to prevail on the rest of the village to consent to their settlements, it became necessary that the well intentioned portion of the Indians should be the most numerous at that conference, the better to get those who had been gained over by the English to change their minds, and to enable them all to speak with firmness, so as to oblige the intruders to withdraw from their lands.

As there was every reason to fear, if the Indians of this village should confer alone with the English, that those who remained firm until then might permit themselves also to be gained over by their offers, as they employ presents, caresses, menaces and lies to accomplish their purposes, he had induced six of the well disposed Indians to come hither to invite the domiciled Abenakis and the Hurons of Loretto to attend the conference.

To facilitate the success of that invitation, M. de Vaudreuil conveyed them to the villages of S[t] Francis and Bécancourt, where they explained how prejudicial the English undertaking was to the interests of the whole Nation. M. de Vaudreuil gave them also to understand that it was important that the English should themselves be convinced, by seeing at this conference deputies from all the villages, that to insult Narautsouak would be sure to draw all down on them.

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 880.

[2] May 18, 1721, O. S. *Williamson*, II., 105. — Ed.

These two villages agreed to send to this conference three canoes from S[t] Francis and three from Bécancourt, which were joined by one canoe of Hurons belonging to Loretto.

He also considered it his duty to send with them Father Lachasse, Superior of the Jesuits, who, having been twenty years a missionary of the three Abenakis Villages of Acadia, was acquainted with, and has considerable influence among, them.

This Father visited Narautsouak first, and after having harmonized the minds of all the Indians of that Mission, proceeded to invite the Indians of Panɑamské,[1] whence he caused notice to be sent to those of Medoctek[2] and Pennoukady.

He next returned to Narantsouak, accompanied by upwards of a hundred Indians of Panɑamské and deputies of the villages of Medoctek and Pennoukady; he caused those of Pegouakky[3] and Amircankanne to come also; they are the nearest to the English in the direction of Boston.

These Indians, thus assembled to the number of two hundred and fifty, who represented the entire Abenaki Nation and its allies, after having held a Council, repaired, on the 28[th] of July last, armed and painted, in front of the English fort of Ménaskoux, at the mouth *(au bas)* of the Narautsouak river,[4] the place fixed on for the conference.

The Governor of Boston, who allowed himself to be expected during fifty days, did not dare to be present on being informed of the large force of the Indians. The latter then summoned the principal officers of the five forts, and about fifty of the principal English settlers to attend in the Governor's absence, who, being present, were told that they must quit their lands; the Indians then threw down two hundred beavers, which they had promised for the cattle that had been killed, and demanded, at the same time, where were the four men they had conveyed to Boston as hostages for this payment.

The English answered that they were not at liberty to retire from those lands without orders from the Governor of Boston, who had sent them there; that as regards the hostages, the Governor, it was believed, would not surrender them unless they sent four others, since they had promised to renew them forever as security for their fidelity to the Crown of England.

Whereupon the Indians expostulated, protesting that it was an imposition; that they had given these hostages only as security for the payment of two hundred beavers, and had never consented to give men forever for a few animals which they even had a right to kill in order to force the English to leave their lands.

After loud disputes and menaces on the part of the Indians, they requested Father de Lachasse to read their written message, declaring to the English that such writing contained their words and not those of the Missionaries, as was usually asserted, whom they had employed only for the purpose of writing to the Governor of Boston, as they could not speak to him. Ɑarué and Pekɑaret spoke this word. The former is an Indian and the latter an Englishman. It was also read in Latin by Father de Lachasse to the Minister, who interpreted

[1] See *supra*, note 2, p. 571.

[2] About ten miles below Woodstock there is another rapid in the St. John called Meductic falls. *Gesner's History of New Brunswick*, 80.

[3] Pegwacket, on the upper part of the Saco river, in the present town of Frysburg, Maine. *Church's Indian Wars* (Drake's ed.), 1846, 331.

[4] In July they came with ninety canoes on the Padishal's Island, which lies opposite to Arrowsick. *Penhallow.* Arrowsick is in the bay of Saggadahock, about a league below the junction of the Androscoggin and Kennebeck rivers. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 51. — Ed.

it in English; after which, Mr Penhallo,[1] one of the chief commandants of the Fort of Menaskoux, and some other officers who were with him, received this writing, subscribed with marks of the Abenaquis Villages and of the Indians, their Allies, copy whereof is hereunto annexed. They promised to send it to the Governor of Boston, which they have done.

Although the Indians threaten in this letter that if it be not answered in three weeks they will not entertain any favorable opinions, the governor did not pay any attention to it; he only sent word to them by one of the four hostages who were at Boston, in whose place he has required that another be returned, that it was not the word of the Indians, and that he always believed that it was that of the Missionaries, who are seeking only to disturb the peace; that even some of the Indians of Panaouamské had since repudiated that conference.

Four or five Chiefs of that village, apprehensive that the English might be angry on account of the firmness with which they had expressed themselves, did, in fact, go a few days after that conference, to one of the forts, and said that they did not wish to get into collision with them; this coming to the ears of those of Narautsouak prevented them undertaking any thing.

The Governor, meanwhile, fearing the consequences of this conference, caused the forts to be put in order; reinforced their garrisons and ordered the settlers resident on the lands belonging to these Indians to withdraw into these forts, and had their women and children brought to Boston. This was indicative of a disposition on their part to maintain their position there by force of arms.

The Indians since that time do not go any more to trade to these forts, mutual distrust existing on both sides.

Though they see, with displeasure, the English establishing themselves on their lands, the Indians continue inactive, feeling themselves too feeble to attack them, and are aware of the difficulty they would experience in procuring necessaries, should they become embroiled with the English, for then they would be obliged to come here in quest of supplies.

They are demanding, since many years, that the French unite with them, as they have united with the French in all their past wars, as explained in the message they addressed to his Majesty, copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

The fifteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht declares that the inhabitants of Canada, and others subjects of France, shall not in future molest the Five Iroquois Nations, and that in like manner the subjects of Great Britain shall comport themselves peaceably towards the Indians, subjects or friends of France.

The English contravene this article in regard to the Abenaquis, who have been from all time our allies, inasmuch as they have erected, since this peace, five forts[2] on territory belonging to

[1] Samuel Penhallow was born at St. Mabon, in the county of Cornwall, England, on the 2d of July, 1665, and accompanied the Reverend Mr. Morton to Massachusetts in July, 1686, whence he removed to Portsmouth, N. H., where he married Mary, daughter of President Cutt, and engaged in trade. He was appointed member of the Council, of which body he eventually became President; he was afterwards Recorder; in 1714 Judge, and in 1717 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He likewise held the office of Treasurer of the Province for several years. He died at Portsmouth on the 2d of December, 1726, aged sixty-one years and five months. He served in the Indian wars, of which he has left an account, entitled "The History of Wars of *New England* with the *Eastern* Indians, or a Narrative of their continued Perfidy and Cruelty from the 10th of *August*, 1703, to the Peace renewed 13th of *July*, 1713, and from the 25th of *July*, 1722, to their submission, 15th of *December*, 1725, which was ratified *August* 5th, 1726. By Samuel Penhallow, Esq. Boston: Printed by T. Fleet, for S. Gerrish, at the lower end of Cornhill, and D. Henchman over against the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill, 1726." This work is republished in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, I.

[2] These were, probably — Fort George, at Brunswick, on the Androscoggin; Fort Cushenoc, Augusta; Fort Richmond, on the west side of the Kennebec river, opposite Swan Island; Fort Arrowsick, already noted, and Fort St. George at Thomastown, on the St. George river. — Ed.

these Indians, and against their will sent thither more than three hundred families, none of which were settled on these lands until after the peace.

They have been expelled from this locality twice: at first, about forty years ago by the Indians alone, who declared war against the English on their refusing to furnish them powder. This war lasted two years, in the course of which the Indians laid waste the settlements and forts on the lower part of the River Kenibeki and along the coast, and made peace with the English only on condition that they would not again settle on their lands.

The second time, during the war of 1688, when the Indians in conjunction with the French, under the command of Sieur d'Iberville, destroyed Fort Pemquit, that of Maxigancée, and all the settlements the English had formed during the Peace, of which they have always taken advantage to encroach on the lands belonging to these English.

The consequences of this toleration would be, that were they permanently established there, as it appears they design to be, they would be able in time of war to reach the settlements on the south side of the River S^{t} Lawrence in three days, which it is important to prevent, by openly sustaining the Abenaquis against the English, by assistance in men, provisions and munitions of war.

In virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht, the English would be justified in supporting the Iroquois were they molested by the French; The same rule ought to apply to the Abenaquis, whom the French cannot dispense with sustaining against the English in order to maintain them in possession of their lands; this proceeding of the English being an infraction of that Treaty.

M. de Vaudreuil is persuaded that if his Majesty permit him to adjoin some French to the Abenaquis, the English will be forced to abandon all their settlements on the lands belonging to these Indians; he feels confident of the result from his long experience of the Abenaquis, who, when supported by the French, have invariably made the English tremble, and obliged them in the last war to abandon nearly one hundred leagues of territory.

If, on the contrary, these Indians remain inactive, as will be the case if not sustained by the French, there is every reason to fear that the English will, by the continual attention they will pay, attract them all to themselves, and that, in case of war, instead of our depending on the Abenaquis as we have done heretofore, they will unite with the English against us, seeing that we have abandoned them.

Collated this day, the 25th of July, 1750, by the undersigned, King's Notary resident in the Prevoté of Quebec, by an extract taken from a paper Register entituled, Copy of the Answers to the Memoir of the King, and to the joint letters of the Council, written in 1721, lying in the office of the Secretary of the Intendance at Quebec, in which it remained.

Du Laurent.

We, Francois Bigot, Councillor of the King in his Councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and the Marine in New France,

Certify to all whom it may concern, that M^{r} Dulaurent, who hath signed the above Collation, is King's Notary in the Prévôté of Quebec, and that credit is to be attached to his signature in quality aforesaid. In testimony Whereof we have signed these presents, and caused them to be countersigned by our Secretary, and had our Seal at Arms affixed thereunto. Done in our hotel at Quebec, the 12th of August, 1750.

Bigot.

By My Lord,

Deschesneaux.

Census of Canada. 1721.

4th of November, 1721. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon, send the General Census of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, according to which there are, to wit:—

Government houses,	6	Males under 15 years,	3,970
Priests of the Seminary,	31	Girls above 15 years,	3,359
Jesuits,	24	Girls under 15 years,	5,261
Récolets,	32	Land under cultivation (arpens),	62,145
Nuns of the Hotel Dieu,	111	Meadows (arpens),	12,203
Nuns of the Ursuline convent,	79	Wheat (muids),[1]	282,700
Nuns of the General Hospital,	23	Indian Corn (muids),	7,205
Nuns of the Congregation,	76	Peas (muids),	57,400
Hospital Brothers *(Frères hospitaliers)*,[1]	6	Oats (muids),	64,035
Churches,	86	Barley (muids),	4,585
Presbytères (Priests' houses),	61	Tobacco (pounds),	48,038
Parish priests, or Missionaries,	59	Flax (pounds),	54,650
Grist Mills,	90	Hemp (pounds),	2,100
Saw Mills,	30	Horses,	5,603
Families,	4,183	Horned cattle,	23,388
Males above 50 years,	1,314	Sheep,	13,823
Males under 50 years,	2,857	Swine,	16,250
Males absent,	282	Fire-arms,	5,263
Women and Widows,	4,107	Swords,	923
Males above 15 years,	3,361		

They likewise send a statement of the Fisheries established in 1721, to wit:—

Seven within the limits of the Parish of St Paul's bay, by divers persons, from twenty-five to fifty arpens each.

Two others are to be established in the same parish, in 1722. One of sixty arpens, belonging to Jacques Fortin and others;

The other of thirty arpens, the property of the Seminary of Quebec.

The fisheries above mentioned have taken one hundred and sixty Porpoises, which produced only one hundred and twenty barrels of Oil, at the rate of one hundred livres the barrel, the major part having been manufactured in the spring. At that time there were neither tubs nor barrels enough to save the blubber, more than the half of which was lost on the beach.

It costs three hundred livres to enclose *(tendre)* a fishery of fifty arpens.

A gate is no longer made use of in these fisheries; simply a net, *(racroc)* whereby this fish finds itself aground in low water. The heaviest expense is avoided by this means.

The Colonists, stimulated by the profit, have hastened to establish themselves, and with this view have formed partnerships in order to have a sufficient extent of ground to insure success.

[1] Known also by the name of the *Frères Charon*, from their founder. An account of the Institution will be found in Bosworth's *History of Montreal*, 138; and in Faillon. *Vie de Mde. de Youville.* —Ed.

[2] A measure containing about five quarters. *Boyer.*

This induces the hope that they will manufacture a much larger quantity of oil this year year than they did in 1721.

Continuation of the North shore Fisheries.

A fishery at the Point des Alouettes, near Tadoussac, of about fifty arpens, dependent on the King's domain.

Other Fisheries on the South shore.

Six of twenty to thirty arpens in circumference, established by divers persons; among these is that formed to the Northeast of River Ouëlle, belonging to the heirs of Ancosse, which Sieur de Boishebert and Peire contest, by virtue of their grant. (*Note.* The investigation of this affair is referred to M^r^ Bigot.) These fisheries have not succeeded this year on account of storms and bad weather, which have thrown down all the park poles. Only twenty-two porpoises have been caught on the south shore.

Three fisheries will be established this year, 1722, on this shore, each of which will be thirty-five to forty arpens. Among these is one of forty arpens at the Camouraska Islands, by Sieur Hiché, proprietor of that Seigniory. Sieurs Boishebert and Peire contest this fishery with him, in virtue of their privilege.

This suit has been finally decided in favor of Sieur Hiché, and an order is to be issued directing the recall of the grant to Sieurs de Boishebert and Peire, as surreptitiously obtained

Total of all the fisheries established in 1721,.....	14
Total of fisheries to be established in 1722,.....	7
	21

Mess^rs^ de Vaudreuil and Begon observe that they transmit the list of Soldiers in the Colony, entitled to half pay, with Certificates of services, and of being invalided, according to the form the Council has sent them.

Done and concluded the 24^th^ of May, 1722.

(Signed) L. A. DE BOURBON.
By the Council.
(Signed) DE LA CHAPELLE.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon.

June 8, 1722.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He approves the report they have rendered of the trade of the Indians at Orange last year. He desires Sieur de Vaudreuil to continue his orders to the Commandant at Chambly and the officer in charge of the detachment at the foot of Lake Champlain, to examine strictly the furs contained in each canoe, and to draw up a return thereof setting forth the quantity, the names of the Indians, and of the mission to which they belong; to make a similar inspection on their

return from Orange and take a statement of the merchandise they will bring back; to send to M. de Ramezay, if Sieur Vaudreuil be not at Montreal, to find out the quantity and quality of the peltries they shall have carried to Orange, and whether all the goods to be brought back in exchange are for their own use, and to prevail on the Indians not to import any others. This they ought not refuse to consent to; they carry on that trade only for their own necessaries. Without such a condition they alone would have the power to introduce foreign goods into the Colony, and Merchants would employ them in that trade to the great prejudice of that of the Kingdom. Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon cannot pay too much attention hereunto.

The contagious disease which has this year afflicted Provence and the environs of Languedoc, has not permitted the obtaining of Scarlet cloths from the manufactory of St. Gely at Montpelier. His Majesty has consequently determined to grant permits to the traders at Rochelle to obtain some in England, but as these are so much dearer that they cannot be sold in Canada, there is no probability that any will be sent this year. Next season it will be seen how this will be remedied. Meanwhile, Sieur de Vaudreuil must adopt the best measures possible to prevent the English drawing the Indian trade of the Upper country to themselves, to the prejudice of the French.

His Majesty has approved of the measures M. de Vaudreuil adopted to prevent the execution of the plan formed by the English of Orange to destroy the establishment at Niagara; and of the steps he took to dissuade the Iroquois from favoring them in that enterprise, and thereby to hinder the English undertaking any thing against that post or against those of the Upper country. His Majesty recommends him to endeavor to live on good terms with the English, observing, nevertheless, to maintain always his Majesty's interests.

He approves Sieur de Vaudreuil having absolutely refused permission to the Indians, who came down last year, to purchase Brandy to take back with them; and Sieur Begon having imprisoned and fined the man named Poitras who had sold some to an Indian. He recommends them to continue the same policy.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon to the Council of Marine.

Quebec, 17 8^{ber}, 1722.

The Abenakis having constantly, but in vain, remonstrated with the English, since the peace, against trespassing on their lands, and seeing that they were annually encroaching on them, and had already built 8 forts, held a general meeting in the month of June, 1721, of all their villages, to the number of 200, for the purpose of declaring peremptorily to the English that they must retire from their river,[1] and restore to them the four men they had surprised and were retaining in Boston.

The Governor of that town, to whom this message was transmitted in writing, in order that he may not have it in his power to ignore, or to change it, instead of listening to the just

[1] Kennebec. — Ed.

demand of the Indians, sent them word, after the lapse of the three weeks they had granted him to return them an answer, that they were insolent traitors, and that he would punish them as rebels unless they would give him satisfaction by surrendering to him their Missionary, Father Rales, whom he regarded as the author of that letter.

Shortly after, he sent to Pentagouet to arrest Sieur de S[t] Castine, the elder, the son of a Squaw of that village, pretending that he had had a hand in that letter.

The Indians were highly indignant at being treated as subjects of a Crown on which they never depended, and to which they were, on the contrary, most unwilling to belong. They answered the English: We are not traitors, but you are robbers and usurpers who want to invade our territory; you are wrong to impute these letters to Father Rales; we dictated them to him; he had no other share in them than to put them in writing, and if the English wish to have him, they could come to the village and take him.

Though the English had reason to doubt that the Indians were disposed to allow them to carry off their Missionary, they proceeded, on the 15[th] of January last, with a force of 100 men, and guided by a friendly Indian, to Nanrantsɜak to take him.

He was fortunately warned of the danger by one belonging to the village, who arrived there by another path.

He had only time to consume the Blessed Sacrament, which lay in the tabernacle, to take the sacred vessels and to fly away with them. He traveled all night with some Indian families who had remained in the village, all the others having been abroad in the woods hunting; but could make no more than two leagues on account of the softness of the snow.

His hut had scarcely been completed, next morning, on the spot where he had halted, when an Indian came to inform him that the English had arrived at the Fort of Nanranstsɜak on the very evening he had left; that they were on his trail and quite near. He had not time to put on his snowshoes; left on the instant and hid himself behind a tree. These English searched for him a long time in the hut and neighborhood, but not finding him, returned, threatening to come again to look for him in the spring. They passed through the village on their way back and plundered the Church and the Missionary's house.

All the Indians of the village of Nanrantsɜak being again assembled in the month of May, resolved to avenge themselves for this insult.

As they were not desirous, however, to come to extremities at once, they contented themselves with pillaging some houses,[1] took sixty-five prisoners, men, women and children; 60 of whom they released, without having done them the least injury, and retained only five,[2] having told those they sent back to notify the Governor of Boston that they would restore these five after he would have restored the four Indians in his hands.

The Indians having received no answer from this Governor, organized a second expedition, took several other English prisoners whom they again sent back, contenting themselves with burning some houses and killing some cattle, summoning the English, as they had already done, to quit their lands, and not oblige them to push hostilities any farther.

On the night after this expedition, the English who were in a fort,[3] perceiving a fire on the bank, and concluding that some Indians were there, sent out a well armed boat, and no one appearing on the beach, landed and approached the fire, where they discovered some

[1] About Pleasant Point, on the northern margin of Merrymeeting bay. *Williamson*, II., 114.

[2] Messrs. Hamilton, Love, Handson, Prescot and Edgar. *Penhallow.*

[3] Probably Fort Richmond on the Kennebec. *Williamson*, II., 116. — Ed.

Indians asleep, on whom they fired and then retreated to their boat. These Indians, who were sixteen in number, had been roving during 24 hours through the English settlements, where they had burnt houses and killed cattle, and had through pure fatigue halted imprudently to rest themselves on that beach, where they made a fire, though they had been warned to be on their guard, being within sight of the English forts. Five Indians were killed and two wounded. One of the latter having received the wadding of a piece in his belly, avenged his own death by killing with a blow of his hatchet an Englishman,[1] whom he had taken prisoner.

The Indians of Nanrantsaak having heard of this action from those who had returned to the village, sent a delegate to the Indians domiciled in Canada to invite them to come to their assistance in this war.

Who represented to M. de Vaudreuil that respect for his wishes was the only reason that had deterred them from killing the English, as he had recommended them not to begin; but as these had abused their moderation, they were now going to wage open war against them.

The Abenaquis of Becancourt and of S^{t} Francis, and the Hurons of Loretto, moved by the recent shedding of the blood of their brethren and allies, agreed to rendezvous at Nanrantsaak, where they arrived last month to the number of 160 men.

They did intend to spread themselves in small parties along the coast, where they could have done a great deal of damage and considerable mischief without exposing themselves. They abstained from this purpose, however, through respect for M. de Vaudreuil, who forbade them committing hostilities any where but on the Nanrantsaak river; they burnt three forts and about forty houses that had been abandoned, and harrassed the garrisons of the two forts[2] into which those of the three that had been abandoned had retreated.

They have killed and scalped two Englishmen in a sortie; eight of them were wounded; two dangerously.

They then returned to Nanrantsaak, whence those of Becancourt, S^{t} Francis and Loretto came hither.

Those of Nanrantsaak are to come here with their families to winter also, with the exception of 15 or 20, who will remain in the neighborhood of the village with the Missionary, so as not to abandon that country altogether to the English. They calculate on making some incursions on the English during the Winter.

They have sent hither a canoe which arrived on the 10th of this month, to ascertain from M. de Vaudreuil whether he will give them some Frenchmen to assist them in maintaining their ground against the English. They have told him that they would all retire hither if they were offered nothing but guns, powder and ball, and will abandon their country to the English, as they are not strong enough to hold it without help.

M. de Vaudreuil told them, in order to gain time, not to be in a hurry to abandon their country, that he intends to send Father Loyard to France to advocate their interests with his Majesty.

Some Indians have reported here that those of Panaaamské hold the fort built by the English on the River S^{t} George in a state of blockade. No confidence is to be placed in what they say. Should any reliable news be received, we will send an account of the success of that expedition.

This fort, which stands on the North bank of the River S^{t} George, the mouth of which is the boundary line between New France and New England, has been built by the English of

[1] One Moses Eaton, of Salisbury. *Penhallow.*

[2] Forts Arrowsick and Richmond, September 10. *Williamson.* — Ed.

late years, whatever reason they may allege, in contravention of the Treaty of Peace, because, if the limits set down by the commissioners in 1700 be in force, they are not permitted to build a fort on the lands of this Colony, and if they pretend to settle on those lands in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht, nothing is to be done on the one side nor on the other until the claims on both sides be regulated by new Commissioners; it does not appear to us that this enterprise ought to be tolerated.

Father Loyard, who has been a long time a Missionary on the River S^{t} John, has, since his return here, prepared a Memoir in support of the boundary that might be proposed to them; the reasons he adduces appear to us sound. He, himself, could explain them on the Map of the country which has been drawn up here, should the Council deem it necessary.

The Malecites, or Indians of the River S^{t} John, pillaged last year several English vessels, to revenge the losses of those of Nanrantsɛak.

The Mikemaks likewise took and plundered several English people.

It is reported here that the English have taken at Canceau, 25 of these Indians who were spread in bands along the sea coasts.

That a Frenchman named Petitpas, belonging to Port Royal, who married a squaw as his first wife, had on that occasion cut the head off an Indian who was throwing himself into the sea in order to escape ashore, having been surprised with some others in a vessel near the coast.

This Frenchman, who has always sided with the English during the last war, and who still adheres with them, had sent his son to Boston, where the English kept him for the space of three years, without any expense to his father for his board, lodging and education. It was their intention to make a clergyman of him because he speaks Mikemak, his native tongue, better than any interpreter, and were greatly relying on him to win over the Mikemaks and make them change their religion. He speaks English and French also very well.

M^{r} de S^{t} Ouide has found means to get this young man out of the hands of the English, and has sent him hither. He informed M. de Vaudreuil that he adopted this resolution, having been apprehensive of his return to the English, and of his becoming eventually more dangerous than his father; that he had induced him to come hither on the understanding that he should be placed in the Seminary, pursue his studies there, and be a Priest; but on his arrival, he told M^{r} Leveque, to whom he was also introduced by M^{r} de S^{t} Ouide, that he did not wish to enter Holy orders, but only to learn navigation.

As it was as easy for this young man to return to Boston from this place as from Isle Royale, we have considered it expedient to send him to France in *le Chameau*. Sieur Begon advises M^{r} de Beauharnais, to whom he will be forwarded, of the circumstance, in order that he may have him provided for whilst awaiting the orders of the Council.

It has been again reported here that the English have taken and cut in pieces, near Orange, 40 Mohegans *(Loups)* and Abenaquis, among whom were found some Iroquois. The Abenaquis who came from Nanrantsɛak, on hearing this news, said that the winter will not pass without their having revenge, and have requested M. de Vaudreuil not to prevent them attacking the English wherever they may encounter them. He answered that he should permit them to do what they pleased, when he would have received confirmation of this news.

(Signed) De Vaudreuil.
Begon.

Memoir by M. Bobé respecting the Boundaries. March, 1723.

The Bretons and Normans frequented the seas of North America for fish as early as 1504.

Francis I., stimulated by the example of the Spaniards, sent Jean Verazan, in the year 1524, to make discoveries on the Northwest coast of the New World. Verazan discovered 700 leagues of coast, from the 30th to the 50th degree of North latitude, going from time to time on shore to reconnoitre the country and the inhabitants, by whom he was invariably well received.

To the entire of this tract of country, which had never before been frequented nor discovered by any other European Nation, he gave the name of New France, a name which it has always retained from 1524 up to the present time. *(See Herera, decade* 3, *Book* 6; *Hakluyt, Volume* 3. *page* 295; *Purchas, Volume* 4, *page* 1063.*)*

The great wars which Francis I. and Henry II. had to wage against Charles V., were the cause that the French did not form any establishment in New France.

Notwithstanding the great disorders which prevailed in France on account of the Religious wars, Charles IX. resolved to form settlements in the south part of New France. He sent Ribaut thither in 1562, who called that part of New France Carolina, and built a fort there which he named Charlesfort, in honor of King Charles IX.

Laudonnière went thither after Ribaut, and Gourgues succeeded Laudonnière. The French were disturbed there by the Spaniards, but finally Charles V. ceded that country to France, and from that time the Spaniards have not contested with France any portions of New France discovered by Verrezan.

France, then, was at that time in quiet possession of all the Coasts and Countries from the 32nd up to the 50th degree, and for her better security thereof had a fort at the Southern extremity of New France, in the province she had called Carolina, and Frenchmen frequented the Northern extremity, where they fished and traded with the Indians.

But this quiet and peaceable possession was disturbed by the English, who, in the year 1585, established a post in the part of New France which they called Virginia, about the 36th degree. They did not stop at this, as they resolved to seize the whole of New France. They began in 1613 to attack the French there on all sides; to capture their ships, which were employed in the fisheries and in the Indian trade; to take the posts and forts they had erected on the Coast of Norembega or of the Etechemies at Port Royal, in Acadia, at Gaspé and at Quebec.

These hostilities continued until the English, apprehending the resentment of Louis XIII., bound themselves, by a Treaty concluded at Saint Germain en Laye on the 24th of March, in the year 1632, to restore to France all the places occupied by the English in New France, Acadia and Canada, with the ships and property taken from the French.

Here it becomes important to pay attention to this word *restore:* nothing is *restored* but what is unjustly possessed, or what has been taken, for people do not *restore* what is their property; but give it or cede it. Thus, this word *restore* convicts the English of having acknowledged and admitted, by said Treaty of Saint Germain en Laye, that they were to restore to France all they held, together with the ships and property of the French taken so unjustly.

In execution of said Treaty, the English restored to France, Canada, Acadia and a part of what they occupied in New France; but they continued to retain a great portion thereof, contrary to the obligation imposed on them to restore all they occupied.

Not content with retaining a great portion of New France, that is to say, the entire coast, from the country by them called Virginia to the country called also by them New England, *having given new names to all that Coast in order to erase the recollection that the whole of the countries from the 32nd to the 50th degree were called New France from the year* 1524.

Not content, I repeat, with not restoring a great portion of New France, though they bound themselves thereto by the Treaty of Saint Germain en Laye, they have since 1632 always enlarged their usurpations, and made encroachments on the coasts and territories of New France.

About the year 1670, the English seized that part of New France called, in 1562, Carolina, in honor of Charles IX., and belonging to France to which Charles V. ceded his pretensions to that country.

This is not all: At the North they seized the entire coast as far as the River Saint George, East of the River Quinibeque, and inland they have spread themselves as far as they have been able into New France.

To put a stop to these usurpations, Lous XIV. concluded at London with, Charles II., whose friend he was and with whom he did not desire to have any difficulty, a Treaty of Neutrality in America, on the 16th of November, 1686, which provided that each of the two Kings should retain what rightfully belonged to him.

At the date of this Treaty of Neutrality, France was in quiet possession of every thing East of the River Quinibequi, or at least of that of Saint George.

But the English, always prosecuting their desire to seize the whole of New France, not content with Acadia which was graciously ceded according to its ancient boundaries by Louis XIV. to England by the Treaty concluded at Utrecht on 2nd April, 1713, nor with the town of Port Royal, which is not in Acadia but in Southern New France —

Not satisfied, I say, with Acadia according to its ancient limits, nor with the town of Port Royal, they forcibly and unjustly seized that part of New France lying east of the River Saint George, although Louis XIV. did not cede that or any part of New France to them at Utrecht, except the town of Port Royal which belongs to it, and not to Acadia.

It is inconceivable that England should seize so large a portion of New France under pretence that the solitary post of Port Royal has been ceded to her.

From what I wish to deduce, which it is very easy for me to prove, it must be concluded —

1st That the French are the first of all the Europeans who navigated the coasts from the 30th to the 52nd degree; that they first discovered that vast tract of country, and named it New France, as early as 1524; that they landed and settled there prior to the English or any other Nation.

2nd That France had an establishment and a Fort in the southern part of New France, called Carolina, as early as 1562, in honor of Charles IX., long before the settlement of the English in that part of New France which they have named Virginia.

3rd That France, in order to secure to herself the quiet possession of all the countries from 30th to the 50th degree, called them New France, a name admitted and acknowledged by all European Nations, and established posts at its two extremities, on the South in Carolina, and towards the North. Here is what Laet,[1] page 74, says of the North part of New France as far as Cape Malabarre: "We have now treated of that part of North America of which the French

[1] Histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales. Par le Sieur Jean de Laet, d'Anvers. Leyden : Elsevirs. 1640. Folio. — Ed.

have been the first discoverers and even some time the possessors, having introduced Colonists there; and which the English have attempted [to usurp] after having since called it Nova Scotia and New England."[1]

4th That all the English establishments on this coast are on lands belonging to the King, which he did not cede to England, and that consequently the English having built on a foundation and in a country belonging to the King, they are bound, in accordance with all rules of justice, to restore it to France, and to quit it.

5th That the English were obliged by the treaty of Saint Germain en Laye, in 1632, to restore every thing they occupied in New France, but that so far from doing so, they had always increased their usurpations, which they still enlarge since the Treaty of Utrecht, in such a manner as to show that the French must fear the loss of the entire of New France and Canada.

Here is what the English say in their justification, and my answers thereto.

I. The English say, we began as early as 1527 to sail towards Newfoundland.

Answer. The French ran down the whole coast from the 30th to the 50th degree as early as 1524, and called the country New France, in token of the possession they then took of it; and were, even in 1504, the first who discovered the Great Bank and Newfoundland, and went to catch Walrus at the Islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The first voyages of the English are consequently null.

II. The English say that, as early as 1586,[2] they made this total restitution [of] all that England occupied unjustly, and consequently was bound to restore immediately, that title being null and the patents granted by James I. and Charles I. to Alexander being declared by the Treaty of Saint Germain, subreptive, not to say unjust, as this country was the property of France. But, the English add, if this possession has been unjust down to the year 1686, it was then rendered valid by the Treaty of Neutrality concluded at that time at London between Louis XIV. and Charles II., by which France ceded to England all its then possessions in America, that is to say, from Carolina inclusive to the River Quinibequi.

Answer. I admit that this Treaty of Neutrality is the most potent argument the English have in support of retaining what they occupied in 1686, but it is not difficult for me to prove to them that this Treaty is of no legitimate use to them. In order to convince them of this, I need only quote here, word for word, the 4th Article of that Treaty, which refers to the countries belonging to the two Kings in America. Here are the very words:—

"*It has been agreed that each of the said Kings shall have and hold the domains, rights and preëminences in the Seas, Straits, and other waters of America, to the same extent that rightfully belongs to them, and in like manner as they do at present enjoy the same.*"

To convince the English that this Treaty of Neutrality does not entitle them to retain what they then occupied of New France, which they had usurped before the Treaty of Saint Germain (concluded in 1682[3]) and since, up to 1686—

I say, that this Treaty of Neutrality does not mention Domains, Rights and Preëminences on the coasts and in the lands, but only Domains, Rights and Preëminences in the Seas, Straits and other waters of America; and that consequently, as this Treaty says nothing about Lands, it confirms the right of France to all the territory the English occupied in New France.

[1] The words within brackets are from De Laet, in whose work the word is "colonies," not *colons* (colonists) as in the quotation. — Ed.

[2] *Sic.* Qu? 1686.

[3] *Sic.* 1632.

2nd I say, that this Treaty is merely provisional; that it was not concluded except with reservations by Louis XIV., who, foreseeing at the time the designs of the Prince of Orange, was desirous, by gratifying the King of England, to preserve to him the affection of his subjects, without, however, renouncing the ancient and legitimate rights of France.

3rd I say, that by these words, "*and to the same extent as rightfully belongs to them*," the King has preserved his ancient rights over these Seas, Straits and Waters of America, and has even confirmed them, with the consent of the English, who are obliged to admit that, as these Seas, Straits and Waters of America, were discovered and visited by the French before them, they belong anciently and of right to the French and not to the English, who came thither only subsequently to the French.

4th I say, that these words confirm likewise, with the consent of the English, the rights of France to all the parts of New France then in the occupation of the English, since the King did not cede them by the Treaty of Neutrality, which does not even make mention of them.

5th I say that these words, "*And in the manner they enjoy them at present*," do not confer on the English any right to the lands of New France, of which no mention is made in this Treaty of Neutrality, but only that the King permits them merely to retain the Domains, Rights and Preëminences over the Seas, Straits and Waters of America to the same extent that rightfully belongs to them, and in the same manner that they enjoy them. Now, France granting to the English only the holding of what they did rightfully enjoy, it follows that they cannot take advantage of this Treaty of Neutrality, because they do not rightfully enjoy thereby any preëminence over these Seas which belonged of right to France.

6th I say, that these terms, "*Each of the two Kings shall have and hold*," etc., as well as these words, "*Treaty of Neutrality*" indicate that this Treaty is simply provisional. Add, that these words, "shall have and hold" what of right belongs to him, do not bespeak a Definite but rather a Provisional Treaty.

7th I say that even were this Treaty of Neutrality a Definite treaty, it has regard only to Domain, etc., over the seas, etc., and not to Domain over the lands of New France occupied by the English in 1686, and which they still occupy unjustly, and consequently they must restore to France.

8th I say that though this Treaty should be definite, and did regard Domain over the lands of New France, which the English then occupied, they would be obliged to restore every thing they have occupied in New France since 1686, whether on the coast or in the interior.

This is what I have to say touching this Treaty of Neutrality, to show the English that it cannot serve them as a title nor exonerate them from restoring all they occupy in New France, *from Carolina inclusive* to the town of Port Royal exclusive.

The English make use of the Treaty of Utrecht in order to usurp a large portion of New France, that is to say, every part East of the River Quinibe[qui,] and that on pretence that by that Treaty France did cede Acadia to them according to the ancient limits, and the town of Port Royal, and generally whatever depends on the lands and islands.

In order to destroy these frivolous and unjust pretensions of the English, I request that the trouble may be taken to read in the Memoir on the boundaries that I had the honor to present to Count de Toulouse what I state there to prove that Acadia, according to its ancient limits ceded by France, does *not* include *all the imaginary Nova Scotia, but only all that is embraced*

between the South Coast of the Peninsula and a straight line drawn from Cape Fourchu to Cape Campseau exclusively.

To which I add here, that the English acknowledged at Utrecht that Fort Royal[1] does not belong to Acadia, having demanded of France Acadia and Port Royal; for if Port Royal was a part of Acadia it would be sufficient for them to demand Acadia, inasmuch as France in ceding Acadia to them necessarily ceded Fort Royal to them also.

Collated and compared by the subscribing Royal Notary, residing in the Prevoté of Quebec, with a copy of an unsigned Memoir or note on paper lying in the Secretary's office at the Chateau Saint Louis of Quebec, where it was deposited.

This day, the twenty-fifth of July, 1750.

Signed, DU LAURENT.

English Invasions of the French Possessions in America.

Extracts of despatches from the Governors, Intendants, and others on the expeditions and encroachments of the English on Canada since the Treaty of Nimeguen, in 1678. 21 April, 1723.

TREPASSÉ COAST; ST. MARY'S BAY.

Sieur de la Poipe to M. Colbert: Placentia, 30th of August, 1680. *N°* 384. *Canada.*—He reported, on his arrival, the establishment of the English in the Harbor and on the Coast of Trepassé, which belong to the King, and as that proceeding could be attended only with disagreeable consequences it has confirmed his suspicion; and they have been, after the departure of the ships the year preceding, to S[t] Mary's bay to take the boats and conveyances of the merchants, which they sold on their coast, and even to those of Trepassé, after having burnt what did not suit them, such as cabins, &[a].

The English of Boston send every year to the coasts of Acadia a number of Ketches to fish; encroach daily on his Majesty's territories, and have a Fort not far from the place where Pentagouet stood.

They have been even as far as the River S[t] John to fish for salmon.

RIVER ST. CROIX.

Count de Frontenac to the King: Quebec, 2nd November, 1681. *N°* 424.—The Governor of Pentekuit[2] always claims to extend his limits up to the River S[t] Croix, and sends vessels to fish along the coasts belonging to the King.

CAPE BRETON, IN ACADIA.

Count de Frontenac to the Marquis de Seignelay: Quebec, 2nd November, 1681. *N°* 424. *Canada.*—The English encroach considerably on the Province of Acadia, coming to trade and fish along the coasts. Those of Boston have even sent as far as Cape Breton, near Whale harbor, at the

[1] *Sic.*

[2] Pemekuit. *Supra*, p. 148. — ED.

entrance of the Gulf, to take and carry off the merchandise lost in the ship S^{t} Joseph, that was wrecked last year, belonging to the French of the Company; with which goods they loaded one vessel of sixty tons, and two others coming from the Island of Newfoundland.

They carried off some also which they removed to Boston, without being at the trouble to find out whether they were abandoned or if the time limited to reclaim them had expired.

Boundary at the River St. George.

Their limits are marked at the River S^{t} George, but they go 150 leagues beyond, coming to Cape Breton.

Fort Pentagouet.

Extract of a Memoir concerning the recapture of Fort Pentagouet by Sieur de S^{t} Castin, Lieutenant of Sieur de Grandfontaine, Governor of said fort, which was surprised by the English.—This Extract is without date. 1682. N° 466. Canada.

Hudson's Bay.

Memoirs and documents relating to the invasion of the English, and the pillage by them of the property of the French in Hudson's bay. An. 1685. N° 616.

Acadia.

Memoir of Sieur Berger on the pretensions and invasions of the English in Acadia, and the right to prevent them fishing on the coasts of said country. An. 1685. N° 616. At the Depôt.

Memoir on the value of the stationary fisheries in Acadia; on the pillage committed along the coasts of said countries by the English. An. 1685. N° 616. At the Depôt.

M. de Callières to M. de Seignelay: Paris, 25th February, 1685. *N°* 616.—Sends a Memoir of what he has learned regarding the usurpations of the English and their pretensions to the Colonies of New France, both South and North.

M. Perrot to M. de Seignelay: Chedabouctou, Coast of Acadia, the 8th of September, 1685. *N°* 616.—A privateer commanded by one Ouillemese,[1] the majority of whose crew are known as inhabitants of Boston, has captured and carried off a Ketch belonging to the Company of the sedentary fisheries of Acadia, and went afterwards to pillage three fishing vessels quite close to Chedabouctou, and left merely the hulls of the vessels on the coast.

If this be not corrected, the trade of that coast runs the risk of being wholly interrupted, as the English are roving about every day, and scouring these coasts in order to derive profit both from fishing and trading.

Numbers of little English vessels have been here this year, and, despite the King's prohibitions, come to commit their depredations and to dry their fish on the shore.

Should it be desirable that he oppose them, he will do so with all his power.

Port Royal.

The English are actually in Port Royal, and have stores of goods there as openly as if they were affording the same privilege to the French in their country.

[1] Williams. — Ed.

PENTAGOUET.

Sieur Perrot to M. de Seignelay: Port Royal, the 29th of August, 1686. *N°* 676.— An English gentleman has complained to him that, after having some goods landed at Pentagouët, a post belonging to the King, the English carried them off by force of arms, on the ground that as these goods were contraband, and the property of an Englishman, they had a right to seize them, saying that these countries, as far as the River S^t^ Croix, belong to the King of England.

M. de S^t^ Castin, who is settled at the said Pentagouet, and from whose house a portion of said goods have been carried off, offered them only feeble resistance.

This English gentleman's name is Nelson; he has always traded to this coast, and greatly benefited the settlers by the large loans he made them in seasons of their greatest necessity; he pretends that having had S^t^ Castin's permission to discharge his vessel at his place, he did so in good faith, and that nevertheless by a piece of ill founded chicanery on the part of the English, as to the property of these lands, he sees a large portion of his property seriously endangered. The said English gentleman hopes that his Majesty, maintaining his territorial right, will cause what has been taken from him at Pentagouet, to be restored to him, since he has been permitted heretofore to carry all necessaries to the French, who have not provisions enough to render them independent of foreigners.

HUDSON'S BAY.

Memoir on the affairs of the North Bay of Canada, presented to My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay. An. 1687. No. 735.— Containing the expeditions of the Company established at Quebec, in 1685, to trade to said bay.

The King's right to the property of all the territories of the said country of Canada; usurpation of the River Bourbon by the English, led on by Radisson, a Frenchman, who with Sieur Groisilliers had formerly conducted the English into said bay.

Capture of the English by the French sent overland from Quebec by said Company in 1686.

PENTAGOUET.

Extract from the copy of a letter written by Baron de Castaing, to Mons^r^ de Denonville: Pentagouet 2nd July, 1687. Annexed to the said M. de Denonville's letter of 25th April, 1687. N° 734.— Informs him therein that 50 Englishmen have recently seized Pentagouet and are scouring the coast as far as the River S^t^ Croix, which they say is their boundary, and making presents to the Indians.

INDIANS EXCITED TO REVOLT BY THE ENGLISH.

Mr. de Denonville to M. de Seignelay: Villemarie, 25th August, 1687. *N°* 734.— Had not the two English parties been arrested, and had they entered Missilimakinack with their Rum, the whole of the French would have been massacred by a revolt of all the Hurons and Outaouacks, which would have been followed by that of all the other Far Nations.

'Tis also certain that had we not marched against the Senecas, the said Hurons and Outaouacks would have submitted to the Iroquois under English protection.

Colonel D'Unguent had adopted measures for that purpose, and he transmits a letter which the Colonel had written him, with his answer.

He has learned that the Senecas, whom he has driven from their villages, have retired to the English, and that the English merchants have furnished these Indians all their munitions of war to be used against the French.

An English merchant has also assured him that since the publication *of the Treaty of Neutrality between the French and the English, the merchants of Orange* have furnished the Indians all they required against the French.

He has considered it his duty to detain the English prisoners and to write to Colonel D'Unguent, who is a very crafty man.

He knows no greater enemies than the English, and it is impossible to rely on any treaty with them. He perceives they are considerably excited in favor of a sea voyage to the Mississipi, with a view to discover its mouth, and to draw to themselves the trade of the Indians.

Acadia.

He has advices from Acadia that the English openly encroach on the King's territory in that quarter, and from what he hears, it appears that Sieur Perrot is acting in concert with the Boston government.

M. de Denonville to the Marquis de Seignelay: Quebec, 18th *of October*, 1688. *N°* 802.—Reports the damage that has been done to the stationary fishery of Acadia, which has been pillaged at Canseaux and Chedabouctou by a privateer, who, from all appearances, has been sent thither by the English of New England.

M. de Champigny's letter of the 19th *October*, 1688, on the same subject, with the proces-verbals appended to Mr de Denonville's letter, and a Memoir of the Acadia Company likewise annexed thereunto.

Niagara.

Messrs. de Denonville and de Champigny to the Marquis de Siegnelay: Quebec, 6th *of November*, 1688. *N°* 802.—They send the documents hereinafter mentioned.

Memoir of the 10th *August*, 1688.—On the state of the affairs of Canada. Reasons for the abandonment of Niagara. Reasons for an arrangement with the English for the property of the Iroquois country.

Another Memoir of the last of October, 1688, wherein mention is made of the pretensions of the governors of New England to the country of the said Iroquois; they observe that they transmit titles and minutes of entries into possession of the posts that the English would wish to occupy, such as Niagara and Fort Hudson.

Memoir prepared by M. de Denonville, Governor of Canada, in the month of October, 1687, touching the right the English and the French set forth to the territory of North America, and particulaly to the country of the Iroquois and Outaouacks.

Letter of Colonel d'Unguent to M. de Denonville: the 31st *October*, 1687, containing, among other things, that the Iroquois are subjects of the King of England, both by the situation of their country and their own donation.

Another letter of the same to the same: the 27th *of February and* 24th *of April*, 1688, containing, among other things, that Mr d'Unguent pretends that Fort Niagara is on English territory, and had he been applied to, he would have obliged the Iroquois, who, he says, are the King of England's subjects, to grant what is asked of them.

Other letters of the same, on the subject of the treaty of Neutrality and good correspondence between the two Nations, with M. de Denonville's letters of the year 1687 and 1688.

Hudson's Bay.

Memoir of those interested in the Northern Company of Canada, November 3, 1688, proving that the property of the Hudson's bay belongs to the French.

ACADIA. FORT ROYAL TAKEN.

M. de Mesneval to the Marquis de Seignelay: Port Royal of Acadia, 29th *May*, 1690. *N°* 957. *Canada.*—The English arrived on the 19th instant, with 3 frigates of 46 and 30 guns, 5 or 6 other vessels and a landing force of 8 @ 900 men.

As the condition of the place and of the garrison, which consists of only 72 soldiers without officers, put it out of his power to make any defence, he has capitulated with the Commandant of the fleet on conditions pretty advantageous as regards Religion, the Colonists, himself and the garrison, which was to march out with its arms and baggage, and be transported in a ship to Quebec or to France, as it might select; but this commandant, on perceiving the condition of the place, repented having granted these advantages, and pretended not to be bound to keep his word, on the ground that some soldiers had abstracted something from the King's store, and in spite of all remonstrance, disarmed and confined the soldiers, pillaged and ravaged the settlements, and kept him in close confinement preparatory to carrying him and the garrison prisoners to Boston.

This Commandant robbed him of his clothes and of about 1,000 livres, and the treasury of 4,000 livres, and made a point particularly to pull down and destroy the church and all emblems of Religion, and of his Majesty's authority.

An Account of the Capture of Port Royal in Acadia, by the English of Boston, the 21st of May, 1690. N° 957.

Sieur de Montorgueil to the Marquis de Seignelay; Bayonne, 16th *of September*, 1690. *N°* 957.—Whilst engaged on the 13th of June last, superintending the work on the Pallisades,[1] he perceived, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, two vessels make their appearance at Cape Campseaux, with a white flag, the Commodore carrying the white pennant at the main.

Next morning, the 14th, at break of day, he perceived a vessel anchored at the Cape of Salmon river, and his boat, which was coming on shore and landing troops, in which duty it was engaged the entire night.

About half-past three o'clock, nearly two hundred men arrived crying out, Long live King William! and fired several shots. Shortly after, came a detachment of 30 men, at whom he ordered a gun to be discharged loaded with grape. The firing continued for the space of six hours, and as they perceived that they could not effect any thing, they proceeded along the coast, noticed the guard-house which the King's Lieutenant had covered with straw; they threw a match on the roof and set it on fire that extended over the whole building.

At eleven o'clock the commander sent him word that he could save himself; that he should receive quarter, whereupon he asked security. He sent him his seal and told him to keep it by him on account of the French Huguenots among them, who would not give any quarter.

ATTACK ON QUEBEC.

Count de Frontenac to the Marquis de Seignelay: Quebec, 20th *November*, 1690. *N°* 956. *Canada.*—States that being at Montreal he received letters from the Major of Quebec advising him that the English had resolved to attack that town; that they were at Tadoussac, 30 leagues from Quebec, which obliged him to repair immediately to the latter place,

Where the enemy anchored on the 16th of October, to the number of 34 sail, four of which were first-class ships, landed nearly 2,000 men and several pieces of cannon; sent out detachments of his troops to skirmish, in which he lost more than 500 men.

[1] At Chedabucto. — Ed.

The enemy found themselves so much fatigued by the small sorties he ordered out against them, that, apprehending to be attacked in their camp, they reëmbarked, on the 22nd of October, in the course of a night so dark that the French had no knowledge of their movements, and they abandoned five of their guns, which were captured by some detachments he sent out at break of day.

23rd of October. The entire enemy's fleet hoisted sail and cast anchor below Quebec.

Immediately after the English anchored before Quebec, General Phipps sent to him to propose an exchange of prisoners and to summon him. The exchange was agreed upon. He transmitted the summons and his answer.

Translation of M^r Phips' letter to M. de Frontenac, summoning him to surrender Quebec and its dependencies into his hands, and M. de Frontenac's answer annexed to the above mentioned despatch.

An Account of what occurred in Canada on the landing of the English at Quebec, in the month of October, 1690. N° 956. Canada. End of the file.

Island of St. Peter, in Acadia, pillaged.

M. Pastour to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, in Newfoundland, 1st of January, 1691. *N°* 1074.—A sloop arrived here quite recently from S^t Peter's Island with 5 settlers on board, to inform me that the Colony was taken and pillaged on the 20th of October last by 60 Englishmen from the coast of Fourillon, Ferlan and the Bay of Reboul; the same who joined the Pirates last winter and who came to pillage us last February. Their expedition had been prepared to come again to take us, being fifty in number.

Placentia.

M. Brouillan to M. de Pontchartrain: Nantes, 1st October, 1692. *N°* 1183.—Sends an account of the attack of 5 English ships of 60 guns on Fort S^t Louis of Placentia, commanded by M. de Brouillan, Governor of the Island of Newfoundland.

Flyboat St. Jacob taken.

M. de Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 8th October, 1692. *N°* 1182.—We have learned, since the 5th of this month, that the flyboat S^t Jacob had been captured at the entrance of this gulf by an Englishman of Boston. The Captain in command of her, named Vivien, has been sent hither with some French seamen and one of our Quebec merchants who happened to be on board. The King had 200 barrels of flour and two cases of clothing in this vessel.

Acadia. Island of St. Peter.

M. du Brouillan to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 7th October, 1693. *N°* 1307.—The English ships that had been here have taken out and burnt a Bayonne vessel, in a harbor distant 20 leagues from here.

When the enemy's fleet left this roadstead, they detached three of their vessels, two of 60 and one of 36 guns, to S^t Peter, whither they were piloted by a Runner whom I caused to be arrested, with orders that he be brought to Placentia to be made an example of if convicted of the crimes whereof he is accused. I am assured that he is the cause that S^t Peter has been pillaged and burnt without leaving one stone on another.

FORT ST. ANNE CAPTURED.

M. de Frontenac to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 25th of October, 1693. *N°* 1306.—Reports that the English ships made themselves masters, on the 1st of July, of Fort St. Anne, which we occupied on the North bay.

This post is so much the more considerable, as, if the English be left undisturbed in that quarter, they will push their establishments still further, and in a little while will reach the rivers on which reside the Indian Nations that trade with us, and thereby attract to themselves the commerce we used to make in the North, whilst they are striving to do the same thing in the South.

CAPTURE OF THE SHIP LE BELLIQUEUX.

Declaration respecting the capture of the Ship le Belliqueux, carried into St John by the English: 6th December, 1697. N° 1767. Canada.

CHEDABOUCTOU.

Memoir of the Acadia Company, of the month of April, 1698, touching the pillage by the English of Fort Chedabouctou, in the month of August, 1688. N° 1873. Canada.

IROQUOIS.

Messrs de Frontnenac and Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 15th October, 1698. *N°* 1872. *Canada.*—Mr de Bellomont has sent some Englishmen to inform Count de Frontenac that he claims the Iroquois to be dependent on the King his master; that the peace to be concluded between us and these Indians is not to be made except through him; that if we should oblige them by force to come and demand it of us, and to bring back our prisoners, he would arm every man in his government to try and repel us; that he had, in advance, furnished them with arms and ammunition, &c.

M. de Frontenac's answer has been, that the Iroquois never wished to acknowledge himself a subject of the English, but merely that he recognized them as friends.

Send a Memoir annexed to their despatch — Letter A — setting forth the proofs, ancient and modern, that they are able to find, of the possession the King has always maintained of his superiority over the Iroquois.

ACADIA. CAPTURE OF SHIPS.

M. de Brouillan to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, the 10th of September, 1702. *N°* 2297. *Acadia.*—The flyboat dispatched this year by the King to Placentia, and which was coming by his orders to Acadia, entered La Hêve. This vessel was attacked and captured by two Pirates belonging to Boston, after a fight of two hours. M. de Carion, who commanded it, has been very severely burnt, as well as the greater portion of his crew, by the same accident, the fire having communicated to some cartridges of Powder by means of a fuse which the enemy threw on board.

These same pirates, or some others of their nation, have likewise captured seven of our barks which were fishing at Chedabouctou. 2nd October. Sieur Carion. *Idem.*

ST. PETER'S ISLANDS CAPITULATE.

Sieur Durand la Garenne to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 10th of October, 1702. *N°* 2278. *Placentia.*—Sends a list of the seamen returned from the merchant vessels that have been

either captured or burnt on this coast by the English, to the number of 270 men, not including those Basques whom the Captains of their cantons have embarked in their ships without orders. This statement is annexed to his letter.

Sieur de Sourdevalle to M. de Pontchartrain: S^t Peter's islands, 11^th October, 1702. — On the 7^th of October, at 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 English ships, two of which carried 60 guns, anchored in this harbor, and three hours after landed a detachment which burnt the Merchants' Church and two houses; forced them by the fire from four pieces of cannon to retreat.

On Sunday, the 8^th, at seven o'clock in the morning, they landed 400 armed men, who went around the harbor and invested the rear of the little fort, and after having borne the enemy's fire up to three o'clock in the afternoon, they sent a menacing summons three different times. Capitulated because there was nothing more to fire with, the gun carriages being dismounted; 6 houses were burnt.

Sieur de Sourdeval to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 13^th November, 1703. *N°* 2402. — Reports the new irruption of the English on the Island of S^t Peter.

On the 15^th of July, three of their ships, carrying 60, 44, and 10 guns, anchored in the rear of St. Peter, landed 4 or 500 men, and after a fight which continued until nightfall, seized the ships *l'Esperance* and *la Reine des Anges* that were in the Barachois,[1] and recaptured a prize that a Malo privateer, returned from a cruise, had taken, on board which there was only a keeper.

Ship la Seine and the Bishop of Quebec taken.

Sieur Deschilais to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, without date; of the year 1704. *N°* .— Gives an account of his voyage since his departure from Rochelle to his arrival at Placentia, 6^th September, 1704.

The King's ship *la Seine*, on board of which was the Bishop of Quebec,[2] has been captured, after a fight, by some English Vessels. The Bishop of Quebec, the 30^th of August. *Idem.*

English Expedition against Acadia.

Sieur de Goutins to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, the 4^th August, 1704. *N°* 2554. *Colonies.* — Transmits an account of the expedition of the English of Boston against Port Royal, Minas, Beaubassin and Acadia. Annexed to his letter of the 8^th December. *Idem.*

M. de Subercaze to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 26^th of June, 1707. *N°* 3022. — On the 6^th of June of the present year, 24 ships appeared at the mouth of the Port Royal harbor; 1 of 56, 2 of 28, 2 of 20 guns, and the remainder transports. This fleet anchored within a league of the fort, and on the 7^th landed 2,000 men, to wit: 1,500 on the fort side,[3] and 500 on the opposite bank[4] of the river.

He organized divers detachments of Militia to lay in the woods in ambush for the enemy. Perceiving that the forces would not be equal, he retreated in order to defend the fort.

The English reëmbark.

The enemy advanced on the night of the 10^th and 11^th, and opened the trenches leading to the fort, put the batteries in good condition, &^c.

[1] Ponds quite close to the sea, from which they are separated only by a beach of pebbles, are called in this country Barachois. *Pichon. Lettres sur le Cap Breton*, 18.

[2] Rt. Rev. M. St. Valier.

[3] i. e., the North.

[4] The South. See *Charlevoix*, II., 296, for plan of Port Royal.—Ed.

On the 16th they opened the attack on the fort, but the continual fire poured on them prevented them making an assault.

At midnight he perceived that the entire army had invested the fort, and was posted on some hills[1] and valleys; he showed them a bold face and intimidated them and made them abandon the resolution of proceeding further. They slipped behind some houses and into an old store, where there was nothing but an old cable, and burnt them.

The English quitted their camp before day, in order to reëmbark; abandoned some tools, which the settlers took. They did not fail to commit great damage, having burnt several settlements and taken away a considerable number of cattle. The building he had constructed was burnt by the English.

Sieur de Labat, 6th *of July*, 1707, *on the same subject.* N° 3030.—Transmits a narrative, annexed to his letter, with a memoir on this subject also annexed. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Raudot; 16th July. *Idem.*

Second Expedition.

M. de Subercaze to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 20th *of December*, 1707. N° 3022.—Gives an account of the second expedition of the English against this Colony in the month of August. Sieur de Gouton, 23d December. *Idem.*—Sends the account annexed to his letter.

Sieur Durand to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 4th *of July*, 1708. N° 3174.—It appears evident that the English and Dutch have sent us back a large number of prisoners, and that they have some designs on this Colony, which they threaten, as several of the prisoners report.

Wish to excite the Indians to expel the French.

Sieur de Bienville to M. de Pontchartrain: Louisiana, 12th *of October*, 1708. N° 3175.—The English of Carolina are making every effort to win over the Indian allies of the French.

Two Englishmen visited the Chicachas last spring with a request from their governor to conduct them to all the allies of the French for the purpose of making them some presents. One of these Englishmen came to the Tchiacta Indians, to whom he gave a considerable present; but he has not been well received because he proposed to them to aid the English to destroy all the small tribes nearest the French post. The chiefs of these Indians answered that they did not wish to embroil themselves with the French, and would determinedly oppose the passage of the English should they adopt that course. The other Englishman has been to the Mississipi, where he called together the principal men of the Indian Nations, and after having made them presents told them that the Governor of Carolina intended to expel the French and to become master of the entire country, and with this view he was desirous to make peace with them. These chiefs gave no answer to that, and this Englishman left on his return, after having assured them that English troops would come in the month of February to destroy the French.

Louisiana. Incursions of the English Indians.

M. Dartaguiete to M. de Pontchartrain: Louisiana, 11th *of May*, 1709. N° 3317.—The Indian allies of the English came in pirogues to the number of 5 @ 600 men to plunder Mavilla,[2] five leagues from this. This village made a right good defence. The enemy took 26 prisoners

[1] Colines. *Charlevoix*, II., 316, has "ravines."

[2] *Sic.* Que? Maubille.—Ed.

and they one, from whom they learned that this expedition cost them 14 men, including him. They burnt him. As soon as intelligence was received of the enemy having been there, M. de Bienville proceeded to its assistance with 50 of his best men, after he had given orders for the security of the fort and settlement. He did not find any more enemies; they had decamped, and after having ascended the river again a little further in their canoes, broke these up and took to the bush, where the French could not attack them.

THE ENGLISH HAVE VIEWS ON LA HÈVE. COASTS OF ACADIA.

M. de Subercaze to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 3rd January, 1710. N° .— The Council of Boston have taken into consideration the propriety of making a settlement at La Hève, without troubling themselves about Portugal, which was of no use to them; that they were about doing so with their ship of 56 guns, which, last summer, acted as a convoy to the fishermen, who have been this year in a larger number than ever, a fleet of as many as 250 vessels having been seen. They have been on our coasts as late as the end of October, which never happened before, burnt some old houses and carried off the cattle of the settlers. Had provisions not been so high at Boston this year, they would have made a settlement at La Hève or somewhere else.

THEY LAND AT CAPE ST. MARY WITH SOME DUTCHMEN *(Flessingois)*.

Major L'Hermite, to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 2nd of August, 1710.—On the 21 July the English landed at Cape St Mary, distant 2 leagues from here where 7 vessels have their flakes. All the people were out fishing, and only 3 or 4 men remained at each flake[1]. We hear that it was Camaire and La Violette, both Frenchmen, who escaped last year from the prisons of this fort, and who were condemned to the galleys. The former has been in England and promised the Queen to lay waste the entire coast inhabited by the French. I have no doubt of his success, not a ship being in port fit to oppose their designs. They came here with an armed charroi of 40 men. At present there are 13 @ 14 English and Dutch vessels scouring the entire coast from Chapeau Rouge. Three days ago, 6 made their appearance in front of St Lawrence, one vessel that was at Burain escaped, and was taken two hours after. 3 of these ships have sailed towards St Peter, and the other 3, accompanied by the charrois which I have mentioned, have scoured divers harbors in which lay several boats and charrois belonging both to ships and the inhabitants of this place, who had gone away *en degras* as the cod had failed here. I have no doubt but they will capture the vessels at St Peter. Their design is, to scour the entire coast. It is asserted that the largest carries only 40 guns, the others from 30 to 16. These are all merchantmen. After having discharged their cargoes in the harbors, they proceeded to run over the Bank, and afterwards came here. Two days after the descent of the English, one of their privateers was shipwrecked quite near the place at which the other had landed.

THE ENGLISH SUMMON PLACENTIA.

Memoir of Sieur Riverin respecting the English summoning Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland, wherein he recapitulates the French discoveries and possessions. Anno, 1710. N° . Placentia.

[1] A platform of hurdles on which codfish is dried. There is a picture of one in *Chappell's Voyage to Newfoundland*, 31. — ED.

English Privateers.

M. de Costebelle to M. de Pontchartrain. Placentia, 7th of August, 1710. *N°* .—Has sent to the English coast to take information respecting the force they had in their ports. They have in the different harbors, 5 privateers of 30, 25, and 18 guns; 3 occupy the Great Bank, and the two others have frequently made their appearance off Cape St Mary and Chapeau Rouge. They have captured two Banquin vessels of our nation and three of Bayonne, Nantes and St Malo, on their way from Placentia. The crews, prisoners of war, have been sent back to him by the commander.

One of these English privateers of eighteen guns is lost.

Descent at Cape St. Mary.

Two English boats, each carrying 15 men, made a descent on the 21st of July at Cape St Mary, 10 leagues from Placentia, where our merchantmen engaged in fishing establish what is called their *degras;* made themselves masters of the fishing houses, stole the captain's clothing without touching any of the fishing lines *(agréz)* or cod, and retired two hours afterwards from St Mary's bay.

They told the Basque Captains, for news, that at St Johns they were expecting a fleet of eight men-of-war and two bomb ketches from old England, to attack Placentia and ravage the entire French coast of the Island of Newfoundland.

The Islands of St. Peter plundered.

M. Costebelle to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, the 28th September, 1710. *N°* .—The enemy's privateers have continued cruising during the whole of the summer; they have pillaged the inhabitants of St Peter's islands, and captured all the vessels fishing there, with two of our privateers belonging to St Malo, viz^t^ *l'Embuscade* of 24 guns, and *le Henry*, the latter of which ransomed herself, and has since taken two English prizes. 15 October. Sieur L'hermite. *Idem.*

Acadia. Port Royal blockaded, besieged.

Sieur de Bonnaventure to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 1st October, 1710. *N°* . *M. de Subercaze, same date. Idem.*—States that the mouth of Port [Royal] of Acadia is blockaded by an English ship of 50 guns and a crew of 240 men, and a brigantine of 100 men, which have been waiting for their army for 20 days; from the report of prisoners, it consists of 2 ships of 60, 2 of 36, and 2 of 28 to 24 guns, a very large bomb ketch and a land force of 300 men, &c.

M. de Subercaze to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 26th October, 1710.—States that the English came to Port Royal with an army and implements of war necessary for carrying on a siege of a very considerable and well furnished town.

That he has represented in his despatch of the 1st of October that they had been six weeks blockaded by an English ship of 60 guns, a brigantine and sloop, which had learned the condition they were in from a great number of soldiers that had deserted.

That the 5th of that month witnessed the arrival of this army, which was composed of 51 ships that anchored before the fort beyond the range of cannon shot and shells.

That this fleet consisted of 7 ships of war, 4 of which carried 60; 2, 40, and 1, 36 guns, two bomb ketches and the remainder transports.

That on the 6th of the same month, they landed on both sides of the river; that the major portion of their force was on the fort side; he made no opposition at their landing, nor at the various bad passes where he might have prepared an ambuscade for them, on account of the little reliance he placed on the militia and soldiers, and that none of these would have returned to the fort; that, moreover, he had not 300 men.

Meeting no impediments on the way, the enemy came directly on, and, when he thought them within range of our artillery, he fired on them; that he killed, on that day, at least 50 of their men, which had the effect of moderating somewhat the ardor of 1000 Regulars from Old England, who were detached from the marine corps, and of forcing them to retreat, in order to camp in a valley that protected them from our artillery; the remainder of the troops, composed of 4 regiments levied at Boston, each 600 strong, followed and encamped in the same line. On the night of the 6th and 7th they landed a part of their guns, and continued so employed all next day, whilst he, throughout the whole of the seventh, endeavored to note the places where they were commencing their trenches. The ground being very favorable to them on account of the heights which surrounded this fort, he was unable to discover, until the eighth, the place at which they wished to erect their batteries, when he again forced them to abandon that locality, by force of his artillery, which killed a great number of their men. Towards the beginning of the night of the 8th and 9th he perceived one of the Ketches taking up a bombarding position; from 7 o'clock at night to one o'clock in the morning, she spread great terror among the people and the soldiers. The ninth was spent in cannonading up to noon, when a very heavy rain fell and continued until the evening, when the Ketch began again to bombard them from 8 o'clock until two in the morning. On the tenth, the enemy worked at their trench and battery, and towards evening the Ketch recommenced the bombardment until day break. de la Tour, an officer, being dangerously wounded that night by the explosion of a shell, completely turned the heads of the militia, who presented him, next day, a petition representing their inability to resist so large a force; having examined this petition, he remarked that the terror was as great among the soldiers; he had reason to fear everything, in consequence of the rumor which prevailed that they intended to blow up the fort.

Capitulates.

On the night of the 10th and 11th, 50 of the militia and 7 or 8 of the regulars deserted, who, he believed, were rendered perfectly crazy by the shells; on the following day, the eleventh, on learning this desertion, he determined to summon the officers in order to ask their advice as to the course he should pursue; all of whom requested him to discover some means of obtaining a capitulation; which he very fortunately effected.

On the day succeeding their quitting the fort, the enemy was obliged to furnish them provisions; only 156 soldiers belonging to the garrison marched out, who were perfectly naked, which rendered the enemy desperate.

Being unable to borrow money for the payment of the bills due the inhabitants, he was under the necessity of selling to the English, by the advice of every one, the six guns he had obtained and a mortar, the proceeds whereof, with his plate, furniture and other effects, together with what has been loaned him by divers individuals [went] to pay the King's debts in that country.

M. de Subercaze to M. de Pontchartrain: Port Royal of Acadia, 26th of October, 1710. *N°* .— Communicates, with regret, the misfortune that happened to him at Port Royal, where the English came with an army to lay siege to that town.

On the 5th of August they discovered the arrival of the enemy's fleet, amounting to 51 vessels, which came to anchor in front of the fort, beyond the range of shot and shell.

On the next day, the 6th, they effected a landing on both sides of the river, their greatest force on the fort side; he offered no opposition at their landing, nor at the various passes where he might have prepared an ambuscade for them, for he placed no reliance on the militia nor on the regulars; that none of them would have returned to the fort. He had only 300 men; he fired on the enemy, when the gunners killed 50 of their men, which forced them to retreat.

After having been bombarded and cannonaded up to the 10th, the people came in a crowd to present a petition to him, representing that he was not in a condition to offer any resistance. Terror prevailed no less among the military.

The defection of the Militia and regulars, who completely lost their senses from the shells, determined him on the 11th to call the officers together to ask their advice, all of whom requested him to find means to demand a capitulation, which he effected in the most fortunate manner. Embarks for France.

Arrival at Nantes of the Staff and Colonists from Acadia.

Sieur de Gouins to M. de Pontchartrain: On board the ship la Depêche, 1st of December, 1710.— This English ship lying at the mouth of the Nantes river, has brought to France the staff of Acadia, and the Women and Children, amounting in all to 252 persons. Gives an account of the attack and capture of the fort.

Sends the capitulation of the 13th of October, 1710.

The English in Fort Royal.

M. de Costebelle to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, the 15th of September.—A brigantine, arrived on the 7th of September from Acadia, advises me of the reverse of what Sieur Gaulin had reported to me respecting the situation of the enemy. Mr. Vesche has returned to Boston, and Colonel Habis[1] has remained Governor at Port Royal. The old garrison is relieved by 200 men of the New-York levy, and the Indians of La Hève have assured Sieur Ricord, the Captain of the brigantine, that they had seen and counted, in the beginning of August, more than 60 sail proceeding towards Quebec; this renews my fear for Canada.

English Privateers.

English privateers continue to destroy our commerce on this coast. They have captured 5 or 6 vessels coming from Placentia, and one going to Quebec under the command of Captain Joachim de Turbide. They insolently anchor in all our ports on the coast of Chapeau Rouge and at the St Peter's islands, where two of 20 @ 29 guns entered on their way from Cape Ray and Portochoux. On the 3d of September they surprised some barks which had gone out to fish, I believe, under Spanish colors. I have been told that they went out as usual to Petit Nord, where I am informed there are still 3 or 4 vessels from St Malo.

15th of September, 1715. I have just learned that the armed Brigantine, which left this port on a cruise, has been captured by an English ship of 30 guns off Chapeau Rouge, without its crew

[1] Hobby. *Hutchinson*, II., 152, 153, 181, &c. — Ed.

having been sent back to me to Placentia. Sieur Morpin has sustained his usual reputation; he fought for the space of three hours, yard-arm to yard-arm, and, though inferior in strength, prevented the enemy boarding, and had he not been knocked overboard by a manœuvre, he would have obliged the enemy to let him go. He depended much on this little armament to aid the settlers and Indians of Acadia. The same English privateer captured, next day, a bark coming from Quebec, freighted with provisions, which sailed from Canada on the 4th of September; another ship-master was taken on the 30th of July at Spaniard's bay[1] by two English men-of-war, the Chester and Leopard, belonging to the Canada expedition. He is on his guard.

Expedition against Canada.

M. de Costebelle to M. de Pontchartrain: Placentia, 25 October, 1711. — The master of an English prize, arrived at Placentia on the 20th October, has confirmed to me the expedition of the English against Canada, and assured me that it consists of a landing force of 8,000 men, and of 4,000 who have proceeded across the country to attack Port Royal.[2] Sends the proclamation that the English had printed at Boston and distributed among the people of New France.

Capture of French Vessels.

The Boston galley, with 3 brigantines, has sailed from that port at the close of September, loaded exclusively with munitions of war for Quebec.

The King's ship *le Héros*, and *le Vermandois* of Rochelle, have been taken at the Island of Perçée, and sent to Old England.

The aid, which was on the way to the French and Indians of Acadia, and consisted mainly of munitions of war, has been captured in part on board Sieur Morpin's brigantine, after an engagement of three hours with an English frigate of 30 guns, and after having forced it to decline boarding. Had Captain Morpin not been knocked overboard in the course of the action by a manœuvre made contrary to his orders, he would have sustained this unequal fight with some hope of escaping from his adversary.

He is apprehensive that the bark of M. Goubin,[3] Missionary, loaded with the remainder of said munitions of war, has experienced the same fate.

Sieur Morpin has been sent back to him from the prison of S^{t} John.

Cape Breton and the Coast of Labrador. Expedition of the English previous to the War.

Mess^{rs} de Vaudreuil and Begon to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 12th of November, 1712. — State that they transmit a Memoir, containing all the information they have been able to obtain respecting the establishment that could be formed on the Island of Cape Breton and the Labrador Coast, and all the papers they have been able to find relating to the boundaries between us and the English in North America, together with a Memoir they have drawn up on the subject.

That they have not as yet learned any thing respecting the statement that in 1688, before war had been yet declared, the English had captured a French vessel in the port of Chibouctou,[4] laden with dry goods; that a little while after, they went to take the port of Chedabouctou,

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 544. [2] *Sic.* Qu? Mont Royal. [3] Gaulin. [4] Now Halifax, N. S. — Ed.

and afterwards caused to be publicly sold at Rodelin[1] the proceeds of this pillage. That they will make a report on the subject as soon as they shall be ready to find some justificative pieces thereupon.

Sundry documents are annexed to this despatch.

Acadia. The Boundaries with the English.

Mess^rs de Vaudreuil and Begon to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 15^th November, 1713.—Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon have not yet received the Treaty of Peace between France and England signed at Utrecht on the 11^th of April last, but they have seen a printed copy of it whereby it appears that all Acadia is to be ceded to England according to its *ancient limits*, which it is important to restrict within the extent of the Peninsula known on all the maps by the name of Acadia, for reasons explained at considerable length in the Memoir, Map and despatch annexed, which Sieur Begon prepared with Father Aubry, Missionary of S^t Francis, who is more conversant with that country than any other person here.

The documents mentioned are not annexed.

Rivers Ouabache and Mississipi.

Mess^rs de Ramezay and Begon to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 13^th September, 1715.—Father De Ville,[2] a jesuit missionary, and Sieur de Vincenne, write Sieur de Ramezay that the English of Carolina have recourse to every expedient to attract the Indian Tribes of the South by means of the Iroquois, and Sieur Begon reports that Father Marmet,[3] a Jesuit Missionary to the Illinois, writes respecting the encroachments of the English in the rivers Ouabache and Mississipi, where they are building 3 forts.

Oath required of the French who remained at Port Royal, &^a., under the dominion of the English.

M. Begon to M. de Pontchartrain: Quebec, 25^th September, 1715.—A French inhabitant of Port Royal has reported to him that he read the orders received by the governor from the Court of England on the subject of the proclamation of the new King and of the oath of fidelity and religious abjuration *(de religion)* to be exacted from all the settlers, to the effect that he shall oblige the French who will remain under the English dominion to take 4 of these oaths like the English; but that on the French becoming indignant at such proceeding, he had contented himself with requiring them to take the oath of allegiance; that he had even promised them, in his Britannic Majesty's name, that they should have freedom of religion and be at liberty to retain their Missionaries, and that they could remain as quiet on their lands as if they were native English.

Notwithstanding these offers the French refused to take the oath of fidelity, and promised merely not to take up arms as long as they should be under English dominion, as they could not pledge themselves to any thing else, and that they would never violate the obedience due by good subjects to their prince. The English governor, being satisfied with their answer, told them simply that he should report it to the Court of England.

[1] Rhode Island.

[2] Rev. Louis Marie de Ville is said to have emigrated in 1702; was Missionary at Kaskaskias in 1711, and was sent to the Peorias in the fall of that year. *Kip.* He belonged to the Illinois Mission, and is said to have died in 1738. *Liste Chronologique.* — Ed.

[3] Rev. Jacques Marmet became Missionary to the Indians at the mouth of the Ohio as early as 1700, and was afterwards stationed at Kaskaskias, Illinois. *Charlevoix.* He died in 1736, according to that unreliable authority, the *Liste Chronologique.*

This governor immediately dispatched a small English vessel from Port Royal to convey the same intelligence to the French and Indians of Minas and Beaubassin and to the Indians of the two Missions of the Rivers S^{t} John and Pentagouet, to induce them to take the Oath of fidelity, and to declare to them that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

M^{r} Breton, an officer of the troops belonging to the garrison of Port Royal, and Sieur Capon, commissary of said place, embarked on board this vessel with an English crew and two Frenchmen, one named Jean Landry, an inhabitant of Minas, and the other named Melanson, an inhabitant of Port Royal, one of whom acted as captain *(maître d'equipage)* and the other as pilot.

That said Sieur Capon, a native of Bourdeaux, where he has been a wine merchant, told him when on his mission, that he was the sole deputy on the part of the King of England to publish this proclamation and receive the oath of fidelity; but being French, he had requested the Governor of Port Royal to send an English officer of that garrison with him, in order to remove all cause of suspicion from himself, and that M^{r} Breton had been adjoined.

That he proceeded first to Minas, where, having called the French and Indians together and published this proclamation, he invited them to swear allegiance to the King of England, which they all refused to do.

That he went next to Beaubassin, where, after the proclamation had been read, the French and Indians refused, in like manner, to take the oath of allegiance.

That said Sieur Capon repaired, last April, to the mouth *(au bas)* of the River S^{t} John, 40 leagues above which is the village of the Malicites and Abenaquis, consisting of 3 @ 400 men, women and children, among whom there are about 100 men capable of bearing arms.

Said Mess^{rs} Capon and Breton told the Missionary of these Indians that the object of their visit was to communicate to them the accession of Prince George of Hanover to the Crown of England, and to propose to them in his name to place themselves under his protection by taking the oath of allegiance to him; that the King of England would allow them the same and even larger presents than the King had been accustomed to give them; that they would be at liberty to preserve their religion and to retain their Missionary. The Indians answered, that they were too few in number to speak of these propositions; that as far as they were concerned, they were ignorant of what was passing in Europe; that perhaps the English wanted to deceive them; that they were expecting the return from France of their father, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, when they would be able to answer according to the information they should then receive.

The two Frenchmen who were on board this vessel, and who speak the Indian language, so far from supporting the propositions the English were making to the Indians, strongly exhorted the latter not to trust them.

Father de la Chasse, the Jesuit missionary of the Abenaquis, has informed him that Mess^{rs} Breton and Capon proceeded, at the end of April last, from the River S^{t} John to the mouth of that of Pentagouet, where all the Indians of that mission had again assembled, and had submitted to them the same propositions that he had presented to those of the River S^{t} John. The demand, and answers are reported in the letter.

EXTENT OF ACADIA AS CLAIMED BY THE ENGLISH; AND WHAT IS TO BE OPPOSED TO THEM.

The English, both of the Boston and Port Royal governments, publicly assert themselves masters of all the countries from Boston to Port Royal, Minas and Beaubassin, which they

pretend have been ceded to them, under the name of Acadia or Nova Scotia, by the Treaty of peace; and that they have no other boundary than the S[t] Lawrence, although this Treaty states that Acadia shall be ceded according to its ancient limits, which comprehend only the peninsula whereunto alone the name of Acadia is given in the maps, all the rest being laid down in the old maps as New France.

They have even wished, in execution of this treaty, to oblige Sieur de Belisle and Jean Denis, frenchmen settled at Pentagouet, to leave that place, but the Indians of that village opposed it, and told the English that, as these two Frenchmen had married Indian women they were considered to belong to their Village and Nation, whereupon the English have not insisted any further.

Abstract of Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon's Despatches, with the Report of the Minister thereupon.

Canada. Abenakis.

Mess[rs] de Vaudreuïl and Begon report that the expedition of the Abenakis, against the English fort situated to the Northeast of the River S[t] George, has not succeeded on account of the continual rains, which obliged them to retire after having made some prisoners whom they sent back, burnt a saw mill and killed some cattle. They lost an Indian belonging to the River Saint John.

By sending back the English prisoners, that nation, they expected, would let them remain undisturbed; but whilst engaged hunting, the English visited and burnt their village. This aroused the Indians afresh, who made divers attempts to capture the English fort; but all in vain, owing to their little experience in these operations.

This fort having been built two years ago on French territory, to the prejudice of the bounds and limits laid down in 1720,[1] and the King having forbidden any assistance in men to be furnished the Indians, Mess[rs] Vaudreuil and Begon are of opinion that it would be proper to require the King of England to raze that fort.

The Abenakis having gone hunting, the English captured forty of them whom they placed in the hands of the Iroquois. The latter sent two of them, with two Englishmen, to Naurantsouäk, to treat of peace there with the Abenakis of that village.

These deputies, not finding the Abenakis, left some Tobacco and Calumets in the cabin and attached to a tree a piece of bark on which they drew two moons, to indicate that they would return in two months, and carried away with them another piece of bark, which Father Rasle, the missionary of that village, had attached to the door of his church, on which he had written that the Indians would not listen to any overtures of peace until the English had entirely abandoned all the Abenakis lands, and, if they burned their church and village, that the Indians would go and burn the meeting houses and settlements of New England.

These Deputies did not return to Nauransoüak. The English, who acted with the Iroquois, were of opinion that this negotiation would be more successful if they could gain over the

[1] 1700. *Post*, p. 938. — Ed.

Indians of the Saint Francis Mission, and with this view sent a belt, last February, to the Village.

The most of these Indians, and those of Becancourt, were hunting or at war, which prevented these deputies explaining the veritable object of their voyage. They merely said that they were come to speak of peace. Some of those who remained in the Village ran after their people, and brought back a great number of them. The deputies told them that they ought to cease striking the English, and detach themselves from those of Naurantsoüak and Panoüamské, who, alone, could not bear up against the English.

One of these Deputies had orders to signify privately to four of the most considerable chiefs, and who were least attached to the French, that those who would be inclined to make peace with the English should retire with their families to the Iroquois;

That those who would unite with the Abenakis of Naurantsouäk would not be safe either in their village or on the road, and that the Iroquois declare themselves equally against them, and against those of Naurantsoüak.

All the Indians, when informed of this secret and of the threats of the Iroquois, told the Deputies that they would cease hostilities, if the Iroquois would prevail on the English to give the Abenakis up their lands and prisoners which they had taken from them.

On the return of these deputies to Orange, in the month of June, they met the English, who had just renewed their alliance with the Iroquois, and had obtained their promise to wage war against the Abenakis.

They told the Iroquois that the Abenakis were very willing to obey them, and to cease hostilities against the English, without stating that it was on condition that their lands and prisoners should be given up to them; whereupon the Iroquois became mediators, and invited two Chiefs from each Abenakis village to accompany them, two months after that, to Boston.

The Abenakis having been notified that the Iroquois deceived them, sent word that they were not disposed to risk themselves with them at Boston.

They acquainted M. de Vaudreuil of it, and told him, in presence of an English prisoner whom they were sending back to Boston, and whom they authorized to repeat to the Governor of Boston that they would not make peace until the Abenakis, who were detained prisoners, were restored; until the English had left their lands and repaired the wrongs and injustices they had done them; and that for the settlement of the terms of the peace, they desired no other mediator than M. de Vaudreuil.

Those of S^{t} Francis, to the number of sixty, and those of Becancourt to the number of forty, set out afterwards on a war party, to the government of Boston. The former returned after having killed ten prisoners,[1] burnt several houses and saw-mills, and captured eighteen prisoners. Only one of their men was wounded. The others have also returned, after having, in connection with those of Nantansoüak, killed seven persons, burnt two picket forts which had been abandoned, and killed a quantity of cattle.

The Hurons of Loretto have also been twice at war; they killed six Englishmen and took one prisoner; one of their Chiefs has been killed on that occasion.

It appears by the report of the prisoners that public sentiment in New England respecting this war is divided. The people complain loudly of the Governor for continuing it against their will.

[1] *Sic.* Qu? Persons. — Ed.

The understanding which manifested itself between the English and the Iroquois of the Five Nations, had seriously intimidated the Abenakis, and the ill disposed among them represented, to those of the Tribe who were going to fight, that the Iroquois would declare against them, which cooled them down considerably.

M. de Vaudreuil thought it necessary, for the encouragement of the Abenakis, that the Iroquois domiciled at Sault S^{t} Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains should join them; being in no wise apprehensive that those of the Five Nations would declare against the Abenakis. They were invited so to do by all the Abenakis Indians and by the Hurons of Loretto. They resolved on this junction, and requested M. de Vaudreuil to permit them to go to war. They set out on the twentieth of September, numbering one hundred and thirty-four of the Sault S^{t} Louis, forty-five from the Lake of Two Mountains, and thirty Abenakis of S^{t} Francis. They will not return before the beginning of November.

The Abenakis have, likewise, sent Belts to the Outawas to invite them to join. It were desirable that they should coöperate in this war, because it would put an end to their trading at Orange, and to the English efforts to penetrate the upper countries. They [the English] have [sent] flags *(pavillons)* there by some Outawas, who have seemingly received them with pleasure.

Sieur de Vaudreuil will conform himself to the King's intentions in order to maintain the Abenakis, as much as possible, in the possession of their lands.

He wrote, as of his own accord, to the Governor of New England to ask that the English should retire from the lands of the Abenakis and leave these Indians in peace.

It is proper that Monsieur de Vaudreuil be ordered to sustain the Abenakis; to continue to require the Governor of New England to withdraw the English from the lands belonging to the Abenakis, and to let the Indians alone. It is not proper that the French appear in this war, but he is secretly to encourage the other Nations to assist the Abenakis, by giving them to understand that the design of the English is to render themselves masters of the entire Continent; that, being unable now to wage war against the French on account of the peace in Europe, they attack their allies and endeavor to invade their territory and to destroy them, and intend to act in the same manner towards the other Nations who adjoin them on the sea side, and by seizing all the coasts and harbors, put a stop to the navigation of the French.

That eventually they will seek, by open force, to expel them from the Continent, and if they should succeed, would make slaves of all the Nations, because, finding themselves sole [masters], they would give no more powder, nor ball, nor guns to those whose destruction they would desire, and would not pardon any one.

That all the Nations should adopt early measures to ward off this misfortune. The Iroquois, who are more intelligent than all other Nations, ought to be made to understand its necessity, and be told that if the English wish to form an alliance with the Outawas, it is in order to obtain assistance from that tribe against the Iroquois. They must be also informed of the vast number of people inhabiting the English Colonies, and how few the French are in the country; that it is these Frenchmen, nevertheless, who maintain the Indians in liberty.

18 January, 1724.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon.

Extract of the Memoir of the King to Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon, formerly Governor-general and Intendant of Canada.

Versailles, 30 May, 1724.

His Majesty has considered the report of Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon on the subject of the War of the English against the Abenakis.

He will add to his orders conveyed in his despatch of the 9th of June of last year, that it is not expedient that the French appear in this war, but it is proper, at the same time, that Sieur de Vaudreuil do secretly encourage the other nations to assist the Abenaquis, by giving them to understand that the design of the English is to make themselves masters of the entire continent; that as the peace which exists between the Princes of Europe does not permit waging war against the French of Canada, the English attack their allies and try to invade their territory and to destroy them; that when they will have accomplished that, they will seek to invade the territory belonging to other nations adjoining them on the sea side, and that, by seizing on all the coasts and harbors, they wish to put a stop to the Navigation of the French, in order to oblige them eventually, by means of open violence, to abandon the entire continent; that then, finding themselves sole masters, they will enslave all the Indian nations whom they will not furnish with any more powder, ball or guns, and who will be no longer able to acknowledge that they have been deceived; that early measure should be adopted to ward off this misfortune; that efforts ought to be made to impress it on the Iroquois, who are more capable of understanding it than any other Nation, and to remark to them, that if the English are endeavoring to form an alliance with the Ottawas, it is with a view of obtaining assistance from them for their (the Iroquois') destruction; to explain to them the large amount of people in the English Colonies and the small number of French in Canada; that it is, nevertheless, this small number of French that maintain the Indians in liberty.

M. de Vaudreuil to the Minister.

My Lord,

I had the honor to advise you, by the ship *le Cheval Marin*, of the disposition of the English as regards the Abenakis War, and of the Governor of Boston's answer to the letter I had previously addressed him. It remains for me to give you an account of the English expedition against the mission of Father Râlle, who had the misfortune to lose his life on that occasion. All the circumstances attending this affair deserve to be fully narrated; you will permit me not to omit any of them.

Since the close of October, 1723, the Abenakis did not cease harrassing the English, with a view to force them to quit their territory. Those of the village on the River St. John joined the Miamis,[1] whom they induced to resume the arms they had a year ago laid down; burnt five

[1] *Sic.* Micmacs. — Ed.

or six English houses near Port Royal, killed eight or ten Englishmen, took as many prisoners, and drove the garrison into the fort, who were making continual sorties. These same Indians, to the number of one hundred men, wished to attack Canceaud, where the English were fortifying themselves, but on consulting together they postponed the execution of the project to a more favorable time, under the apprehension that the large number of ships at anchor in that harbor would render their efforts abortive. Eight of them, who were unwilling to return to their villages without having struck a blow, attacked an English bark, which they captured after having killed the crew that defended her.

The Village of Panaouamsquée,[1] which had not done any thing since the commencement of hostilities three years ago, being now excited by our domiciled Indians of St. Francis, whom I sent to them early in the spring, prevailed on the other four villages of the same Tribe, and killed and captured nearly 100 Englishmen and 14 Vessels loaded with salt and fish.[2]

Those of St. Francis and Becancourt, aided by some Mohegans, continued sending out war parties since the month of March last; the Hurons of Loretto joined them in assisting the Narantsouans.

Several Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain also took up arms with considerable success; and I have reason to hope that the mass of these Villages will espouse the quarrel of the Abenakis.

There was every appearance that the Narantsouans and the other Indians, their allies, would eventually tire out the English and oblige them to abandon their forts on the river of Narantsouac, when the Village was surprised on the 23rd of August last. The English, accompanied by some Indians,[3] called La Porcelaine, arrived there under cover of the long grass and brushwood with which the environs were filled, and came on the cabins unawares. This village was without pallisades, and the Narantsouans considered themselves sufficiently secure there in consequence of the care they took to send out scouts. The last of these who had come up the river had not seen any trails of the English, who were coming through the woods, and announced their arrival only by a discharge of musketry. The Narantsouans then in the village numbered 50 Warriors. Those who were not hit by the bullets which riddled the bark of the Wigwams, having immediately rushed to arms, made a few moments' resistance, crying to the women and children to fly to the river which was yet open.

Father Râlle, the ancient Missionary of the Abenakis, on whose head the English had last year set a price, who was exhorting the Indians belonging to his mission to preserve their lands and country, went out of his house on hearing the noise, but the moment he made his appearance, the English fired a volley at him by which he was immediately killed. Those of the Indians who possessed not the courage to resist, fled towards the river as soon as they perceived that the Father was slain. The bravest *(l'eslittes)* of the warriors, who had held out a long time against the English, seeing that they were on the point of being surrounded, flung themselves into the river like all the rest, and the English Indians pursued them to the water's edge with their shots. Firing, as they did, unimpeded, against a mass of frightened people who were crossing a river, some in canoes and some swimming, it is surprising that a single man should have escaped. They killed, in this action, only 7 men, 7 women, 14 children, and wounded 14 persons very slightly. The mass of the village which escaped amounts to 150

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 571.

[2] Compare Williamson, II., 127; Penhallow, in *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, I., 96, 100.

[3] [and guided by a squaw]. Some such words seem to be wanted here to make up the sense. — Ed.

persons, among whom there still remain 29 Warriors, who were so incensed at the death of their Missionary and the profanation of the sacred vessels belonging to their Church, that they would have pursued the English the day following their defeat, had they not found themselves without arms, powder and clothes. They had the affliction to witness, without being able to prevent, the burning and plunder of their Church and Wigwams.

After having paid every attention to their wounded, every body set out on their way to Canada, where they arrived to the number of 150. The deplorable condition to which I saw them reduced, prompted me to receive and furnish them all the assistance they stood in need of. I have provided, up to this time, for their subsistence, which I shall continue to do for one year, in order to enable them to lay out plantations at Beaumont[1] and St. Francis, and to furnish our warriors thereby with means to continue hostile operations.

They have assured me that they were going immediately to adopt measures to make the English feel the wrong they are guilty of in retaining their lands and their prisoners, and that whilst one Abenaki remains alive, he would oppose the English. The domiciliated Iroquois appear to entertain the same sentiments.

The English, thus harrassed, will perhaps get tired and let go. I beg of you to observe that it is of extreme consequence that the English do not become Masters of the Narantsouac river, which would bring them too near Quebec and place them in a position to make a flank attack on the Colony. Besides, it would be to be feared that if that territory passes into their hands, the Indians, who are its owners, would feel irritated in consequence, and consider themselves abandoned, which would possibly detach them entirely from us.

If the English sincerely desire peace they must raze their forts on the River S^{t} George, and conform to the bounds laid down in 1700. 'Tis certain that our Indians will not cease waging war against the English so long as they will be encroaching on their land.

I shall follow exactly the orders you have given me in respect to the course I am to observe in their regard, and direct all my attention to put an end to this war; but the English must listen to reason, and restore to the Abenakis their land and prisoners. These are their sentiments, and they are resolved to persist therein.

Sieur de Louvigny, who has an intimate knowledge of the Indians, and is acquainted with the legitimate measures I have adopted to terminate this war, proceeds to France this year. He will furnish you more particular information on the subject.

Though the English have already expended a considerable amount to win over the Iroquois to their side, they have not accomplished their object, and I have always kept them neutral. The English expend, this year, more than 20,000 crowns without producing any effect on the minds of these Indians. I flatter myself that those domiciled among us will take up arms and defend their brethren, the Abenakis.

Deputies from the Five Nations came this summer to assure me that they will not take up the hatchet in favor of the English against the Abenakis; and in order to retain them in these favorable dispositions, I thought I could not do better than to send Sieur de Joncaire to winter at Niagara and among the Senecas.

According to the news to be received from Sieur de Joncaire, I shall determine whether to send Sieur de Longueuil to the Onontagués, among whom he has considerable influence.

Those of the Sault S^{t} Louis and of the Mountain, governed by the Jesuits and the Priests of S^{t} Sulpice, have not yet responded to my intentions, though they have organized some

[1] *Sic.* Becancourt. — Ed.

successful parties. I hope shortly to make them act with more promptness. I beg of you, at the same time, to have these Missionaries written to not to allow any trading houses in their missions, as I am but too well informed that they permit the French to furnish Indians with goods for purposes of trading, especially those of the Mountain, who detain the Indians that come down from the Upper country, to trade with them. This is a considerable prejudice to the commerce of Montreal.

The Algonquins and Nepissings have inflicted some considerable blows this summer on the English, and still daily continue their incursions. Father Breslé, Missionary of the latter at Isle aux Tourtes, where he has had a church and dwelling built, carried a Priest thither who has always resided there since. He is an excellent man, greatly beloved by the Indians, and thoroughly conversant with their language. He has not been able to make a longer stay at that place, being unable to live there, unless his Majesty have the goodness to grant him the same pension of 500ll that Sieur Breslé enjoyed. I beg to observe that if it be desirous to stop these Indians and settle them on this Island, where a fort has been constructed at his Majesty's expense, it is highly important that this mission be provided with a resident Missionary, and one in whom confidence can be placed.

You can well judge, My Lord, that all these movements cannot be made without serious expense, and whatever pains I take to reduce them, agreeably to your intentions, I cannot, withal, dispense with demanding a supplementary grant of Ten thousand weight of Powder, Twenty thousand weight of Lead and Balls, one hundred guns, and one hundred and fifty blankets, to indemnify the Indians of Narantsouac for the losses they have sustained, and to engage the other Indians, by presents, to take the part of the Abenakis. Without this supplement, I shall be absolutely unable to get the Indians to move; should they see themselves deprived of the aid which I have flattered them to expect, they would not fail to withdraw, a circumstance that would be highly prejudicial to the interests of this Colony. I shall omit nothing to prevent the English encroaching on the lands of the Abenakis.

In order to render an exact account of the funds to be employed for these Indians, it is necessary that nothing be delivered except on my order. I request you will issue your commands on this point.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, &c.,

28 November, 1724. VAUDREUIL.

Memoir on the present Condition of the Abenaquis. 1724.

Of all the Indians of New France, the Abenaquis are those who have performed, and are in a position to render the most service. This nation consists of five Villages, which number, altogether, about five hundred warriors. Two of these Villages are situate along the River S[t] Lawrence, near Three Rivers — one below that town, at what is called the Village of Becancour; the other, ten leagues above, at the Village of S[t] Francis. The three others are in the direction of Acadia, and are called Narantsouak, on the River Kanibekky; Panasamsdé, on the River

Pentagouët and Medocteck,[1] on the River S[t] John. The Village of Narantsouak is nearest New England; that of Medocteck nearest Acadia, and that of Panaouamké nearly in the centre.

These three villages have different routes, each by its own river, whereby they reach Quebec in a few days. This circumstance it is that constitutes the importance of their position as regards Canada, of which they are the strongest barriers, and that ought to be attended to by the Court so as to prevent the English destroying these Villages in the war they are actually waging against the Indians; or, what would amount to the same thing, their obliging the Indians to abandon them and to retire elsewhere, which is evidently their sole aim.

For, far from making establishments on the Peninsula of Acadia, which has been ceded to them by the Treaty of Utrecht, and their right to which no one disputes, it does not appear that a solitary Englishman has as yet taken up land there, or at least cultivates any, in the whole extent of that province, whilst, since that treaty, and contrary to what is agreed to therein, they have located a number of settlers on the rivers belonging to the Abenaquis, and on the lands their title to which, of right, is denied. Wherefore does that happen, unless for the purpose of constantly advancing towards Canada, to which these lands are much nearer than Acadia, and of taking possession of them when they shall be in the humor to nominate Commissioners to settle its boundaries with France?

Should the Court not think proper to assist the Indians publicly in this war, which is waged by the English against them, it seems at least expedient that it complain loudly of the contraventions by the English of the treaty of Utrecht; adopt measures to put an end to them, and have it settled at the Congress at Cambray, that the English shall not be permitted to molest the Abenaquis by encroaching on their territory and establishing themselves, contrary to the law of Nations, in a country of which the said Indians have been from all time in possession.

Otherwise, it will follow that the Abenaquis, tired of the War, will abandon their country, or what is more probable, will, without quitting it, make the best terms they can with the English, who, by means of much larger presents then we can possibly make these Indians, will soon succeed in gaining them over, especially by giving them to understand, as they will not fail to do, that France has cared nothing for them except when she had need of them, whilst now, when it is her interest not to embroil herself with England, she refuses to take any part in their quarrel with the English. This reasoning is within the comprehension of the Indians, and the proof of it would be too plain not to convince them. If, on the contrary, the Court succeed in replacing matters on their ancient footing, and in putting a stop to the usurpations of the English, the Abenaquis, on hearing the fact, will attach themselves more and more to France, without thinking of quitting their country, and we, thereby, shall have completely provided for the security of Canada on the land side. The knowledge of their customs and genius, acquired by an uninterrupted residence of fifteen years among them, impresses me with the belief that the best way to fix this attachment, and even to render it eternal, would be to increase, particularly in favor of the three villages adjoining the English, the gratuity which the Court annually allows them, and to transmit every five years a silver medal of the King, which the Indians will, in their way, look upon as an abiding word that will incessantly tell them that the King continues to honor them with his Royal protection. M[r] de Vaudreuil, Governor-general of Canada, and M[r] Begon, Intendant, approve strongly of this expedient, which I have had the honor to submit to them before I took my departure.

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 904. — Ed.

M. Begon to Count de Maurepas.[1]

Extract of a letter written to the Court by Mons[r] Begon, Intendant in Canada, dated the twenty-first of April, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, on the subject of the war between the Abenakis and the English.

I have the honor to inform you that the Marquis de Vaudreuil was advised on the twelfth of March last—the day on which he arrived at Montreal—by a letter from the commanding officer of Chambly that three English Deputies had arrived at that post on the preceding evening, viz[t], M[r] Dudlay,[2] son of the late Governor of Boston, Colonel Taxter,[3] member of the Council, both deputies from the Boston Government, M[r] Atkinson,[4] deputy from the government of Pescadoué, and M[r] Schult,[5] merchant of Orange, who stated that he came only as a companion to those gentlemen.

These delegates arrived at Montreal on the thirteenth of the same month, and delivered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil a letter from the Governor of Boston, containing only a vague answer to that addressed to him last October on the subject of the English expedition against Narantsouak of the preceding August, and a justification of the death of Father Rasle, the missionary of that Village, who was killed by the English on that occasion. This governor also added, that reliance might be placed on the representations these delegates may make, whom he had furnished with instructions, without explaining the matters on which they were to speak.

At their first conference, on the sixteenth of said month, they demanded the restitution of the prisoners whom the Abenakis had taken, &[a].

In a second conference they demanded that M. de Vaudreuil should cease assisting the Abenakis with munitions of War and with provisions; as such conduct was contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, which prohibited them favoring the enemy, and as the Indians were Rebels.

M. de Vaudreuil answered them, that the aid he furnished the Abenakis consisted in the yearly presents the King made them since the foundation of the Colony, as they are under his Majesty's protection. And if they employed these presents in making war against the English, the latter could blame only themselves, as they had impelled these Indians, who had never been

[1] Jean Frederick Phelippeaux, Count de Maurepas, was the son of Jerome (*supra*, p. 736), and grandson of Chancellor de Pontchartrain. *Supra*, p. 503. He was born in 1701, and created Knight of Malta whilst yet a minor. He was appointed Secretary of State at the age of fourteen years; but the Marquis de la Vrillière, subsequently his father-in-law, had charge of the office until 1725, when Count de Maurepas commenced his administration at the age of 24. He soon extended his patronage to men of science; sent expeditions to the equator and the pole to measure degrees of the meridian; ordered the construction of new maps, and dispatched officers to examine imperfectly-known coasts and countries, whilst the celebrated Jussieu went to study the Botany of Peru. At his desire M. de la Verandry was sent, in 1738, to discover the Pacific Ocean, and reached, in his journey, the Rocky Mountains. An epigram which Count de Maurepas wrote on Mde. de Pompadour, the Mistress of Louis XV., caused his downfall in 1749. After his disgrace he retired to Pontchartrain, and was succeeded in his office by his brother-in-law, the Duke de la Vrillière. On the accession of Louis XVI., and after a retirement of more than 25 years, Count de Maurepas was recalled and made President of the Council. He died November, 1781, greatly regretted by the King. *Biographie Universelle.* Lake Maurepas, in Louisiana, and an Island in Lake Superior, were called after him. — Ed.

[2] Colonel William Dudley, son of Joseph, was born October 20, 1686; graduated at Harvard College 1704; married a daughter of Judge Davenport in 1721, and died September 27, 1767. *New England Genealogical Register*, I., 71.

[3] Samuel Thaxter. [4] Theodore Atkinson. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, III., 58. [5] *Sic.* Mr. Schuyler.

either their allies or subjects, to wage it for the possession of their country from which they would expel them.

And in reference to the English denying that they were not attached to us, 'twas said, that they had been for full eighty years united with us against the English when we were at war with the latter; since which time they have always styled the Governor of New France their father; received from him commissions confirming the elections of their chiefs, and have hoisted the French flag in their villages.

That, on the contrary, they had been almost always at war with the English, even when the two crowns were at peace; and the Governor of Boston having since the Treaty of Utrecht, and previous to the commencement of hostilities between the Abenakis and the English, gained over Abemesnie, the nephew of Raxou, Chief of Narantsouak, and having given him, after his uncle's death, an English flag to be carried to the village of Narantsouak, and a commission of Chief to command there, this Indian was so badly received there by the people of his village, that they tore the commission and the English flag, and said that they did not receive any except from the government of New France.

That for about eighty years that they have French Missionaries, and profess the Catholic religion, these had never been troubled by the English until the last war, and that the Indians have never been willing to receive Ministers, and have always vindicated their freedom of religion and the possession of their territory, independent of the English.

In the third conference the English maintained that the lands of the Abenakis were theirs; that the Indians had sold those lands to them. They submitted some unsigned and informal papers, which, they pretended, were deeds of the purchase that they had effected. They added, that the Indians had in divers meetings given in their submission to the Crown of England, and had taken the oath of allegiance; that they submitted the matter to M. de Vaudreuil, and made him judge of the justice of their claim, and handed him copies of these pretended donations made to them.

He answered them, that the Indians had always told him they had never sold their country to the English, nor had ever submitted to them; that he knew nothing about the papers they presented; that the Indians had always assured him they were forgeries; that they must be brought and convinced in his presence of the genuineness of the documents.

The English said, that credit ought to be attached to their word, as they were not people who were in the habit of imposing on others. They consented, with difficulty, that the Indians of S^{t} Francis and Becancourt should be brought to Montreal, saying they had no power to treat with them.

They were asked what was the object of their voyage, if they had not authority to treat of this peace? They answered, they had come only to recover their prisoners, communicate to M. de Vaudreuil the justice of their cause against the Abenakis, and learn some news of this war. That Mess^{rs} Atkinson and Dudelay would return to Boston, and that M^{r} Texter would remain at Montreal for the purpose of conferring with the Deputies from the Abenakis.

These having arrived at Montreal on the twenty-third of April last, to the number of seven of the most ancient of the entire Nation, the English announced their intended return home, as they had nothing to say to the Abenakis.

They were told that one of their party, an interpreter of the Abenakis language, who had gone to St. Francis, Becancourt and Three Rivers for the purpose of recovering the English prisoners at these places, and his own niece who was with the Ursulines of Three Rivers, had

given the Abenakis to understand that the English had come to Montreal to negotiate a peace with them. They were likewise informed that these Indians had been brought to Montreal at the request made by the English to M. de Vaudreuil.

They said that their interpreter had spoken without their authority; they were, notwithstanding, obliged to admit that they had requested M. de Vaudreuil to make them come, and finally they consented to confer with these Indians, which conference did not take place until the twenty-ninth of April, as they were awaiting the return of that Interpreter of the Abenakis language.

They employed this interval to advantage, for they made use, in the meanwhile, of all the practices they could contrive to induce the Abenakis Deputies to go and speak to them at their tavern.

Sieur Schul,[1] their emissary, went also in the course of the night to see the Indians, who would not listen to him, and told him that they would speak only at M. de Vaudreuil's house.

The Interpreter having arrived, the English and Abenakis Deputies assembled at M. de Vaudreuil's.

The English, at the outset, objected to speak first, saying that they had nothing to say to the Abenakis. The latter asked them, why they had brought them hither if they had nothing to say to them? M. de Vaudreuil having exhorted the one and the other of them not to get angry, and to converse peaceably—

The English began and said to the Indians:

That they had come only with good intentions; that they had selected M. de Vaudreuil, as he is the friend of both parties and the father of the Abenakis, to be their mediator, and to arrange their differences justly.

The Abenakis answered, that they were very glad that the English had come only with a friendly disposition, and that they, too, had requested their father, M. de Vaudreuil, to be their mediator. They said, that they complained that the English should seize their lands contrary to right and reason; that some Abenakis were unjustly detained as prisoners of war at Boston and Port Royal; that they had been attacked also in their religion, their Church having been thrown down and Father Rasle, their Missionary, killed. That they had demanded satisfaction on these three points, and the English, therefore, had to quit their lands, restore their prisoners, rebuild their church, and indemnify them for the wrong they had done them by killing Father Rasle, and for the expenses of the war.

The English having asked them to explain what land they required them to quit:

The Abenakis answered, that their land commenced at the River Gounitogon, otherwise called the Long River, which lies to the West beyond Boston; that this river was formerly the boundary which separated the lands of the Iroquois from those of the Abenakis; that according to this incontestable boundary, Boston and the greater part of the English settlements east of it are on Abenakis lands; That they would be justified in telling them to quit these; that they had, however, considered that these settlements were established, and that they were still inclined to tolerate them; but they demanded as an express condition of the peace, that the English should abandon the country from one league beyond (*au dessus*) Saco river[1] to Port Royal, which was the line separating the lands of the Abenakis from those of the Micmaks.

Sieur Dudelay told them derisively that they ought to demand Port Royal, also.

[1] *Sic.* Schuyler. [2] Westward of Saco river. *Williamson*, II., 133. — Ed.

The Abenakis replied, they asked only the lands that belonged to them; that they heard it said that the English boasted that they (the Abenakis) had given themselves up to them, which was a falsehood, and they defied them to prove it.

The English, who had, some days before, given M. de Vaudreuil a copy of this pretended grant, did not dare tell the Indians that they had a title to them, and said, on the contrary, that they had never boasted of it, and had merely handed M. de Vaudreuil some deeds of the purchase of one of the west banks of the River Narantsouak, to the depth of about eighteen leagues.

The Abenakis answered that as they had acquired only the West side of the Narantsouak river, they must admit that they had no title to the East bank.

The English admitted the fact, and said that they did not claim the East bank.

The Abenakis told them that the English had, notwithstanding, erected two forts there; one on the Island of Manaskong, and the other on the River S^{t} George.

The English made no answer as regarded Fort Manaskong, and said that the one erected on the River S^{t} George had not been constructed by them, and that they had not meddled with it, as it did not belong to the government of Boston, but to that of Port Royal.

The Abenakis said also, in regard to the pretended purchase by the English of the lands from the mouth of the Narantsouak towards Boston, that it was false that these lands had ever been sold by their ancestors; that the deeds produced were forged, and that they could not be attributed to people like them who could neither read nor write; that the English could not prove with what they had paid for them; that there were among them, the Abenakis deputies, some men eighty years of age, who had never heard of any contract, or convention with the English to cede them their land.

The English replied, that they had been in possession of it at least eighty years, since they began settling at Boston, and even if they had not purchased it, this possession gave them title.

The Abenakis rejoined—We were in possession before you, for we hold from time immemorial. They admitted that the English had, for eighty years, been desirous to seize these lands, but that the Abenakis had since that time been always at war with them, to prevent them taking possession; that, independent of this consideration, the other forts which number eight or ten, and are the subject of the present war, have, with the exception of that at Saco, which may date as many as forty years back, been all built since the peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

The English made no reply to this article. To the complaint of the Indians respecting the detention of their brethren at Boston, they said they knew not precisely their number, and that they had set two at liberty.

The Abenakis said, these two Indians were set at liberty only on condition that they would conduct a detachment of four or five hundred English, both against Narantsouack and Panagamské to aid in surprising those of their nation, and that they were aware these two Indians had been carried back to Boston where they were still detained; and they were not bound to believe that any had been sent back, until they had caused the men to be conducted into their Villages.

The English having asked the Indians to explain themselves regarding the indemnity they claimed for the destruction of their Church, the killing their Missionary, and for the expenses of the War—

The Abenakis answered, that they demanded that their French Missionaries should for the future be unmolested; that no proposal should be made them to receive Ministers; and that suitable presents should be made to atone for Father Rasle's death, the destruction of their Church, and the injuries done them during the War.

The English promised to report to Boston what they had heard.

Abstract of Letters respecting the Abenaquis.

Abstract of letters of M. de Vaudreuil and Father de la Chasse respecting the Abenaquis report, with the recommendation of the Minister thereupon. 24 April, 1725.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was directed last year to sustain the Abenaquis, to continue to demand of the Governor of New England to cause the English to retire from their lands and to let these Indians alone.

He transmits copy of the letter which the Governor of Boston sent him, and of his answer thereto; although that governor expresses himself with much haughtiness, M. de Vaudreuil is persuaded that he is extremely anxious for peace with those Indians, who are unwilling to consent to it unless the English restore them their prisoners and lands, and on these conditions he will employ his influence to induce them to come to terms.

States that the Abenaquis have not ceased harrassing the English since the close of October, 1723, with a view to oblige them to quit their lands. Those of the River S[t] John have joined the Micmacs, whom they induced to resume the arms they had a year ago laid down; they have burnt five or six English houses near Port Royal, killed eight or ten Englishmen, took as many prisoners and drove the garrison into the fort; they had determined on attacking Cançeau, but a great many vessels lying there, they had postponed the execution of their project to another season; eight of them had attacked and captured an English bark after having killed the crew.

Those of the village of Panoümsqué, who had not done any thing since the commencement of the war, three years ago, being now excited by our domiciliated Indians of S[t] Francis, whom he sent to them in the spring, have killed and captured one hundred English, with fourteen vessels laden with salt and fish.

Those of S[t] Francis and Becancourt, aided by some Mohegans, continued sending out war parties since the month of March, 1724; the Hurons of Loretto joined them; several Iroquois of the Sault and the Mountain also took up arms with pretty good success, and it is to be hoped that the mass of these villages will espouse the quarrel of the Abenaquis.

On the twenty-third of August last, the English, accompanied by some Indians called La Porcelaine, arrived at Naurantsouack, under cover of the brushwood and long grass, and came on the cabins unawares. The village was without pallisades, and the Indians thought themselves secure, owing to the care they took to send out scouts; the last of these who had come up the river had not seen any trails of the English, who were coming through the woods,

and whose arrival was made known only by a discharge of musketry; the Indians were then in their village to the number of only fifty warriors, who, having taken up arms, made a few moments' resistance.

Father Rasle, an ancient Missionary of the Abenakis, on whose head the English had last year set a price, having gone out of his cabin, the English fired a volley at him, by which he was immediately killed, and the Indians flung themselves into the river. One hundred and fifty persons are all that were saved of this village; twenty-nine of these were warriors, who were so indignant at the death of their Missionary and the profanation of the sacred vessels belonging to their Church, that they would have gone in pursuit of the English the next day had they not found themselves without arms, powder and clothes. They had the affliction to witness the burning and plunder of their Church and wigwams.

They arrived in Canada, to the number of one hundred and fifty persons, in a deplorable condition. He had received them and furnished all the aid they stood in need of; he will have their subsistence continued during one year to enable them to lay out plantations at Becancourt and S^{t} Francis, to supply the warriors with means to continue hostile operations.

All the Abenaquis have assured him that they were going to adopt measures to make the English feel the wrong they are guilty of, in retaining their lands and prisoners. The domiciliated Iroquois appear to entertain the same sentiments.

The English, thus harrassed, will perhaps get tired and let go. It is most important that they do not become masters of the River Naurantsouack, which would bring them too near Quebec, and place them in a position to make a flank attack on the Colony. Besides, it would be to be feared that were this territory to pass into their hands, the Indians, whose property it is, would feel irritated in consequence, and consider themselves abandoned, which would detach them from the French.

He will follow the orders given him as to the course to be pursued, and direct his attention to terminating the war. But if the English are sincere in their desire for peace, they must raze their forts on the River S^{t} George, and conform to the limits laid down in one thousand seven hundred, it being certain that the Indians will not cease hostilities so long as the English will be encroaching on their land.

Though the English have already spent considerable sums to gain over the Iroquois to their side, they have not accomplished their object. They expended in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, twenty thousand crowns *(écus)*, without producing any effect.

Deputies from the Five Iroquois Nations have assured him that they will not take up arms against the Abenaquis; and in order to retain them in these favorable dispositions he has sent Sieur Joncaire to Niagara and the Senecas, and, according to the news he shall receive, will dispatch M^{r} de Longueil to Onnontagué, where he has considerable influence.

Those of Sault S^{t} Louis and the Mountain have not responded to his intentions, though they have organized some successful parties. He hopes shortly to make them act with more vigor.

Father de La Chasse, Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, observes, that the fund of Two thousand livres, allowed from the Western Domain to assist the Abenaquis families whilst their husbands are at war, has, up to this time, produced a wonderful effect, but the hundred and fifty persons arrived from Naurantsouack require greater assistance; and if the war be continued this fund must be augmented by an equal sum, as well to assist the newly arrived families as to aid in supporting the wives and children of those who have been a long time

domiciled. This will induce the Warriors of the two villages of S[t] Francis and Becancourt, amounting to two hundred and eighty, to aid their brethren. But without such assistance, affairs will languish, and the Abenaquis, after some feeble efforts, becoming accustomed to Canada, and only occupying themselves with hunting and providing for their families, will forget their Country; those of the two villages of Panaoumské and Medocteck, who are contending for their lands, will abandon them, and the English will thereby become masters of their entire Country. The death of Father Rasle has not discouraged the Indians, but they have need of assistance, and the most effectual mode of furnishing it is, to comply with their wish for an additional two thousand livres.

This augmentation appears necessary, and should the King not create a new fund to meet that expense, it is proposed to take these two thousand livres from the four thousand granted out of the Domain to the General Hospital at Montreal, the appropriation whereof is to determine this year.

Abstract of M. de Vaudreuil's Despatch.

Abstract of M. de Vaudreuil's letter respecting the interview between the Abenakis and the Deputies from New England; with the approval of the Minister thereof. 7[th] August, 1725.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil reports that the Governors of Boston and of Pescadouët sent him some delegates to Montreal.

He knew from their commission to him that their business was limited to obtaining the surrender of the prisoners within his government, and demanding of him not to assist, nor to afford any aid to, the Abenakis and other Indians who are at war with the English.

In respect to the prisoners, he gave for answer that he should have those surrendered who were in the hands of Frenchmen, who had ransomed them from the Indians; and in regard to those with the Abenakis, he had not the disposal of them.

To the demand respecting the aid to these Indians, he answered, that he had never supplied them any, and that the annual presents to the Abenakis and all other Indians, our allies, to whom the King is graciously pleased to grant yearly some token of his benevolence, could not be looked upon in that light.

Those two objects not appearing to him of sufficient importance to justify the expense of such a deputation, he told the delegates that if they had nothing more important to communicate to him, he was surprised they should be put to the trouble of so long and perilous a journey; that they were free to return whenever they pleased; that he would furnish them an escort lest they might be attacked by any party of Abenakis; Whereupon they answered, that they had other matters to communicate to him.

On the next day, they presented him a memoir containing only the two first demands; some vague complaints regarding the assistance furnished the Abenakis, whose dependence on the Crown of England they attempted to prove.

They next gave him to understand that if these Indians wished to submit reasonable propositions to them, they would hear them; that the people were weary of this war, and that peace, or a suspension of hostilities, would be gratifying to both the one and the other.

They had spoken, at first, in so haughty a tone, that there was ground to distrust these proposals, and he was not in the humor to dispose the Abenakis to a peace.

However, he told these delegates that it appeared to him necessary to have an interview with the principal Indian Sachems, whom he offered to send for to Montreal, in order that they might come to a mutual understanding, and adopt measures to arrive at some conclusion. They appeared to desire this interview, but told him, at the same time, that though they might agree as to their facts, they could not regulate any thing, as they had not the necessary powers.

Being persuaded that nothing was more opposed to his Majesty's interests than peace between the Abenakis and the English, the safety of the Colony on its eastern frontier having been the sole object of this war, M. de Vaudreuil thought of sounding the chiefs of these Indians on their arrival and before they should speak to the English, and of insinuating to them that it was not enough to demand of the English the demolition of the forts they had built on Abenakis territory, and the restitution of their lands and prisoners, but that the death of Father Rasle and of a great number of their people whom they had killed, and the burning of their Church, ought to make them demand heavy indemnities, without which they ought not listen to any proposals for peace, or a suspension of hostilities.

That they were fully aware that the English were anxious to become masters of the entire continent; that not being able to attack the French of Canada openly, they attacked their Indian allies, and endeavored to encroach on their lands, not only on the sea-board, but also in the interior of the country, within a short distance of the River S^{t} Lawrence, so as to be in a position, on the first breaking out of hostilities, to render themselves masters of all Canada.

He found these Indians in the best possible disposition he could wish, to satisfy him of their being very far from desiring a peace.

The only advantage, in fact, that the Colony could derive from this peace would be, that by the demolition of the forts the English had constructed on the sea-board, and of the establishments they have erected on Abenakis territory, the English would be deprived of the means of advancing into the interior and of approaching our settlements on the South. shore of the S^{t} Lawrence. But this advantage would continue at farthest only until they should succeed in gaining over the Abenakis, which they might easily accomplish by making them considerable presents, and also by furnishing them goods and provisions at a cheap rate. And they would not experience any difficulty in obtaining the permission of these Indians to make new establishments on their lands, by making use of the pretext, that they were better able to supply their wants.

Though the Abenakis have not made any great progress during the war, those of Narantsouäc have, meanwhile, prevented the settlement of the English; the latter, however, will extend their establishments as far as they please, should they conclude peace with the Abenakis.

If they make it not, the latter can be usefully employed not only in that quarter, but also towards Canceau, where the English would establish themselves during the peace, and thus render it extremely difficult to expel them thence, whenever hostilities would break out. By uniting with the Abenakis and the Micmaks, we should be in a position to recover

Port Royal, and to render ourselves masters of Canceau, and of all we have lost in the East by the Treaty of Utrecht.

On these principles and with these views it is, that he also privately warned the English of the difficulties they might experience on the part of the Abenakis in concluding a peace.

At length, on the day appointed for the interview, the Chiefs of the Abenakis spoke with such haughtiness and firmness to the English, that, so far from agreeing together on any point, they separated with dispositions very adverse to peace.

The Englishmen took their departure two days afterwards. He considered that he could not avoid defraying their expenses, during their sojourn at Montreal, out of the King's funds, which they had done in regard to the officers sent three years ago to Boston.

He also ordered an escort to attend them, and shortly after their departure, was informed that they had met a party of Abenakis, who returned on learning that an escort had been furnished them by him.

He hopes that all he has done on this occasion will be approved.

It appears proper to approve what M. de Vaudreuil has done; it is of indispensable necessity to prevent the English becoming masters of the Abenakis country. The Colony would run serious risk, and nothing better can be done than to foment this war, which at least delays the settlements of the English.

[In the hand of the Minister is written:]

Approved.

Abstract of Despatches respecting Oswego, and the Minister's decision thereupon.

CANADA.

Letter of 25 May, 1725.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil observes, that he received intelligence on the eighth of December, that the English and Dutch had projected an establishment at the mouth of the Choüaguen river, on the banks of Lake Ontario, and pretty convenient to the post we have at Niagara.

The news of this establishment on territory which has been considered, from all time, to belong to France, appeared to him so much the more important as he was sensible of the difficulty of preserving Niagara, where there is no fort, should the English be once fortified at Choüaguen, and that the loss of Niagara would entail at the same time that of the entire Indian trade of the Upper Country; for these nations go the more readily to the English, as they obtain goods much cheaper, and as much Rum as they please, from them. It will be absolutely impossible to avoid furnishing Indians of the Upper country with some Liquor—though moderately—if it be desirable to prevent them carrying their peltries, and giving themselves up, to the English.

He suggests that, should the latter establish themselves at that post, nothing remains to be done but to fortify Niagara, as he is not in a position openly to oppose their designs when backed by the Iroquois.

He concerted with M. de Longueuil the measures to be adopted with these Indians, in order to induce them not to allow the English to establish themselves in that place by building a fort there. He afterwards examined, with M. Begon, what was necessary to be done for the security of the post of Niagara.

He proposed, first, to have two barks constructed to cruize on the lake, to prevent the trade of the English and serve for the transport of the necessary materials for the house they intend building at Niagara. This will not have the appearance of a fort, so that no offence will be given to the Iroquois, who have been unwilling to allow any there, but it will answer the purposes of a fort just as well.

M. Begon approved this project, and issued an ordinance prohibiting the selling of any canoes to the people of Orange, who had commissioned certain inhabitants of Montreal to purchase some for them at no matter what price.

He sent back M. Longueüil to Montreal to have the Iroquois notified that he was aware of the permission they had given the English to pass through their territory, and of the establishment the latter proposed making at Chouéguen; and that he (M. de L.) would visit them early in the spring to communicate what he (the Marquis) had to say to them.

M. de Longueüil wrote him in February, that the Iroquois of the Sault had nominated four of their Chiefs, and one of the Lake of the Two Mountains, to proceed to Orange to represent to the Dutch that they would not permit their establishment at Chouëguen, and that they should declare war against them if they went to settle there.

On the twelfth of March he repaired, on the ice, to Montreal, when he received confirmation of the English news, and learned that they and the Dutch had started with a large fleet of canoes for the mouth of Choüeguen river, on Lake Ontario, for the purpose of erecting the post on which they and the Iroquois had agreed; he believes he cannot prevent it, if they be backed by these Indians, with whom, he is aware, the King does not intend that he should risk the chance of a war.

The Sault Indians returned from Orange dissatisfied with their reception there. He forthwith dispatched M. de Longueüil to them, to the Iroquois, and thence to Choüeguen; instructed him to prevail on his Indians not to permit that settlement, and in case he could not persuade them to oppose it openly, to get them to remain neuter, and to hint to them, at the same time, that it is for their interest to sustain us at Niagara or to consent to our erecting a more solid and secure house than the one there.

In regard to the English, he gave orders to M. de Longueüil to summon them, in case he found them settled at Chouëguen, to retire on their own territory until their limits should be settled; in default whereof, he should adopt suitable measures to constrain them thereunto.

The projects set on foot by the English, since the Treaty of Utrecht, indicate that Canada is the object of their constant jealousy, and the Colony has not a more dangerous enemy. By means of underground belts they have managed the Outawas of the Upper Country, who are as much in their interest as they appear to be in ours. They have given these Indians to understand that all the Lakes belong to them, and that they have a right to trade there, as well as in the whole of the Upper country, into which, however, he has hitherto prevented them penetrating, notwithstanding all their attempts. He will continue openly to oppose whatever efforts they may make in that quarter, and flatters himself that he shall succeed.

The Boston government has disbursed, last year, sixty thousand livres to induce the Iroquois to wage war against the Abenakis. He has found means to thwart their design, and expects Deputies who are to give him new assurances on that point.

Should the Iroquois refuse to listen to M. de Longueuïl's proposals and declare openly for the English; should they desire to favor and support the establishments of the latter, and oppose the construction of our barks and of the house at Niagara, the Upper country trade must be absolutely abandoned, and we must anticipate the seizure of all the posts we have in that quarter, one after the other. In this extremity it would be impossible to preserve the Upper country otherwise than by force of arms, in which case there would be no need of Manifestos to show that the English have been the first to violate the Treaty of Peace. But as their force is at present numerically superior to that which we could oppose to them, and as the Indian Nations, whom they have almost wholly seduced by force of presents, might also declare for them, there is reason to apprehend that a war with them will be unavoidable.

He asks that extraordinary and considerable aid be sent him, both in money and munitions of war, and a large number of guns and pistols.

He also requires troops.

Letter of 10th June, 1725. M. Bégon, who is at Quebec, states that he has sent carpenters, blacksmiths and other mechanics, to build the two Barks; the timber has been cut, barked and sawed during the winter.

That M. de Longueüil has written to him from Fort Frontenac, the ninth of May, that no trading post had as yet been established at Choüeguen, and that all the Iroquois Chiefs, when assembled at Seneca, had concluded, in their Council, to forbid that establishment, and that they had sent a belt to the English, which has prevented the carrying out of that project.

He has also stated that he was about to set out for the Bay of the Cayugas,[1] where we would meet all the Iroquois; that being the most convenient rendezvous for all the tribes.

That Sieur de Jonquière, who returned from Seneca, and has come down to Quebec, told him that the Iroquois would not prevent the construction of our two barks, nor oppose the establishment at Niagara, only requiring that no stone fort should be erected there.

It appears from M. Bégon's letter, which was written twenty days after that of M. de Vaudreuil, who was at Montreal, that the latter had received news in the interval that M. de Longueüil's voyage had not been wholly fruitless. Particulars of it will be received in four months by the return of the King's ship.

In regard to aid, the season is too far advanced to think of it; and besides, M. de Vaudreuil's demands are so vague that it would be impossible to draw up any statement with certainty.

Meanwhile, it seems proper to write to him by the same ship that brought his letter, which sails from Bourdeaux about the twentieth of this month, approving of the measures he has adopted, and ordering him to oppose that establishment by force of arms if there be no other means to prevent it. This is to be determined in a Council he shall hold on this subject, to be composed of himself, of the Intendant, and of the Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers.

He is to be likewise informed, at the same time, that he must not come to any conclusion except in case of absolute necessity, because all wars are very expensive, very difficult to terminate, and will interrupt the Beaver and Peltry trade, which will be attended by great inconveniences.

[Lower down is written:]

Approved.

7th August, 1725.

[1] Sodus bay, Wayne county, N. Y. — Ed.

Report on the Affairs of Canada.

Abstract of the despatches of Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon respecting Oswego and Niagara, and vessels on Lake Ontario; with the decision of the Minister thereupon. 7 May, 1726.

Ever since the foundation of this Colony the French have always had the exclusive trade with the Indians of the Upper country, which forms part of New France.

The English did not think of going to trade there until the peace of Utrecht.

Their first attempts, not encountering any opposition, except some threats, induced them to suppose that by perseverance they will divide the trade of these countries with the French, and will succeed in persuading the Indians to expel us.

They adopt every means to accomplish their purpose; making presents to the Indians, furnishing them goods at a very low rate, and supplying them with Rum, which is their favorite beverage.

The late Marquis de Vaudreuil[1] gave notice, in 1725, of a post the English had projected in this Upper country, at the mouth of the Choueguen river, on the borders of Lake Ontario, and pretty convenient to our post at Niagara among the Iroquois.

To prevent this establishment, which he regarded as of dangerous consequence, he proposed, in concert with M. Begon, to build a stone house at Niagara, and also to construct two barks, to be sent thither, with materials, to prosecute trade afterwards, and to prevent the Indians conveying their peltries to the English.

He instructed Sieur de Longueuil, Governor of Montreal, to proceed to the Iroquois country, and to summon the English, should he find any of them established there, to withdraw, and requested some aid in money, ammunition and troops, in case he were obliged to come to any open rupture.

On the 7th of August, 1725, it was decided, on the whole of this subject, that the season was too far advanced to send reinforcements; that the demands of M. de Vaudreuil were too vague; that it was necessary to wait for advices of the result of Sieur de Longueuil's voyage; that meanwhile he [was to] oppose that establishment by force of arms, but not except in case of absolute necessity, and after having consulted with the principal officers.

Letter of 31 October, 1725. Messrs de Longueuil and Begon transmit the particulars of said Monsr de Longueuil's voyage.

He met 100 Englishmen, with more than 60 canoes, at the portage of the River Choueguen, four leagues from Lake Ontario, who obliged him to produce his pass, and showed him the Governor of New-York's order not to allow a single Frenchman to go by without a passport.

M. de Longueuil embraced this opportunity to reproach the Iroquois chiefs then present with being no longer masters of their territory. It succeeded; they broke out against the

[1] Philip de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was the son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil who was killed on the field of battle at Luzara in 1702. He entered the army very young, and died at Quebec on the 10th October, 1725. The sorrow which was manifested at his death by the inhabitants, says Smith (*History of Canada*, I., 188, 190), was proportionate to the satisfaction which had been displayed when he was first appointed to the government, over which he presided for 21 years, and the fortunate events which took place during that period, were, in a great degree, derived from his vigilance, firmness and good conduct, and from the success which almost uniformly accompanied all his enterprises. The following was the inscription on his coffin: Cy gist le haut et puissant Seigneur Messire Phillipe Rigaud, de Marquis Vaudreuil, Grand Croix de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Governeur et Lieutenant-Général de toute la Nouvelle France, décédé le dixiéme Octobre, 1725. — Ed.

English, whom they told they would not suffer any more, having permitted them to come there only to trade. They even promised him to remain neuter in case of war with the English.

He repaired next to Onontagué, an Iroquois village, and found the Deputies from the other 4 villages there waiting for him; he got them to consent to the construction of 2 barks, and to the erection of a stone house at Niagara, the plan of which he designed. They send this plan, with an estimate of the cost, amounting to 29,295ll.

They consider it of the greatest consequence to urge forward this work, which ought to be commenced this spring. They expect that it will be finished this fall, with the aid of the 100 soldiers they intend to dispatch thither as well as to labor as to stop the Canoes of the English. They request that the funds be remitted.

Sieur de Longueuil, in the course of his voyage, met more than 100 Indian canoes conveying peltries to the English, and carrying back Rum.

He also met a number of canoes belonging to the Nepissing and Sault Indians, coming from Lake Huron, and going to trade with the English.

All the proceedings of the English demonstrate their desire to penetrate into the Upper countries, and to make a settlement at Niagara, with a view to prevent the one we intend establishing at that point. They have even been within a league and a half of Fort Frontenac, and have drawn almost all the Indians thither by their Rum, which caused considerable injury to the trade of those two posts.

He has learned from another source, that the English of Carolina had built two houses and some stores on a Little River[1] which flows into the Ouabache, where they trade with the Miamis and the Ouyatanons, other Indians of the Upper country.

All these expeditions convince them of the indispensable necessity the French are under, to pillage and expel the English by open force, and put them to death in case they resist. They await positive orders to that effect, as delay may be prejudicial to the Colony.

M. de Longueuil says that after making this establishment at Niagara, it will be necessary to make another at the mouth of the Choueguen river, into which all the Iroquois rivers fall. The barks would go and anchor without any risk under the fort to be constructed there, by means whereof they would monopolize all the trade with the Iroquois, and prevent the English prosecuting any commerce on the borders of Lake Ontario.

> From all that precedes, it is more and more obvious that the English are endeavoring to interlope among all the Indian Nations, and to attract them to themselves. They entertain constantly the idea of becoming masters of North America, persuaded that the European nation which will be possessor of that section, will, in course of time, be also master of all America, because it is there alone that men live in health, and produce strong and robust children.
>
> They are endeavoring to form alliances with the Indians of the Continent, in order to expel us from it on the breaking out of the first war, being perfectly aware, since we are fortifying Isle Royale,[2] that they cannot otherwise maintain their position.
>
> The question is to prevent them accomplishing their design, for which purpose two means only remain.

[1] The head waters of the Wabash in Illinois, near Fort Wayne.

[2] Cape Breton was called, at first, Cape Island; next English Harbor Island (Louisburg having borne the name of English Harbor). As the island was discovered by navigators of Brittany, it was maintained that its most appropriate name was Cape Breton, but in 1713 it was called Isle Roïale, or Royal Island. *Pichon. Charlevoix.* — Ed.

The first is, to restore the 25 licenses formerly granted every year, for the purpose of trading with the Indian Nations. They had been reëstablished in 1717, but were suppressed owing to the abuse of them in Canada.

It is to be hoped, on a second occasion, that the Marquis de Beauharnois will not make a bad use of them.

By means of these licenses, 75 men will proceed annually to the Upper Tribes; their voyage occupies, ordinarily, 18 months; they go there only for the purpose of trading with the Indians, and will take great pains to prevent the English interfering with that commerce; it is even probable that the latter will fear to trust themselves there, through the apprehension of being attacked or plundered.

The second means is, to furnish the Indians with Brandy.

The Missionaries did by their zeal obtain several years ago the prohibition of the article among them, but as the English supply them with as much Rum as they please, the same evil is produced that was expected to be avoided by its prohibition.

'Tis true that the Indians are crazy when drunk, and when they have once tasted Brandy, that they give all they possess to obtain some more, and drink it to excess. There are, however, some among them, as among other people, who are not slaves to drink.

The Missionaries will complain that this permission destroys the Indians, and the Religion among them. But apart from the fact that they will always have Rum from the English, the question is, whether it be better that the English penetrate into the Continent by favor of that Rum which attracts the Indians to them, than to suffer the French to furnish them with Liquor, in order to preserve these nations, and to prevent them declaring eventually in favor of the English.

For all these reasons, it is deemed proper to restore the 25 licenses; to permit those who will purchase them to convey some Brandy to sell to the Nations, and even to give some to the Indians who will come down to the Colony, to carry home.

To continue the prohibition against furnishing them any to drink in the Colony, and against making them intoxicated, so as to avoid the consequences which may happen with these people when drunk.

'Tis proper to add hereunto, that the Governor must ever have in view to expel the English, through the instrumentality of the Iroquois, from their post within 4 leagues of the shores of Lake Ontario. These Indians ought to be made to understand that the design of the English is to subdue them, by cutting off their communication with the French; and the Commandants at the posts must be ordered to instigate Indians to plunder the English traders, whenever it comes to their ears that such intrude into the interior of the Continent.

It would appear expedient, nevertheless, to suspend the absolute permission of trading in Brandy until the reception of the news expected at the end of the year, by leaving M. de Beauharnois at liberty to allow Voyageurs to carry a certain quantity with them, according as he shall deem it prudent, after conferring with the Intendant, the Governor of Montreal, and the other persons he shall think proper to consult on the subject. 'Tis proper, also, that he speak of it to the Superior of the Missions, in order to reconcile this affair, which requires a great deal of management.

It appears that by restoring these licenses, we shall be enabled to make those to whom they will be granted pay 250^{li} a piece for them, which will produce 6,250^{li},

that can be applied to the enceinte of Montreal, in which case it will be proper to suppress the awarding of the post of Temiscaming.

It seems necessary to forego, this year, the grant of 29,295ll, and 13,090ll for the house at Niagara and the construction of the two barks.

Approved on the preceding conditions.

Abstract of Messrs. de Longueuil and Begon's Despatches.

CANADA. On the War between the English of Boston and their Indian neighbors.

Letter of 31st 8ber, 1725. Messrs de Longueuil and Begon state that the domiciliated Abenaquis had proposed to the English to come and negotiate a peace in presence of M. de Vaudreuil, not wishing to treat at Boston respecting it, and that they have not had any answer, as the English merely sent back two Indian prisoners to the Abenaquis village of Panaomské to prevail on their brethren to send deputies to Fort St George to negotiate the peace.

They succeeded in that point; many Indians attended; they negotiated a general peace, and two of the Chiefs went to Boston.

The propositions of the Governor of Boston were:

1st That they should receive the peace as a favor, and acknowledge themselves subjects of the Crown of England.

2nd That none of the forts erected by the English should be razed, the furthest one of which is fifteen leagues from their village, inasmuch as by the Treaty of Utrecht the English claimed to be masters of all the Coasts and lands from Boston to Ile Royale.

3d That they would be bound to make all the other Indians, even those domiciliated in Canada, parties to this peace.

One of the two Indians deputed to Boston, accompanied by ten of his tribe, came to Quebec with a Belt to M. de Vaudreuil, to ask him to consent to this peace.

They brought a Belt also to each of the villages of Abenaquis and Hurons domiciliated in Canada, to induce them to accept those propositions.

M. de Vaudreuil's answer was, that this war did not concern the French; that it concerned themselves, and that they ought to prevent the English taking away their lands; that he was surprised at the proceedings of these of Panaomské, who, like the other Abenaquis, had promised not to listen to any proposal for peace, except in the Colony and in his presence.

In regard to the domiciliated Abenaquis and Hurons, they refused the Belts and said they wished to continue the war. They are able to do it. They will probably continue to harrass the English, as they have done of late on some occasions, accompanied by the Indians of Naurantsouack, and that those of Panaomské may be brought, by that means, to join them at the solicitation of their Missionary, as the greater number of them are good Catholics.

Those of Panaomské and of the River St John may be prevented continuing the war by the circumstance that they are in the vicinity of the English of Boston and Port Royal, and cannot receive any succor by sea, because the English, who claim the East Coast to be theirs, would surprise whatever vessels might be sent thither.

Again, another reason that has determined these Indians to consent to the peace is, that they have been prevailed on by Sieur Gaulin, Missionary of the Micmacks, who has induced the latter, also, to make their peace.

It is, however, most important that the Mickmacks prosecute the war, because, by joining the Abenaquis of the River S^{t} John, they would derange considerably the English fisheries. These Indians are conveniently situated to receive the necessary succors from Isle Royale.

It appears proper to approve what M. de Vaudreuil has done, to continue to order the fomenting this war as much as possible, it being important to prevent the English becoming masters of the Abenaquis country, inasmuch as such would seriously endanger the Colony.

To write to M. de S^{t} Ovide respecting the reported proceedings of Sieur Gaulin, Missionary of the Micmacks; to order him also to stir up hostilities on the part of the Indians against the English. All that will possibly retard at least the settlements of the English, whilst waiting more favorable conjunctures.

7th May, 1726. Approved.

Instructions to the Marquis de Beauharnois.

Extract from the Memoir of the King to serve as Instruction to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France.

Versailles, 7th of May, 1726.

His Majesty is persuaded that the Marquis de Beauharnois,[1] whom he has selected as Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France, possesses every quality necessary for the government of the vast countries and different peoples confided to his care.

The Indian Nations inhabiting them exact continual foresight and attention to make them live in peace, and to prevent the Europeans, who occupy the same Continent, penetrating and carrying on a trade among them, which hitherto has been the property of France. He will require firmness to maintain the possessions of France against those neighbors who, for a long time, have been endeavoring to encroach thereon.

It is necessary to blend mildness, justice and disinterestedness with this firmness, in the government of the French inhabiting the Colony, who are more inclined to run loose in the woods, and to live like Indians, than to cultivate and remain on their farms.

In order to succeed in all these different points, it must be his first duty, and one which his Majesty desires he should perform with most heartiness, to satisfy what relates to Religion, whence flows the blessing to be expected from Heaven, without which nothing can prosper. It is his Majesty's will that the Marquis de Beauharnois particularly employ the authority vested in him to promote, as much as will be in his power, the service of God throughout the

[1] Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, was the natural son of Louis XIV. He succeeded M. de Champigny in 1702 as Intendant of Canada, and in 1705 was appointed Director of the Marine classes in France, and was captain of a man of war when selected by Louis XV. to be Governor of Canada. He held the latter office until 1747. — Ed.

entire Colony, and the spread of the Christian religion over all the Indians. To this end, he must be aiding in all ways to the Missionaries, to the Jesuits and Friars, who are laboring for the salvation of souls, conducting himself therein in such wise that he shall avoid exciting any jealousy among them.

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What has hitherto most essentially retarded the increase of the trade of the Colony has been the commerce the English have prosecuted there; the facility and laxity with which they have been too long tolerated in Montreal have afforded them an opportunity of introducing prohibited goods there, and supplied them with means to form associations, and to adopt measures to divert to the English Colonies the greatest part of the Beaver, so that they have profited from a trade and advantage which must belong to his Majesty's Subjects, and which created a great prejudice against the manufacturers of the Kingdom. This complaisance, entertained in their favor, may inflict a still greater damage on the Colony than that of the trade, because the English, alive to what can augment their possessions, acquire information respecting the Country that may, in time of war, be most prejudicial. His Majesty recommends Sieur de Beauharnois to concur with Sieur Dupuy in all that will tend to destroy the trade of the English in the Colony, and to pay strict attention to the execution of the ordinances concerning fraudulent trade, and the use of foreign and prohibited goods. As the English are never at a loss for a pretext to visit Montreal and the other towns of the Colony, and as commerce is their principal object, he shall also pay attention that their sojourn there, for what cause or reason soever, be restricted to 2 days, and that such wholesome orders be issued for the examination of their proceedings during their sojourn and return, that they cannot abuse their privilege. This attention is of sufficient importance to merit particular watchfulness.

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Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Dupuy.

Extract from the Memoir of The King to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor and Lieutenant-general, and to Sieur Dupuy, Indendant of New France.

Versailles, 14th May, 1726.

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The late Marquis de Vaudreuil, and M. Begon reported, up to the month of May of last year, some intelligence they had received that the English were desirous to settle a post at the mouth of the River Choueguen, on the borders of Lake Ontario, and pretty convenient to his Majesty's post at Niagara. This undertaking of the English, which they look upon as of a dangerous consequence to the Colony and to Trade, determined them to cause the erection of a stone house at Niagara, and to have two Barks built at Fort Frontenac for the transportation of the necessary materials [across] Lake Ontario [and to] hinder the Indians conveying their peltries to the English. M. de Vaudreuil sent Sieur de Longeuil to the Iroquois to prevent the English establishment and to prevail on those Nations to consent to the construction of the two barks, and to the erection of the stone house at Niagara. His Majesty has learned, from

the report transmitted by Sieurs de Longueil and Begon of the success of the voyage, that M. de Longeuil found 100 Englishmen with more than 60 canoes at the portage of the River Choueguen, within 4 leagues of Lake Ontario; that they made him produce the passport he had from Sieur de Vaudreuil, which circumstance shocked some Iroquois chiefs there present, who declared to the English that they would not suffer them any longer in that place. The 5 Iroquois Nations assembled at Onontagué consented to the erection of the stone House at Niagara, and to the building of the two Barks, and promised him that they would remain neuter, in case of hostilities with the English. The two barks have been constructed, and Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon have adopted measures for the completion of the house in the month of October. M. de Longeuil has even sent 100 soldiers to Niagara, as well for the purpose of advancing the work as for stopping the canoes of the English who will undertake to trade on Lake Ontario.

Ever since the foundation of the Colony, the French exclusively have traded with the Indians of the Upper country, which forms a part of New France, and the English did not think of going there to trade until the Treaty of Utrecht. Their first attempts to do so were opposed by menaces only, which led them only to imagine that, by continuing, they would succeed in sharing the commerce of those countries with the French, and even in excluding the latter therefrom by means of the Indians. To effect this they employ every means, either by making presents to the Indians, or by furnishing them goods cheap, and supplying them with Rum which is their favorite beverage.

His Majesty being more and more convinced by the schemes and proceedings of the English, that they design penetrating among all the Indian Nations, and attracting them to themselves with the view to become, by that means, masters of all North America, persuaded that the European Nation which will be mistress of that portion will, in course of time, be in possession of the entire of America. With that conviction, they labor to form alliances with the Indians of the Continent, in order to bring them against the French in the next war, and to render themselves masters of the whole country, being fully sensible that they cannot, otherwise, maintain themselves in the greatest portion of it, since His Majesty has caused Ile Royale to be fortified.

As it is proper to prevent the execution of their projects and to restore trade to its position previous to their schemes, his Majesty has thought fit to reëstablish the 25 annual licenses which were formerly granted for the purpose of trading with the Indian Nations, and the distribution of which was discontinued in consequence of the repeated abuse of them that ensued. His Majesty has the more readily determined on the reëstablishment, as, besides its tending to thwart the schemes of the English, he is persuaded that Sieur de Beauharnois' disinterestedness and vigilance will prevent the occurrence of any thing contrary to his Majesty's intentions and the issue of any more than the prescribed number of licenses. He most expressly forbids such on any pretence whatsoever. He recommends him to distribute these licenses, which are to be countersigned by Sieur Dupuy, among such poor families of the country as he shall deem to have the most need of them.

Sieur de Beauharnois must always have in view the expulsion of the English from their post on the River Choueguen. He will make use, for that purpose, of the Iroquois, whom he will give to understand that it is the intention of the English to conquer them by cutting off their communication with the French, and he will order the Commandants at all the posts to get the Indians to pillage the English traders in case they hear of any in the interior of the

Continent. It is to be hoped that by these means, and by the intervention of the people who will make the most of the 25 licenses yearly, the English will be deterred from going to trade to the Upper countries by the apprehension of being insulted and plundered.

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The Duke of Newcastle to the Hon. Horatio Walpole.

Translation of the letter written by the Duke of Newcastle to Mr Walpole.

Whitehall, 16th May (O. S.), 1726.

Sir,

I transmitted you, about a year ago, copies of divers letters and papers touching a fort built by the French at Niagara, a country appertaining to the Five Nations of Indians, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain. You received at the same time orders from the late King to apply to the Court of France for the demolition of the said fort as it was erected in contravention of the fifteenth artitle of the Treaty of Utrecht; immediately afterwards you sent me copy of a Memoir which you had presented to the Cardinal[1] on that subject. Both that Memoir and his Eminence's answer to you, promising to give orders to examine this matter, and to decide accoring to justice, led us to expect that there would not be any more cause for complaint, but as, instead of seeing it remedied, His Majesty has been advised that the French think of encroaching still further on the countries under his obedience in said quarter, he has deemed it expedient that you again apply to the Court of France to induce it to transmit the most precise orders to the Governor of Canada to abstain from attempting any thing contrary to the Treaties, so that all these differences between the subjects of the two Crowns may be terminated in such a manner that the Indians may visit each other without molestation, and the 5 Nations receive such encouragement and protection from his Majesty as they must naturally expect from their Sovereign.

It becomes so much the more necessary to bring this subject again before the Court of France, inasmuch as the Governor of Canada has absolutely demanded the demolition of a fort which Mr Burnett, late Governor of New-York, had caused to be erected on the river, or lake, Osegego, for the protection of our trade in those parts; and this, at the same time that the former persists in maintaining the fort of Niagara, notwithstanding both the forts in question are built on territory appertaining to the aforesaid Five Nations, who donated it to his Majesty in the year 1726, in fuller testimony of their entire submission and ample obedience to the Crown of Great Britain. In order to afford you further light, Sir, respecting the case of the new fort, erected on the River Osegego, I transmit you copies of Mr Burnett's despatch to the Board of Trade of the correspondence between the former and the Governor of Canada, and of the despatch the Lords Commissioners of said Board of Trade addressed to me, by

[1] Cardinal de Fleury, who had been previously preceptor to the King, succeeded at the age of seventy-three the Duke de Bourbon Condé as Prime Minister of France, in 1726. He died in January, 1743. *Abregé de l'Histoire de France a l'usage de l'Ecole Militaire*, 1829, Part II., 164. 171. — Ed.

which you will please remark how strongly they are convinced not only that such a proceeding is wholly unjustifiable, but of the great importance it is to his Majesty's interest and service that these points which concern America may be regulated and settled in a certain and effectual, though mild and friendly manner, as required by the intimate union and happy correspondence which exist between the two Crowns.

Governor Burnet to M. de Longueuil. 5th July, 1726.

[For this Document, see V., 802.]

M. de Longueuil to Governor Burnet. 16th August, 1726.

[For this Document, see V., 802.]

Boundary between New-York and Canada; the Iroquois, &c.

Extracts of despatches written by the Governor and Intendant of Canada, respecting the limits with the English and on the Iroquois. 1716–1726.

Letter of the 28th *of April*, 1716.—M. de Ramezay has observed that it would be desirable to regulate the limits between France and England.

That if the latitude of the lands and of the rivers flowing into Lake Ontario, be adhered to, 3 of the Iroquois villages will be found within the territory of New France, and only two on English territory.

That the English make use of every means to win over the Indian Nations that are attached to us, by persuading all those of the South that they are located on their territory, even as far as Detroit, though France be in possession of the Illinois, Miamis and Ouyatanons since the foundation of the Colony, without experiencing any opposition on the part of the English.

It has been decided that M. de Vaudreuil should maintain himself with mildness in all the countries belonging to France, until the limits be settled by Commissioners on the spot.

Letter of 1717. *The Marquis de Vaudreuil.*—The English Governors make use of every means to gain over the Indians.

He of New-York tries to draw all our Indians of the Upper country to Orange to trade.

Complained that the French had built a trading house among the Iroquois Nations, on the frontiers of his government, and that they wished to erect a fort there in contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht. M. de Vaudreuil answered him, that there was no question of a fort; that 'twas true he had, at the solicitation of the Iroquois, constructed, for the accommodation of trade, a house in their vicinity on the borders of Lake Ontario, at a place called Fort de Sable from our having in former times a fort of that name there, in the same way as we had another at Niagara, on the same side. That there was no contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht in that, the limits between the two Crowns not having been regulated, and France having always occupied the south shores of Lake Ontario.

He has had no reply from that governor.

Letter of the 28th *of October*, 1717.—M. de Vaudreuil has remarked that the chiefs of the 5 Iroquois Nations had come to Montreal to bewail the death of Louis XIV.

The Orator, who was one of the Chiefs, expressed how affected the 5 Nations were by this death.

Told M. de Vaudreuil that they were extremely anxious to live at peace with him; requested him to permit Sieurs de Longueuil, the father and son, de Joncaire and de Chauvignerie, whom they had adopted, to go to their Villages.

That he was satisfied this arrangement was not pleasing to the English, but that must not embarrass him, as they were masters of their own lands, and wished their children to be the masters thereof also, and range freely over them.

That Louis XIV. had shown them great kindness, and they hoped his successor regarded them as his children; they implored his protection, and that he would please put forth the strength of his arm to protect them from attacks meditated against them.

That they demanded the same favor for all those of the Sault St Louis, Saut au Récollet, the Abenaquis, the Outaouis, the Nepissirians, and all their other brethren.

Letter of the 26th *October*, 1720. *Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon.*—The English have proposed to a chief of the Iroquois settled at Niagara to establish a permanent trading post there, and to divide the profits that might accrue.

This post would put them in a position to purchase most of the peltries of both the French and Indians, who are in the Upper country. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Begon sent Sieur de Joncaire thither, for whom the Indians themselves had built a log hut.

The English being advised thereof, used every effort to have this house pulled down, and with this view sent the Commandant of Orange to the Seneca village for the purpose of prevailing on these Indians to oppose it, but could not succeed.

Letter of the 8th *of October*, 1721. *Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Begon.*—Notice that 200 Englishmen are about to start from Orange to pull down the house erected at Niagara, and to build a fort there; for this purpose they had enrolled in their party four of the 5 Iroquois Nations, to wit: the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onontagués and Cayugas, whom they gained over by considerable presents. But that the Senecas, who are the fifth, and most numerous Tribe, had rejected the proposal the other 4 Tribes had made, to join them, threatening to wage war against the English, should they persist in going to Niagara. This mollified these 4 Nations, and determined them not to take sides with the English.

Letter of the 22nd May, 1725.—Mr de Vaudreuil states that the English had proposed a settlement at the mouth of the River Chouguen, on the banks of Lake Ontario, a territory which had been always considered to belong to France.

It became necessary for him to prevent this, because, should they establish themselves there, it would be impossible to preserve the Niagara post, and the loss of this would entail that of the whole trade with the Indians of the Upper country.

The course that he adopted in concert with M. Begon was, to have two barks constructed on Lake Ontario.

He sends M. de Longueuil to the Iroquois. This officer got the Iroquois to go to Orange to represent to the English that they would not tolerate their settlement at Choueguen.

M. de Longueuil observes that all the Iroquois Chiefs assembled at Seneca had resolved in their Council to prevent this establishment, and had sent a Belt to the English, which put a stop to its execution.

Sieur de Jonquaire, returning from Seneca, assures that the Iroquois will not hinder the building of our barks, nor the establishment of the house at Niagara.

The English have given them 20,000 crowns *(écus)* to join their side.

Letter of the 31st of October, 1725. *Messrs de Longueuil and Begon.*—Notify that Sieur de Longueuil met 100 Englishmen with over 60 canoes at the portage of the River Choueguen, 4 leagues from Lake Ontario, who made him produce his passport. The Iroquois chiefs present at this proceeding were angry with the English, told them they would not tolerate them any more on their territory, having permitted them to come there only to trade, but they must not advance so far in the River Choueguen as they were doing, as they had not given them permission to go any farther than the fall of Gastonchiagué, 6 leagues from the Lake, telling them they did not give them the land, but only loaned it to them.

Sieur de Longueuil goes next to Onontagué, an Iroquois village, where he meets the Deputies of 4 other villages, who were waiting for him.

These Deputies consent to the building of the two barks, and to the erection of a stone house at Niagara.

Note.—The 2 barks were constructed in 1725.

The house was commenced the same year, and finished in 1726.

Letter of the 25th July, 1726. *M. de Longueuil.*—Writes that the English are uneasy at, and suspicious of, this establishment. They have made an unsuccessful application to the Iroquois to destroy it.

Letter of the 25th September, 1726. *The Marquis de Beauharnois.*—New attempts of the English on the 5 Iroquois Nations.

These Indians answer, that they in vain trouble them again about the same thing; that they do not regret having given their consent to that establishment, and if it offend them, the English may go and pull it down, or have an explanation about it with their father Onontio.

The English reply, that they also will build a house at Niagara opposite that of their father Onontio, and demand their consent; To which the Indians made answer, let them settle it with Onontio; as for them, they will not interfere.

Another deputation from the English Governor to the Iroquois; he invites them to repair to Orange, goes to meet them, but do not alter their resolution in any respect, and reject all his proposals.

Letter of the 25th of October, 1726. *The Marquis de Beauharnois.*—Tegarioguen, Chief of the Indians of Saut St Louis, returning from Orange, where he assisted at the Council which the Governor held with the Iroquois Chiefs, has reported that these Indians had said, that though they had consented to the erection of the post at Niagara, they did not believe that Onontio would build a fort there; but if it were displeasing to the King of England, he had but to write to him.

That after divers discourses and presents to these Indians, they had promised to pull this house down in the spring.

Further news from the Indians.—The English have bribed the Iroquois to get rid of *(se défaire du)* Jonquaire, commandant at Niagara, and to destroy that house.

The English have sent belts to the Indians of Saut St Louis, of the Lake of Two Mountains, the Algonquins and Nepissings, to invite them to remain quiet when the Iroquois will pull down this house.

NOTE.—Sieur Chaussegros, Engineer, states that he has built this house on the ancient site of the fort erected by M. d'Enonville, formerly Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France, in 1686.

Duke of Newcastle to the Hon. Horatio Walpole.

Copy of the letter of the Duke of Newcastle to his Excellency Mr Walpole.

White Hall, 11th of April, 1727.

Sir,

I send your Excellency, by order of the King, a despatch I recently received from Mr. Burnet, Governor of New-York,[1] in which he states that the French have built a fort at Niagara, on the land of one of the Six Nations, at the place through which they must go to their own hunting Country, and by which place all the Far Indians must pass to make their trade in the province of New-York, so that the French can always, whenever they please, hinder and molest the trade of these Indians, which would be directly contrary to the 15th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht. I send you, also, a copy of the correspondence between Mr. Burnet and the Governor of Canada, with divers papers which accompany them, together with a copy of the letter that the Lords Commissioners of Trade have addressed me on this subject. All these papers will inform you thoroughly of this affair.

It is of the highest importance for his Majesty's interests in those parts that this matter should be attended to, and that we should have mutual explanations thereupon. These Indians are, notwithstanding what the Governor of Canada says to the contrary in the aforesaid letter, really his Majesty's subjects, and must be so accounted, and as such must be upheld and protected by the King, as far as the treaties between Great Britain and France permit. This is his Majesty's reason for urging your Excellency to place this subject in its full light, when you will speak of it to the Ministers of the Court of France, and to use all the

[1] *Supra*, V., 803.—ED.

necessary arguments to prevail on them to dispatch orders to the officer commanding in Canada to demolish that fort, and his Majesty doubts not but they will comply as soon as they shall be informed precisely of the state of this affair.

15. Art.

Galliæ subditi Canadam incolentes alii que quinque nationes sive Cantones Indorum magnæ Britaniæ Imperio Subjectas, ut et ceteros Americæ indigenas eidem amicitiâ conjunctos, nullo in posterum impedimento aut molestiâ aficiant; Pariter magnæ Britaniæ subditi cum Americanis, galliæ vel subditi vel amicis pacifico se gerent et utriq: Commercii causâ frequentandi, libertate plenâ gaudebunt. Sicut pari cum libertate regionum istarum indigenæ Colonias Britannicas et Gallicas, ad promovendum hinc inde commercium pro lubitu adibunt, absq; ullâ ex parte subditorum Britannicorum seu Gallicorum molestiâ aut Impedimento quinam vero Britanniæ seu Galliæ subditi et amici censeantur ac censeri debeant, id per Comissarios accurate distincte que describendum erit.

15th Article.

The subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall in future give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to the dominion of Great Britain, nor to the other natives of America who are in friendly alliance with them. In like manner, the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends of France, and they shall enjoy, on both sides, full liberty of resort for purposes of Trade. Also the natives of these Countries shall, with equal freedom, resort, as they please, to the British and French Colonies, for promoting trade on one side and the other, without any molestation or hindrance on the part either of British or French subjects; but who are, and who ought to be, accounted subjects and friends of Britain or of France is a matter to to be accurately and distinctly settled by Commissioners.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Dupuy.

Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor and Lieutenant general, and to Sieur Dupuy, Intendant of New France.

Versailles, 29th of April, 1727.

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His Majesty has been pleased to learn the construction of the house at Niagara, and of the two barks at Fort Frontenac, without any opposition on the part of the Iroquois, whatever steps the English may have taken to induce them to thwart it. His Majesty has had cognizance of the motives which have determined Sieur Chaussegros, the Engineer, to locate that house at the mouth of the Niagara river, on the site of the former fort, and has approved thereof, because it will afford the means of preventing the English going to trade on the North shore of Lake Ontario, and seizing on that river which is the passage to the Upper countries.

However, as this house does not command the portage, which it is important to secure in order to prevent the English going that way to the Upper countries, his Majesty has approved

the proposal submitted by Sieurs de Beauharnois and Dupuy to rebuild the old house which stood at the portage, according to the plan thereof transmitted by them. His Majesty will cause to be appropriated in next year's Estimate of the Western Domain, the sum of 20,430ᴴ, the amount of the expense, according to the divers estimates they have sent, and as the principal house at the mouth of the river must have been finished this spring, his Majesty's intention is that Sieurs de Beauharnois and Duypuy adopt measures to rebuild the old house next Autumn. This they will find the more easy, as the two barks built at Fort Frontenac will aid considerably in transporting materials. His Majesty agrees with them in opinion that the Iroquois will not take any umbrage at this, for besides being considered only as the reconstruction of the house already there, it will be used, at least during the peace, only for Trade. They will, meanwhile, adopt with those Indians such precautions as they shall consider necessary, to neutralize any new impressions of distrust the English will not fail to insinuate among them on this occasion. This must prompt them to have the work pushed on with the greatest possible diligence.

His Majesty appreciates all the importance of the proposals submitted by them to build a fort and house at the mouth of the River Choueguen, so as to prevent ingress and egress into Lake Ontario. The attempts of the English to form an establishment at that point, and the considerable amount of trade they have driven there, these last years, to the prejudice of the commerce of the Colony and that of Niagara and Fort Frontenac, renders it necessary to anticipate them, the more especially as, should they once succeed in establishing themselves permanently there, they would have all the advantages of the Upper country trade, and their post would favor the fraudulent commerce to which his Majesty wishes to put a stop, as far as circumstances will permit. All these reasons would have determined his Majesty, from the moment, to order the erection of this fort and house, were he not convinced of the impropriety of undertaking so many things at once, and of the necessity, first of all, to secure the post at Niagara by the rebuilding of the old house.

He will, after that, be able to authorize that of Choueguen, when Sieurs de Beauharnois and Dupuy shall have transmitted the plan and estimate, to which they will be able to attend this year. Meanwhile, his intention is, that they use every means to prevent the English establishing themselves there, and to dispose the Iroquois not to object to our establishment when ordered, by giving them to understand that the English have no other object in view than to enslave all the Nations, and to become, themselves, masters of the Continent and of the entire trade, whilst his Majesty's views tend only to the maintenance of liberty, and the preservation of a trade which belongs to France, and which the English seek to seize. This business is to be treated with delicacy and great secrecy, and Sieur de Beauharnois will entrust it to the officer whom he knows to be best qualified to insure its success.

In regard to the news received by the Marquis de Beauharnois from Sieur de la Corne, that the Iroquois, as he had been informed by an Indian returning from Orange, had promised the English governor to raze the house at Niagara, and that they were bribed to rid themselves of Sieur de Jonquaire, the commandant there; Though no credit is to be attached to the news of Indians, who most commonly retail what is false, his Majesty has approved of the order issued by Sieur de Beauharnois to M. de Longueuil, Governor of Montreal, to send word to Sieur de Jonquaire to ascertain the truth from themselves and to prevent the accomplishment of their designs, in case these should be bad.

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Indian Explanation of the Treaty of Casco Bay.

Treaty of Peace concluded at Caskebay[1] between the Indians of the Village of Panaouamsqué and the English, the [4th] August, 1727.

I, Panaouamskeyen, do inform ye—Ye who are scattered all over the earth take notice—of what has passed between me and the English in negotiating the peace that I have just concluded with them. It is from the bottom of my heart that I inform you; and, as a proof that I tell you nothing but the truth, I wish to speak to you in my own tongue.

My reason for informing you, myself, is the diversity and contrariety of the interpretations I receive of the English writing in which the articles of Peace are drawn up that we have just mutually agreed to. These writings appear to contain things that are not, so that the Englishman himself disavows them in my presence, when he reads and interprets them to me himself.

I begin then by informing you; and shall speak to you only of the principal and most important matter.

First, that I did not commence the negotiation for a peace, or settlement, but he, it was, who first spoke to me on the subject, and I did not give him any answer until he addressed me a third time. I first went to Fort St George to hear his propositions, and afterwards to Boston, whither he invited me on the same business.

We were two that went to Boston; I, Laurence Sagouarrab, and John Ehennekouit. On arriving there I did indeed salute him in the usual mode at the first interview, but I was not the first to speak to him. I only answered what he said to me, and such was the course I observed throughout the whole of our interview.

He began by asking me, what brought me hither? I did not give him for answer—I am come to ask your pardon; nor, I come to acknowledge you as my conqueror; nor, I come to make my submission to you; nor, I come to receive your commands. All the answer I made was, that I was come on his invitation to me to hear the propositions for a settlement that he wished to submit to me.

Wherefore do we kill one another? he again asked me 'Tis true that, in reply, I said to him—You are right. But I did not say to him, I acknowledge myself the cause of it, nor I condemn myself for having made war on him.

He next said to me, Propose what must be done to make us friends. 'Tis true that thereupon I answered him—It is rather for you to do that. And my reason for giving him that answer is, that having himself spoken to me of an arrangement, I did not doubt but he would make me some advantageous proposals. But I did not tell him that I would submit in every respect to his orders.

Thereupon, he said to me—Let us observe the treaties concluded by our Fathers, and renew the ancient friendship which existed between us. I made him no answer thereunto; much less, I repeat, did I, become his subject, or give him my land, or acknowledge his King as my King. This I never did, and he never proposed it to me. I say, he never said to me—Give thyself and thy land to me, nor acknowledge my King for thy King, as thy ancestors formerly did.

[1] For the treaty, see *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, II., 260.—Ed.

He again said to me—But do you not recognize the King of England as King over all his states? To which I answered—Yes, I recognize him King of all his lands; but, I rejoined, do not hence infer that I acknowledge thy King as my King, and King of my lands. Here lies my distinction—my Indian distinction. God hath willed that I have no King, and that I be master of my lands in common.

He again asked me—Do you not admit that I am at least master of the lands I have purchased? I answered him thereupon, that I admit nothing, and that I knew not what he had reference to.

He again said to me—If, hereafter, any one desire to disturb the negotiation of the peace we are at present engaged about, we will join together to arrest him. I again consented to that. But I did not say to him, and do not understand that he said to me, that we should go in company to attack such person, or that we should form a joint league, offensive and defensive, or that I should unite my Brethren to his. I said to him only, and I understand him to say to me, that if any one wished to disturb our negotiation of Peace, we would both endeavor to pacify him by fair words, and to that end would direct all our efforts.

He again said to me—In order that the peace we would negotiate be permanent, should any private quarrel arise hereafter between Indians and Englishmen, they must not take justice into their own hands, nor do any thing, the one to the other. It shall be the business of us Chiefs to decide. I again agreed with him on that article, but I did not understand that he alone should be judge. I understood only that he should judge his people, and that I would judge mine.

Finally he said to me—There's our peace concluded; we have regulated every thing.

I replied that nothing had been yet concluded, and that it was necessary that our acts should be approved in a general assembly. For the present, an armistice is sufficient. I again said to him—I now go to inform all my relatives of what has passed between us, and will afterwards come and report to you what they'll say to me. Then he agreed in opinion with me.

Such was my negotiation on my first visit to Boston.

As for any act of grace, or amnesty, accorded to me by the Englishman, on the part of his King, it is what I have no knowledge of, and what the Englishman never spoke to me about, and what I never asked him for.

On my second visit to Boston we were four; I, Laurence Sagourrab, Alexis, François Xavier and Migounambé. I went there merely to tell the English that all my Nation approved the cessation of hostilities, and the negotiation of peace, and even then we agreed on the time and place of meeting to discuss it. That place was Caskebay, and the time after Corpus Christi.

Two conferences were held at Caskebay. Nothing was done at these two conferences except to read the articles above reported. Every thing I agreed to was approved and ratified, and on these conditions was the peace concluded.

One point only did I regulate at Caskebay. This was to permit the Englishman to keep a store at S^{t} Georges; but a store only, and not to build any other house, nor erect a fort there, and I did not give him the land.

These are the principal matters that I wished to communicate to you who are spread all over the earth. What I tell you now is the truth. If, then, any one should produce any writing that makes me speak otherwise, pay no attention to it, for I know not what I am made to say in another language, but I know well what I say in my own. And in testimony that I say things as they are, I have signed the present Minute which I wish to be authentic and to remain for ever.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

Quebec, 25th of September, 1727.

My Lord,

You will see in the joint despatch what M. Dupuy and I have the honor to advise you of respecting the English establishment at Choueguen. But I considered it my duty to annex to the report we have the honor to submit to you concerning it, copies of all the documents appertaining to this subject. You will receive herewith copy of my letter to Mr. Burnet, Governor-general of New-York; of that general's answer to me; of the minute prepared by Chevalier Begon, whom I sent to summon the English officer in command of the garrison of Choueguen; and finally, copy of the speech of the 'Nontagués to Chevalier Begon on his arrival at the river 'Nontagués.

Permit me, My Lord, to have the honor to inform you of what passed respecting that affair, from the time I received the very first intelligence of the arrival of the English at Choueguen, and of the construction of their fort.

I immediately summoned M. de Longueuil Governor of Montreal, and the principal officers to deliberate as to what was to be done, and next day assembled at my quarters the chief persons of each class in the town of Montreal, to ascertain their opinions respecting the affair of Choueguen; and all unanimously answered, that nothing remained to be done than to send troops thither to expel the English from that Post, and raze the works they had begun.

The Mercantile class of the town of Montreal was that which insisted the strongest on the necessity of opposing the erection of the fort the English were building at Choueguen. They were not deterred by the difficulties interposed, both as to the necessity of that expedition and the preparations necessary to be made. I felt all the delicacy of my position at once, in view of the uncertainty of the part the Iroquois might take. Several offered to equip their Militia companies, and to supply them with arms and ammunition necessary for that expedition. These dispositions determined me at once, to send the requisite orders to Quebec and Three Rivers for the levy of a certain number of Militiamen, and Mr. Rocbert, the King's Store-keeper, sent an estimate at the same time to the Intendant of the ammunition and other articles required for that expedition. But the remonstrances I received a few days after from different persons, and my own reflections on the consequences of so precipitous a course, obliged me to dispatch a counter order to the Militia I had demanded at Quebec and Three Rivers, and to the Indians belonging to the domiciliated villages, who were to accompany our Frenchmen. And the majority of the officers, to whom I communicated my subsequent reflections, and who were not guided by any private interest, agreed that the safest course for me to adopt was, to write to the Governor of New-York; to summon, provisionally, the commander of the English garrison to retire from Choueguen and to raze its fortifications; to acquaint you, My Lord, with what had been done, and to demand your orders as to the proper measures to be pursued.

The uncertainty of the success of this expedition, which depended, in some degree, on the course to be adopted by the Iroquois, who had not yet come down to Montreal, induced me not to dispatch any troops towards Choueguen, and to await the arrival of the Iroquois. The decided tone with which these Indians spoke to me in full Council, proved to me that I had adopted the prudent course. M. de Longueuil, who was strongly of opinion that the Iroquois would not declare against us, and would remain neutral, was much astonished to hear them

request us not to spill any blood on their lands at Choueguen, and if the French had any hostile demand to make of the English, to enforce it on our lakes and not on their soil. This indicated sufficiently their favorable dispositions towards the English, and that they would not fail to sustain them against any attempt to expel them from their present position. In fine, I stopped there, the more readily, inasmuch as that course tallied with the instructions you did us the honor to communicate to us in the despatch of last year regarding the measures to be adopted for opposing the establishment of the English in that river.

The intelligence I received from Quebec in reference to the orders I had sent thither for the levy of 800 militia men, have, also, sufficiently demonstrated to me that the ardor manifested among the officers of the Militia belonging to government of Montreal was not shared equally by that of Quebec, where all the Militia officers, except two, excused themselves from marching on divers pretexts, and said that they could not undertake to equip or provision their Companies. I hope, My Lord, that all these reasons will induce you to approve the course I have adopted.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Marquis de Beauharnois to Governor Burnet.

[Montreal] 20th July, 1727.

Sir,

I am very well persuaded that you have been informed that the King, my master, has done me the honor to name me Governor and his Lieutenant-general in all New France, and that you have likewise been so of my arrival in this country.

I find myself, Sir, in a juncture when the close union which subsists between our Sovereigns ought to flatter me with the hope of the like between you and me; but I cannot avoid observing to you my surprise at the permission which you have given to the English Merchants to carry on a Trade at the River Choueguen, and that you have ordered a Redoubt with machicoulis[1] and full of loopholes, and other works belonging to fortification, to be built at the mouth of that river, in which you have placed a garrison of regular forces.

I have been, Sir, the more astonished at it, since you should have considered your undertaking as a thing capable of disturbing the union of the two Crowns. You cannot be ignorant of the possession during a very considerable time which the King, my Master, has of all the lands of Canada, of which those of Lake Ontario and the adjacent lands make a part, and in which he has built Forts and made other settlements in different places, such as those of Denonville, at the mouth of the Niagara river, that of Frontenac, another on the river called La Famine, that which is called the Fort des Sables, another at the Bay of the Cayouges, at Choueguen, &c., without any opposition, they having been one and all of them possessed by the French, who alone have had a right, and the possession of carrying on Trade there.

[1] The upper part of the wall which, sustained by brackets, juts out and overlooks the gate or ditch. *James.* — ED.

I look, Sir, upon the settlement that you are beginning and pretending to make at the entrance of the River Choueguen into Lake Ontario, the fortification that you have made there, and the garrison that you have posted there as a manifest infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht, it being expressly settled by that Treaty that the subjects of each crown shall not molest or encroach on one another till the Limits have been fixed by Commissioners to be named for that purpose.

This it is, Sir, that determines me at present to send away Monsieur de la Chassaigne, Governor of Three Rivers, with an officer, to deliver this Letter and to inform you of my intentions. I send away at the same time a major to summon the officer, who commands at Choueguen, to retire with his garrison and other persons who are there; to demolish the Fortifications and other works, and to evacuate entirely that post and return home.

The Court of France, whom I have the honor to inform of it this moment, will have room to look upon this undertaking as an act of hostility on your part, and I do not doubt but you will give attention to the justice of my demand.

I desire you to honor me with a positive answer, which I expect without delay by the return of these gentlemen. I am persuaded that on your side you will do nothing to trouble the harmony that prevails between our two crowns, and that you will not act against their true interests.

M. de la Chassaigne, who did not at first intend to carry with him any but the officer whom I had the honor to inform you of in my letter, has since desired me to let him have the four gentlemen named in the passport which I have ordered to be made out for him. I do not doubt, Sir, but you will have the same regard for them as for the King's officer who goes along with him.

I should be extremely pleased, Sir, if you would give me some occasion to show you particularly the sentiments of respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Governor Burnet to the Marquis de Beauharnois.

Copy of the letter written by M^{r} Burnet, Governor-general of New-York, to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general in Canada, date 8th of August, 1727, in answer to one written by said Sieur de Beauharnois on the 20th of July preceding.

Sir,

I have received the letter you have done me the honor to write to me, and which was delivered to me by M^{r} de la Chassaigne. You have done me singular favor in taking this occasion to make me acquainted with a person of so distinguished merit, and in sending along with him gentlemen who do honor to their country. I could have wished these marks of your good will had not been attended with a proceeding so little suitable to them. You perceive, Sir, that I would complain of the sudden and peremptory summons that you have sent to my officer posted at Oswego, and which was brought to me by an express before the arrival of M^{r} la Chassaigne. I should think that you might have waited for my reasons in answer to

what you are pleased to write to me before you made so extraordinary a demand, and that in giving so short a time that my officer could not possibly receive my orders before it expired.

I agree with you, Sir, that the close union that prevails between our Sovereigns ought naturally produce the like between you and me, and it shall never be through my fault if it does not subsist in all its extent. It was with the same intention that I made my complaint in the modestest manner I could to M^{r} de Longueuil, then Commander-in-chief of Canada, of a Fort that had been built at Niagara, and though I received no answer from him by the bearer of my letter, and at last received one that was not at all satisfactory, I contented myself with writing to my Court about it, whence I am informed that our Ambassador at the Court of France has orders to represent this undertaking as contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht.

This, Sir, was all that I did upon that occasion. I did not send any summons to Niagara, I did not make any warlike preparations to interrupt the work, and I did not stir up the Five Nations to make use of force to demolish it, which I might have done easily enough, since at the very time when I received M^{r} de Longueuil's letter, they were all come to complain to me of that undertaking as the justest cause of uneasiness that could have been given them. I shall not tire you with repeating all that I wrote to M^{r} de Longueuil upon that subject, which he has no doubt shown to you.

I come now to the subject of your letter. There are two things which you complain of. First, of the trade of Oswego. Secondly, of the Redoubt, as you call it, and of the Garrison that is in it, all which you regard as a manifest infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht.

As for the Trade, I do not understand how you could be surprised at it, since we have carried on a trade there regularly for more than five years running without opposition; and I have reason to wonder how you can call that infraction of the Peace of Utrecht, since it is expressly stipulated in that very 15th Article which you cite, *That on both sides the subject of each Crown shall enjoy full liberty of going and coming among these Nations on account of Trade.*

By *These Nations* must be understood, as appears clearly by what precedes, *all the Americans, subjects or allies or friends of Great Britain and of France.* It is upon this, Sir, that we pretend to have equal right with you of Trading through all the Lakes and all the Continent, and that incontestably by virtue of the terms of the Treaty.

It follows therein *that also the natives of those Countries shall, with the same liberty, go and trade as they please to the British and French Colonies indifferently, without any molestation or hindrance either on the part of the subjects of Great Britain or the French.*

I cited you, before, the right which we have to carry on a trade every where among the Indians. In these last words is contained the right which all the Indians have to come and trade with us, and I leave it to you, Sir, to reflect sincerely upon the conduct of the people of Canada, and to consider if they have done all they could and do not continue still to hinder the Indians from coming to trade with us.

But as for our right to carry a trade every where among the Indians, one cannot find expressions more contrary to the terms of the Treaty than those in your letter, where you name *several places occupied by the French, who alone,* say you, *have had the right, and been in possession of trading there.* You would oblige me, Sir, if you would please show me how to reconcile that *with a full liberty on both sides of going and coming among these Nations on account of trade which the subjects of both Crowns shall enjoy.*

But to say it was, as you pretend, in former times, that will signify nothing, since at present the treaty alone ought to regulate matters. I hope, Sir, that I have said enough upon the first

subject of complaint which relates to the Trade, for to show you the right we have to it, and to make you sensible that the future regulation of limits can never make any alteration in the general liberty to trade which exists.

I come now to the second subject of complaint, which relates to the Redoubt and Garrison at Oswego. It is true that I have ordered a stone house to be built there, with some contrivances to hinder its being surprised, and that I have posted some soldiers in it; but that which gave me the first thought of it was the fortified and much larger house which the French have built at Niagara, upon the lands of the Five Nations, as it appears even by the confession of M^{r} de Longueil in his letter to me of the 16th of August, 1726, for he pretends *that the 5 Nations have agreed to it by an unanimous consent.* If that post was not upon their land, but upon land that belongs incontestably to the French, I believe, Sir, that you would be very far from asking their consent to do what you had a mind to do there. It has always been the same case with all the posts that you mention, and which besides had been abandoned many years before the Treaty of Utrecht, except Fort Frontenac only, which is on the other side of the Lake.

It is certain that the French never built any of them but by the permission of the Five Nations, and always on pretence that they were to be only houses for the conveniency of trade with them, and without ever pretending to claim the property of those places.

You seem, Sir, to allow almost as much yourself, for you say, *That his most Christian Majesty has ordered Forts and other Establishments to be built in different places, &c., without any opposition.* What has been built without any opposition can never be looked upon as a conquest, as M^{r} de la Chassaigne would maintain, and I should be glad to learn by what Treaty or agreement the Five Nations ever yielded to you any of their lands; on the contrary, those Nations have always maintained that the lands on both sides of Lake Ontario are theirs, and will always maintain it.

I do not understand what use the Article of the Treaty to which you allude can be of to you, and I don't find the words in the Treaty as you cite them, nor even the sense entirely agreeable to them. You call that post which we have settled, at Oswego, *a manifest infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht, it being mentioned expressly in the Treaty that the subjects of one and the other Crown shall not molest nor encroach upon one another till the limits shall be regulated by Commissaries to be named by them for that purpose.*

I don't know, Sir, what copy of the Treaty you make use of, but for my part I have compared the French translation which I have quoted with the original Latin which is printed at London by Royal authority, and have found it entirely agreeable to it. The words which we are now upon are as follows: *The subjects of France, inhabitants of Canada and others, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the five Nations of Indians, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain, nor to the other natives of America, its Allies. In like manner the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends of France, etc., etc.* This is the first part at full length of what you refer me to; the second part is at the end of the article, in these words: *Commissioners named on the one side and the other shall specify, exactly and distinctly, who are and who ought to be accounted the subjects or friends of Britain, and who of France.*

Upon reading all this together, it is impossible to imagine that the last clause of this article of the Treaty can relate to the Five Nations, as if Commissioners were yet to determine whether they are our subjects or yours, as M^{r} de Longueil wrote to me they were neither. This would be directly opposite to the first part of the said Article, which declares them expressly

subject to the dominion of Great Britain. But as there is mention made of other *Americans, Allies of Great Britain, and of Americans, subjects or friends of France,* without naming them, it is as clear as daylight that the Commissioners are only to determine about these last.

You have now, Sir, my reasons for acting as I have done, and of which I have given an account to the Court at the same time that I represented the affair of Niagara. I expect every day a complete answer upon both these points; and I think myself obliged, notwithstanding all the reasons which M^r^ de la Chassaigne has given me, to maintain the post of Oswego till I receive new orders from the King my master.

You may, Sir, make such complaints hereupon as you will judge proper, as you inform me that you have already made some, and at the same time you will not think it strange that on my part I inform the Court in what manner you have summoned the King's officer posted at Oswego, without waiting for any explanation from me upon it; this is a step which the King my master may perhaps be offended at, and which his most Christian Majesty may, perhaps, think fit to disown. I am very sorry to find myself under a necessity to have sentiments so opposite to yours. I should be glad to see all these differences end in a good understanding, and that you would honor me with your friendship; and it is with a great deal of respect that I have the honor to be, etc., etc.,

Signed, BURNET.

Compared with the original on paper lying in the Secretary's Office of the Castle of Saint Louis, of Quebec, by the undersigned, Royal Notary resident in the Prevoté of Quebec, this tenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and fifty.

DULAURENT.

Francis Bigot.....etc.

French Summons of Fort Oswego.

Copy of the Summons served, in the name of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of Canada, by M. Begon, Major of the Town and Castle of Quebec, on the Commandant of the Fort built by the English at the mouth of the River Choueguen, on the shore of Lake Ontario, to withdraw with the garrison of said Fort.

And, next, of the Minute drawn up by said Sieur Begon of the delivery of said summons.

The Marquis de Beauharnois, appointed by his Most Christian Majesty to the general government of all New France, being informed of your Governor's proceeding at the mouth of the River Choueguen, where he hath caused a stone house to be erected on the borders of Lake Ontario, where the French alone have been trading, and of which they have been in possession a very considerable time, and being unable to regard such proceeding otherwise than as a manifest infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which it is laid down that the subjects of the two Crowns shall not encroach the one on the other so long as the boundaries have not been agreed upon by the Commissioners whom the two Crowns are to send for that

purpose, has given me orders to summon you in his name to withdraw, within 15 days at farthest, the garrison you have here, with all the arms, ammunition and other effects belonging to private individuals of Orange or other places; to demolish the house you have had erected contrary to all law, leaving you at liberty to settle, if you think proper, at Lake Thechirogué or the Oneida river, where you formerly carried on Trade; and to leave the mouth of this river, as it has always been free to the French. In default whereof, the said Marquis de Beauharnois will proceed against you, and against your unjust usurpation, as to him shall seem good.

Montreal, the 14th of July, 1727. Signed, Begon.

Here followeth Copy of the Minute of the delivery of the aforesaid Summons.

We, the undersigned, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis, Major of the Town, Castle and government of Quebec, in execution of the orders to us given by the Marquis de Beauharnois, the King's Governor and Lieutenant-general over the whole of New France, being arrived, this day, the first of August, 1727, before the Fort built by the English at the mouth of the River Choueguen, on the border of Lake Ontario, have sent to notify Mr Bancker[1] commanding the garrison, of our arrival, and have signified to him, at the same time, that we were come on behalf of the Governor-general, Commander-in-chief of all New France, to summon him to withdraw, within fifteen days at farthest, the garrison of said Fort, with the arms, ammunition, and other effects belonging to private citizens of Orange and other places, and to demolish said Fort and other works he hath constructed there. He sent to invite us on shore, and came, accompanied by two officers of the garrison, to meet us on the beach of said River Choueguen; conducted us into the Fort with much politeness, and after serving the summons, in due form, on said Commander, and handing him the same, written in French and English, he answered us, that he was on his own territory and in his own house; that he had been sent thither by his general government to build said Fort thereupon, with the consent of and valid agreement with the Six Nations; that, if we desired it, he would assemble the Chiefs of the 'Nontagué Indians, who were then on the spot, who would tell us the same thing. This we refused to permit, not wishing to have any discussion with them. After which he added, that he was, like us, a subordinate officer, and consequently equally obliged to obey the orders of his General; that we had an order, in writing, from the Marquis de Beauharnois; that he required the same from Mr Burnet, his General, to enable him to give his answer. Whereupon, we demanded his refusal in writing. But having given us to understand that they required a little time for reflection, and would, if we pleased, permit us to walk wherever we liked, and having made us wait about three-quarters of an hour, and consulted with his officers, he persisted in his first sentiments, and said he had the same right to summon the Commandant of Niagara. Finally, he would transmit the summons to his Governor-general, promising to return an answer so soon as he should have received his orders.

Done at Choueguen, the 1st of August, 1727.

(Signed) Begon.

[1] See note 1, V., 797. A new commission was issued to Evert Bancker, 7th March, 1727, appointing him captain and commander of all his Majesty's Christian subjects in the country of the Five Nations, and commissary at Oswego, in virtue of the provincial act, entitled "An Act for regulating and securing the Indian Trade to the Westward of Albany," &c. *Book of Commissions*, III., 277. — Ed.

Compared with the original on paper remaining in the Secretary's office of the Castle of Saint Louis, of Quebec, by the undersigned, Royal Notary, resident in the Prevoté of Quebec, this 25th of July, 1750.

DU LAURENT.

Francis Bigot.

Previous to this summons M. de Beauharnois had written to the Governor-general of New-York. [*Supra*, p. 969.]

Speech of some Iroquois to Chevalier Begon, on his way to Oswego.

Ile aux Galots,[1] July, 1727.

Father: We have had a meeting to consider your intended voyage to Choueguen, and are come to communicate our resolution, in order that you may acquaint us with your opinion thereupon.

We are sufficiently acquainted with the insolence of the English to apprehend that they will not receive you with that urbanity which ought to exist between two Nations that are engaged in any negotiation. Some of them may so speak as to make you depart again from our country in ill humor; We therefore request you to allow us to address them the first on our arrival at Chouëguen, and this is what we propose to say to them:

"Brothers: Here is our father, Onontio, who is about to treat with you respecting an affair which regards not only you but us also, since it is on our land the house in question is built. You appear to me on both sides so full of jealousy, the one against the other, that I have reason to believe you are inclined to come to blows. I therefore interpose myself between you to put a stop to the impetuosity of your ill temper; and for you, Brother Englishman, I recommend you not to rely on numbers, to listen quietly to what may be said to you and to answer it in like manner. Reflect, and remember that you are on soil of which we are the masters."

Meanwhile, Mr Begon having summoned the place before they had spoken, they were obliged to deliver, instead of the above, the following speech:

"Englishman and Brother: We are very glad that nothing but mild words have passed between you; we could not but feel great astonishment that land which does not belong to you should cause you so much trouble. You say I have sold it to you, and I on my side insist, that I have only loaned it to you; do not, then, consider yourself there in any other light, and never give any cause for its being stained with blood."

We were not present at this speech; they repeated it to us only briefly a little before we started from Choueguen, requesting M. Begon to communicate their sentiments to their father.

[1] In the town of Henderson, Jefferson county, N. Y. — ED.

Abstract of Despatches relating to Oswego and Niagara.

Abstract of Despatches received from the Governor and Intendant of Canada, respecting the post established at Niagara, with the decision of the Court of France thereupon. 1725, 1726, 1727.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil reported in 1725 an establishment projected by the English at the mouth of the River Choueguen, on the borders of Lake Ontario, in the Upper country, which is a part of New France, and adjacent to the French post at Niagara, among the Iroquois.

It was of importance to prevent that establishment, more especially as the French have always exclusively carried on the trade with the Indians of the Upper countries; as the English thought of going to trade there only since the peace of Utrecht, and as they are now trying to drive us thence by force of presents to the Indians, whom they furnish with goods at a low rate, and supply with Rum, which is their favorite beverage.

M. de Vaudreuil ordered M. de Longueil, Governor of Montreal to proceed to the Iroquois, and to summon the English established there to withdraw.

On his return from his mission, M. de Longueil reported that he had found a hundred Englishmen with over 60 canoes at the portage of the River Choueguen, four leagues from Lake Ontario, who obliged him to exhibit his passport, and showed him an order from the Governor of New-York not to allow any Frenchman to go by without a passport.

He afterwards repaired to Onontagué, an Iroquois village, and obtained the consent of their Chiefs to the erection of a stone house at Niagara, in the place of the one which fell in ruins; also, to the construction of two barks for the transportation of the materials.

Mess^{rs} de Longueil and Begon made a report on the subject, and observed that it was of the utmost importance to urge on this work, which they proposed undertaking the following spring. They transmitted a plan of it, and the estimate, amounting to 29,295^{li}; and they had the two barks constructed at a cost of 13,090^{li}.

On the account having been transmitted to the King, his Majesty ordered these funds to be remitted, and they have been sent last year.

Sieur Chaussegros, Engineer, the superintendent of that work by order of M^{r} de Longueil, who had indicated to him, in writing, the most suitable places in the neighborhood, transmits a map of Lake Ontario, with that of the mouth of the Niagara river, and the plans and elevations of the house he had erected on the site of an old fort selected by the late Marquis de Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-general. The part colored yellow, on these plans, indicates the portion that it was impossible to complete, and which will be finished this spring. He has traced a fort around this house, and gives some reasons which obliged him not to build it at the Portage marked **B**, on the site of the former house, but to locate it at the mouth of the Niagara river, at the point marked $\mathbb{B}$, so as to prevent the English going to trade on the North shore of the Lake, and seizing on that river, which is the passage from the Upper country, as the Lake cannot be crossed with their bark canoes; whilst, had he built at the Portage, which is three leagues up that river, and should the English locate themselves at at the mouth, where the House is erected, the Lake would be surrendered to them, and the House blockaded in such a manner that it would be impossible to assist it or to withdraw the garrison from it. On the other hand, it is impossible for sloops to reach the Portage owing to the strong current, whilst they experience no difficulty in navigating the Lake. They make the trip from Fort Frontenac to Niagara and return, in less than 14 days.

Messrs de Beauharnois and Dupuy represent that House as being well located for defending the communication into the lake, and the passage from the lake to the Upper countries, but that it does not absolutely command the Portage, which is the spot where everything passes. In order to remedy this inconvenience, they propose to rebuild that which stood at the Portage, at the place marked **B**, and say that such expense is absolutely indispensable, if it be desirable to secure the Upper country. They transmit the Plan and elevation thereof, with an estimate amounting to 20,430ll 14s 11d.

They add, that this building will not give any umbrage to the Indians, inasmuch as it will be considered as the reërection of one entirely similar to that which stood there, and has almost fallen down. It will not be a new affair, requiring negotiation with them.

With a view to cut off the communication of the English with Lake Ontario, they propose building a fort and house at the mouth of the River Choueguen, in order to secure the entrance into and issue from it into the Lake. They send the plan of the harbor of this river, on which the location of the proposed house is marked.

They are obliged to propose this course in order to keep up with the resolution to build a house at the same place adopted by the English, who being unable to make the Indians entertain the proposal they had submitted, to demolish the post at Niagara or to allow them to build a similar one, have directed their attention to Choueguen, under the conviction that the first who shall occupy that post, whether they or the French, will derive most advantage from the trade with the Upper country.

Another reason for coming to this determination is, that this post is one of the points in the Colony the best adapted to facilitate the communication of the English and the French for foreign commerce, which is what it is desirable to prevent.

That, in fine, the Iroquois having consented to the erection of the house at Niagara, will consent the more readily to this other, as they have disapproved the violence the English offered in 1724 to M. de Longueuil at that place; as they would witness with impatience the advancement of the English so far into the River Choueguen, having given them liberty to proceed only to the fall of Gastonchiagué, within 6 leagues of the Lake, telling them at the same time that they did not concede, but loan them the soil.

That it is to be apprehended that the English will renew their attempts on these Indians, whom they load with presents, whilst we give them but little. But the English will soon abandon the design of building a post at that place if they see us forming a plan of settling there. Add to this, should we allow them to anticipate us, they would soon, like us, have vessels on the Lake, and it would be necessary to come to a rupture in order to destroy their barks and house; whilst, without any rupture, we can plunder their canoes on the ground of being articles of contraband seized in the hands of private individuals, and it would be impossible to destroy an establishment they would have formed, without such proceeding being offensive to the Nation.

25 July, 1726. M. de Longueuil observes, that they have learned that Sieur Chaussegros de Lery had located the house at Niagara in a different place from that he had designated to him, and which seemed to M. de Longueuil the best adapted to command the portage and the communication between the two lakes; that this Engineer will probably have reported the reasons of this change, and, with that exception, the business has been well managed and pushed forward, and that the barks constructed at Fort Frontenac have afforded wonderful

assistance; that no opposition has been offered by the Iroquois, who, on the contrary, appeared highly pleased to see us near them; but that the English, uneasy and jealous, have solicited and gained over some Seneca chiefs to thwart this establishment, which has been productive of no other effect than to attach the Iroquois to us more strongly, who have renewed the assurance they gave us last year that they would not disturb us in the construction of that house, and were always friendly to us.

He ordered Chevalier de Longueil, his son, who was in command there, not to return until the English and Dutch have retired from Choueguen, where they have passed the entire summer, to the number of 300 men, and to have their canoes plundered, should he meet any of them trading in the Lake.

18th September, 1726. The Marquis de Beauharnois transmits an extract of a letter from Chevalier de Longueil, dated Niagara, the 5th of 7ber, 1726, stating that there are no more Englishmen at Choueguen, along the Lake, nor in the river, and that if he encounter any in the Lake he will have them pillaged.

That the house at Niagara is very much advanced, and would have been finished had it not been for the sickness that broke out among the workmen, 30 of whom have been ill; but that the place is inclosed and secured.

By another extract of a letter from Sieur de Noyan, who had arrived from Niagara on the 22nd 7ber, 1726, it appears that the English have represented to the Five Iroquois Nations that they would be reduced to slavery by the French, who had sworn their common destruction, if not anticipated by pulling down the building at Niagara, and that the sloops would serve to take them away into captivity.

That they delivered themselves up to destruction when they gave their consent to such undertakings; exhorted them to shake off their lethargy and to take courage; that they would join them.

Whereupon the Indians had answered them: You have been a long time repeating the same thing to us, and always in vain; we do not regret having given our consent to the building of the house and the barks; we have given our word, and are satisfied with the manner in which the French have acted; it is useless to say any more, and if this post offend you, go and pull it down, or settle the matter with our Father, Onontio.

Not satisfied with this answer, the English renewed the attempt by repeating that since it was useless to warn them of their destruction, they must be informed that the English propose to build a house also at Niagara, opposite that of their father, Onontio; that they asked only their consent, not wishing to do any thing except in concert with them. To this the Indians replied: Settle the matter with Onontio; we do not wish to meddle with it.

These answers having been reported to the English governor, he invited the Chiefs of the Five Nations to come to Orange, where he met them in the hope of succeeding in his demand. But they did not change their minds, and rejected all his proposals.

25 Octobr, 1726. The Marquis de Beauharnois has since learned from M. de la Corne, the King's lieutenant at Montreal, that he had been informed by Tegaioguen, a chief of the Indians of the Sault Saint Louis, recently returned from Orange, where he assisted at a council which the Governor held with the Chiefs of the Five Iroquois Nations, that, on the English governor inquiring which of the Five Nations had permitted the French to settle at Niagara, they

answered, they had all consented to it; that they did not, indeed, suppose that Onontio would erect a stronghold there, but if that was displeasing to the King of England, he had only to tell him, in regard to them, they would raze the house without any interference on the part of the English; that, after divers others speeches, the Iroquois had promised this governor absolutely to pull down this house in the spring.

Sieur de la Corne has learned from another source that the English had bribed the Iroquois to get rid of Sieur de la Joncaire, the commander at Niagara, and to pull down the house; that, with this view, they had made considerable presents to the Iroquois, who had promised to execute the wishes of the English governor.

That they had sent four Belts to the Indians of the Sault Saint Louis, the Lake of the Two Mountains, the Algonkins and Nepissings, to invite them to remain quiet when the Iroquois will be demolishing this house.

M. de Beauharnois states that though this information comes from Indians, who frequently give false intelligence, he has written to M. de Longueil, the Governor of Montreal, to advise Sieur de la Joncaire of it, and even to send, if necessary, an officer to the Iroquois to inquire of them the truth, and to prevent them stirring, in case they should entertain evil designs, this being an affair of the greatest consequence to the Colony.

Sieur de Chaussegros sends the plan of Fort Frontenac, which he drew in passing.

Note by the Minister. 1727.

The French have been, from all time, in exclusive possession of the trade with the Indians of the Upper countries of New France.

They had formerly a fort at Niagara, on Lake Ontario, in the Iroquois country, but time had destroyed it.

The English did not think of going to trade to those countries until after the Treaty of Utrecht; and they are endeavoring to drive us therefrom by making presents to the Indians, whom they supply with goods at a low rate, and furnish with Rum, which is their favorite drink. They had even projected a settlement at the mouth of the River Choueguen, on the borders of the same Lake, and pretty near the French post at Niagara.

The late Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-general, in giving notice thereof in 1725, and in representing the importance of preventing that English settlement, proposed to rebuild Fort Niagara.

He instructed M. de Longueuil to go to the Iroquois. This officer met one hundred Englishmen. * * * * * * * *

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Note by the King.

The post at Niagara is of the utmost importance for the preservation to the French of the trade to the Upper country.

The English have recourse to every means to monopolize that trade, because it would make them masters of the Indians and very soon of Canada.

The house erected last year serves only in part to secure this trade to the French, and the proposal submitted by the Governor and Intendant respecting the old House and the erection of a post at Choueguen, appears very important; but as it is not convenient to undertake all these things at once, it appears necessary to authorize the reconstruction of the old House at Niagara, the expense whereof, amounting to 20,430$^{\text{ll}}$, may be placed on the Estimate of the expenses payable in 1728 by the Domain of the West.

When this post shall be permanently established, that of Choueguen can be authorized. Meanwhile, it would be well to require the Plan and Estimate, and to recommend the adoption of the most precise measures to prevent the English forming an Establishment there.

These posts will secure to the French the Trade of the Upper Country, and keep the Iroquois Nations in check.

Approved.

Answer to the Memoir of his Britannic Majesty. 1727.

The French having rebuilt the trading-house — the fort, if you will — which they have had during several years at the Falls of Niagara, on the River of Canada, the Governor of New-York immediately complained thereof to the Court of England, representing this act on the part of the French as an attack on, and infraction of, the Treaty of Utrecht, which binds the subjects of the two Crowns not to molest the Indians, subjects or allies of the two nations. The Iroquois, 'tis said, are subjects of his Britannic Majesty, their lands belong to the Domain of Great Britain, the fort which the French have rebuilt is on these lands; therefore the French could not build it without contravening the Treaty of Utrecht. Such is the state of the question, and the foundation of the complaints of England.

The Court of France has been so much the more surprised at a complaint so ill founded, inasmuch as it has been for seven or eight years protesting against attacks much more real, on the part of the English, who, abusing the peace, and the attention paid by the French, up to the present time, to preserve good correspondence between both Nations, violate the most formal articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, set up chimerical pretensions, and, under pretence of putting themselves in possession of what the Treaty of Utrecht allows them, really usurp lands which belong manifestly to the French, and to the Indians their allies, and pending that same peace, commit hostilities, and do us more injury than they were ever able to commit during all the time that the war continued.

Already regarding, in virtue of vain pretensions, all the country between New England and Acadia as forming part of that same Acadia, or Nova Scotia, have they built Fort Saint George on French soil, and divers other forts beyond, on lands belonging to the Abenaquis, our allies; carried off by surprise, and treated as enemies, some Indians and a French officer; massacred Father Rale, set a price on the head of the Missionaries, destroyed the Mission of Narautsouk, fired and profaned the Church belonging to that Mission, captured two French ships in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, built forts on the Islands in front of Canceaux, notwithstanding all the islands in or appertaing to the Gulf are, by an express article of the Treaty of Utrecht, adjudged to belong to the French; treated with contempt the French whom the Governor-general of Canada had sent to Boston, to complain thereof; and, in fine, cease not to send Belts, secretly, to the Upper Nations of Indians, to induce them to attack the French, and to compromise themselves thereby.

Admit, for a moment, the truth of the assertion that the French had built Fort Niagara on territory indisputably English, and that the complaint of the latter in this regard is just and legitimate, have we not a right to say to them:

You were the first to commence hostilities; you have been the first to violate the Treaty of Utrecht; you have erected forts on territory belonging to us and to our Indian allies; you have waged a cruel war against those Indians, our ancient allies, whom we could regard as our subjects with as much reason as you assert the Iroquois to be yours, and even with more justice. Begin, then, by razing those forts; cease to molest our Indians, repair the evil and the damage you have committed, and then we will attend to your complaint respecting Fort Niagara, if it be well founded.

Thus, I say, could we answer the English, supposing things were equal, and their complaints as legitimate as ours; but such is far from being the case, and I flatter myself I shall demonstrate that all their pretensions are ill founded, and that it is France alone that is wronged, and justly entitled to complain.

Justice of the Complaint of France against the encroachments of the English on the territory of the Abenaquis, its Allies.

The English pretend that, in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, which cedes to them Acadia, or Nova Scotia, all the territory they have usurped forms part of Acadia, and forcibly usurp more than one hundred leagues of country, notwithstanding that the article of the Treaty of Utrecht cedes to them only Acadia comprehended within its ancient limits. This, as has been demonstrated by divers Memoirs presented to the Court, and as all ancient Maps and Relations verify, includes, under that name, the triangular Peninsula only. All the forts which the English have built are without this Peninsula; therefore, ... etc.....

The right claimed by the English, at the Peace of Utrecht, was founded on a Grant made by James the first, King of Great Britain, to Sir Alexander, of that same Acadia, which he called Nova Scotia. By virtue of this very grant, the English ought to be nonsuited, for the Preamble to that very Instrument sets forth that King James granted the territory only on the supposition that it was not occupied by any Christian Prince, and 'tis unquestionable that it was then in possession of the French, who were expelled therefrom by Sir Alexander the following year, although France and England were then in profound peace; the French, shortly after, drove off the people Sir Alexander[1] had left there, and have ever since constantly occupied it. Be that as it may, it was ceded to the French at the Treaty of Utrecht.

[1] William Alexander, a younger son of Alexander Alexander, proprietor of the estate of Monstrie, in Clackmannanshire, Scotland, was born in the year 1580. Having received a liberal education, he was selected as traveling companion to the Duke of Argyle. On his return from foreign parts he lived for some time a retired life in Scotland, and published his Aurora, a poetical complaint on the unsuccessful addresses he had made to a lady, who declining the honor of his hand, had, as he expressed it, "matched her morning to one in the evening of his days;" not long after this he married Janet, daughter and heiress of Sir William Erskine, and removed to the Court of James the Sixth, when he published a tragedy on the story of Darius, and two poems, one congratulating his Majesty on his entry into England, the other on the inundation of Dover, where the King used to recreate himself with the diversion of hawking. In 1607, his dramatic performances, entitled the Monarchical Tragedies, were published, containing besides Darius, just mentioned, Crœsus, the Alexandræan, and Julius Cæsar; he was also the author of a poem called Doomsday, and several other pieces, and it is said His Majesty used to call him his philosophical poet. In 1613, he was appointed one of the gentleman ushers of the presence, to Prince Charles, and master of the requests, and received the honor of knighthood. In 1621, he obtained the grant of Nova Scotia. In 1626, the King appointed him Secretary of State for Scotland, created him a peer of that kingdom in 1630, by the title of Viscount Sterling, and soon afterwards, by letters patent, dated 14th June, 1633, made him Earl of Sterling. He discharged the duties of the office of Secretary of State with great reputation, until the time of his death, which happened in 1640. He left two sons and two daughters. The title of the Earl of Sterling has been supposed for many years to be extinct. *Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia*, I., 40. — Ed.

But, assuming Acadia according to the express terms of the grant, and according to the lines laid down in that Patent, the English are in the wrong, for it is certain that the forts they have built are without the designated points of the compass *(Rhumbs de Vent)*; that fort Saint George is on French territory, and the remainder on the lands of the Abenaquis. They have built, then, on lands belonging to others, and have manifestly contravened the Treaty of Utrecht.

Inasmuch as the ancient limits of Acadia have not been determined, it is at least certain and evident that the right of the English was doubtful. Does it belong, then, to the latter alone, to decide the question according to the plan they appear to have adopted, to encroach every where; and is it not an infraction of Treaties to act thus violently? The infraction is much more evident in respect to the Islands in front of Caneceaux, which are in the Gulf, and are, including their dependencies, ceded to France.

The Right of the French and English to Fort Niagara examined.

The claim of the English is quite recent, and has been put forth only since the peace of Utrecht. Fort Niagara, say they, is situate on Iroquois territory; the Iroquois are declared by the peace of Utrecht to be our subjects; therefore the French, by building a fort in the Iroquois country, establish themselves on soil belonging to others, and violate that article of the peace of Utrecht. Nothing is more frivolous, nor more easily upset than this pretence.

1st It is false that the Iroquois have been declared subjects of England by the Treaty of Utrecht; for, though Article 15 states nothing else than that the French and English mutually shall not anywise molest the Five Nations and other Indians their subjects or allies, the Iroquois are not once named. It was not pretended, in the discussions in Congress, what nations were allies or subjects; it was neither desired nor thought of, and this is apparent from Article 15 itself, in which it is specially stipulated that Commissioners shall be nominated to determine exactly who those will be that are, or ought to be deemed, subjects or friends of France and of Great Britain. France never did and never could understand that the English would carry their views so far; the thing is of such great importance that, had there been any question about it, it had well merited a distinct article, exactly stipulating that cession in the same manner as one was drawn up for Port Royal and other less important points.

2nd It is not known by what authority the English can regard the Iroquois as their subjects. There is not a single Indian Nation that France or England could treat in that wise. All the Indians, and particularly the Iroquois, who are superior to all the rest, have the feeling of Independence and their Liberty so much at heart, that they could not fail to be grievously insulted were they to be told that they were considered subjects. They pretend to be their own masters, and so they are; the Iroquois regard the English as their allies, but the French are such by a better title and of more ancient date.

The Governor of New-York would not now dare to say to the Iroquois—You are the subjects of the King of Great Britain; nor attempt any thing on their lands without having the consent of the National Council. This was recently made very manifest; for, the English being desirous to prevent the establishment at Niagara, and having repaired in large numbers to intercept M. de Longueuil, had the hardihood to stop him notwithstanding the passport he had from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-general of New France. But M. de Longueuil complaining to the

Iroquois of that violence committed against the French, their ancient allies, the Iroquois took the matter up against the English, and did themselves favor the new establishment despite of all the opposition the English could manifest against it.

3rd If the English pretend to found their right to the country of the Iroquois, and consequently to them as subjects, on the grant that they themselves made of their lands and persons, through the pretended Ambassadors the Governor of New-York sent over to England towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, nothing certainly can be more frivolous. That was a pure farce that was acted in England, where these pretended Ambassadors were carried around as Iroquois Princes and Indian Kings, who were come to lay at the Queen's feet their Crowns, as people called a paltry ornament common to all Indians, and which among them is a token neither of honor nor of dignity. These pretended Ambassadors were nothing more than *Parkailers*[1] of no character; neither Chiefs nor deputies from the Chiefs or Council of the Nation, who in their hearts ridiculed the grand part they were made to perform, and have since been disavowed by the Five Nations, who delegated to them neither power, commission, nor character. The principal man among them was, as is commonly believed, poisoned by a secret vote of the Council; and finally, on rumors of their acts having transpired, the Five Nations sent a deputation to the Governor-general of New France, to inform him that they had intelligence of certain pretensions set up by the English, against whom they might in consequence be obliged to take up the hatchet; and to ascertain whether he would furnish them, in that case, with provisions and ammunition.

4th If either of the two Crowns had a right to regard the Five Nations as subjects, it should certainly be that of France, since the Iroquois have repeatedly placed themselves and their lands under the protection of the Most Christian King, by a vote of the Council of the entire Nation, and by authentic Instruments, signed by the Chiefs, after their fashion, with the figures of the Totems of the three Tribes—the Bear, the Wolf, and Tortoise. They themselves are aware that they have contracted, by virtue of these instruments, an alliance more potent than any ordinary one, such as that with the Crown of Great Britain. This they demonstrate in Council for upwards of a century, by the difference they observe between one and the other Crown; always calling the Governor-general of Canada, Father, whilst they call the Governors of New-York and Boston only Brother.

5th The Five Iroquois Nations did submit themselves and their lands, in a manner still more special and more solemn, at the time when Count de Frontenac and M. de Denonville carried the war into their proper country. They then escaped utter ruin only by the submission of their persons and lands—a submission which, in fact, arrested the anger of the victorious French, who had it in their power to utterly destroy them, and who are entitled, since that time, to regard them as subjects by right of conquest.

6th 'Tis certain that the Iroquois did unite themselves to the French by Treaties more ancient, more frequent, and much more authentic than those they concluded with Count de Frontenac and M. de Denonville, so that they considered themselves bound always to observe a strict neutrality with France. In fact, though the English regarded them as their subjects, they could never force them, throughout the whole of the last war, to take up arms against the French, notwithstanding the Iroquois and other Indians, settled in our Colonies, waged a very active war against the King of Great Britain's subjects.

[1] *Sic.* Qu? *Particuliers*, private individuals. — Ed.

7th The Iroquois never gave themselves to the English otherwise than as they gave themselves to us. If the English regard them as subjects, we can consider them such likewise, and with a better right, as I have just demonstrated. We alone, indeed, can justly do it, for, in fine, if they have given themselves up to France as subjects before they did so to England, they no longer possess the right to make themselves over to others, and we are justified in maintaining our possession.

8th It must, however, be admitted, as I have already remarked, that there is not an Indian Nation in North America that ought to be considered in any other light than as friends and allies. The Iroquois are allies of the English, but they are allies of the French, also; their alliance has existed in spite of the war waged by the two Crowns. Therefore, [if] Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht regards the French and the English equally, we are justified in preventing the English molesting the Iroquois, who are our allies. Therefore, if to have a fort at Niagara, on Iroquois territory, though with the consent of the Iroquois themselves, be to molest the Iroquois, the English are also deemed to molest them in having caused a post to be erected at Chouegen, which it is as much our interest to require them to demolish, as it can be theirs that we should raze that of Niagara.

9th All this is under the supposition that Forts Niagara and Chouaguen are on Iroquois territory, but this principle is false. The bounds of the Indian territory are indefinite, if it be pretended to include their hunting ground in it. Their country properly is only where their villages and fields are located, and on this principle the posts at Niagara and Chouaguen are on French territory. We do nothing, then, but rebuild a house in ruins on our own soil, where Fort Denonville stood, whilst the English, in establishing themselves at Chouaguein, build on French territory.

10th The possession of the River Saint Lawrence, and the liberty the French have to settle on what part of it soever they think proper, as well as on the Lakes, are so fully admitted by the English themselves, that, in order to preserve good correspondence between the two Crowns, it has been specially stipulated in the Treaties formerly concluded between the Governors of New France and New England that the subjects of Great Britain should not have the privilege of coming thither to trade with the Indians; that they would be deemed by the sole act as contravening the order of their Sovereign, and would subject themselves to the confiscation of all their goods, and to other penalties, etc.

11th Up to the Treaty of Utrecht, the English considered themselves so little masters of the Iroquois that they have never been able to prevent them having constantly in their villages French Missionaries, officers, garrisons, and some sort of forts. Even during the last war, they had Missionaries among them, who would still be there, were it not for the violences which the English have been always guilty of towards them, not with the consent of the chiefs of the Nation, but through indecent artifices constantly had recourse to even in time of profound peace, hiring individual Indians to get drunk and to insult the Missionaries. These persecutions have been, in fact, so frequent and so importunate, that the Missionaries, ever in danger of their lives from these drunken hirelings, have been obliged to abandon the place. This did not prevent the Chiefs and Council of the Five Nations asking the Governor-general of New France, repeatedly since the peace of Utrecht, to furnish them again with Missionaries for their instruction, which they certainly would not have done did they consider themselves subjects of England.

12th It betokens very slender acquaintance with the situation of America to pretend that this constructed fort would molest the Iroquois and cause trouble with the nations allies of England. So far from it giving them trouble, the Iroquois, who are the most interested therein, have consented to it, have desired it. No further proofs of that are necessary than the fact of the erection of the fort itself, for how could a hundred Frenchmen have succeeded in constructing this fort, if any disposition to oppose them prevailed among the Iroquois, who are in great numbers, and would have been seconded by the English?

13th We have, long ago, built forts in divers places on both branches of the River Saint Lawrence. So far from these forts being hurtful to the Indian trade, they serve only to secure it. The English can themselves acknowledge, in good faith, that these forts do not prevent our allies going to trade with them whenever so inclined.

14th The English cannot draw any argument from this in favor of their establishment at Chouaguen; because this latter is on French territory, intersects all communication between the Indians of the Upper and those of the Lower country, and has the same effect in favor of the English, as a fort between Paris and Rouen.

From all which it follows, that the French alone have the right to demand justice against the encroachments of the English; to require that they pull down the forts they have built on French territory, and on that belonging to the Abenaquis, our allies; abandon the Islands in the Gut of Canceaux; restore the goods and vessels they have captured, and make satisfaction for the Missionary and Indians they have killed, and for the Church and Mission they have destroyed.

Collated and compared with a copy of an unsigned Memoir or Note on paper in the Secretary's office of the Castle of St Louis, of Quebec, by the undersigned, Royal Notary, resident in the Prevoté of Quebec, this 25th day of July, 1750.

DULAURENT.

Francis Bigot, etc., etc. We certify, etc., etc.

Abstract of M. Dupuy's Memoir respecting the English.

Note of the Minister.

It appears proper to issue an Ordinance forbidding Strangers to remain or reside in Canada, unless settled on land to cultivate it, or working at some handicraft; to prohibit them trading or selling in any way or manner whatsoever. To put into execution the letters patents of the month of October, 1727, respecting Foreigners, &c.

M. Dupuy observes that special attention is to be paid to the great number of English artizans, merchants and others established at Montreal; that this nation has assuredly some designs on that town, and that an order from the King to all these families to remove to Quebec would benefit that town and derange their projects.

That 'twould have been desirable to have anticipated the establishment at Choueguen (advice whereof was given) by sending thither at the very opening of the spring. However, though the house be built, if the suppression of smuggling and the sale within the Colony of prohibited articles be made an object, they will have that post pulled down, for it is rather a speculation of the Merchants than a National undertaking.

As for the other pretensions of the English, his opinion is, to make a pretext of, without deferring, the conferences indicated by article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, and we [can manage] these conferences to arrest their designs and learn what is to be expected from them.

The rights and property France possesses over all Canada are not compromised by the Treaty of Utrecht; it is not doubted that the country belongs wholly to her; there is not a word of any sort in it about limits to be regulated between the two powers, but simply of a mixture of Indian Nations scattered throughout Canada, who, on account of vicinity, may prefer the protection of one or the other Crown, without this personal protection conveying any right of property to the lands and possessions of the Nations who are protected, it being very easily demonstrated that the word "subjects," inserted in that Article, is a frivolous expression, for the English are not able to arrogate to themselves the relative quality of subjects, in the person of Indians, as they do not possess over them that of Sovereigns nor Conquerors; whilst the King of France has made conquests in Canada, of which his Majesty could take advantage, as regards the Indians.

It may also be added, that the English have not acquired, over the Five Iroquois Nations, the right of property they arrogate to themselves in virtue of the said Article 15 of the Treaty. The liberty of these Nations is a continual protest against a Treaty in which they had no part, and the question, what Nations are friendly to, or allies of, the two Powers, remains still to be settled by Commissioners.

Therefore the Governor of New England[1] was in no wise justified in complaining of the building at Niagara as an infraction of the Treaty, the English possessing nothing on these lands. If it be by right of protection, his complaint is a superfluity, the Indians having consented; and the consent he quotes, as evidence that the territory does not belong to the French, does not prove any thing, because it is not with the Indians that we have the discussion. Besides, we would easily dispense with it, as we had built there in 1687, but it has no application in a Colony and a discovered Country, where people are, as we always have been, partners in every thing with the natives by unanimous consent, which they very well understand, since they call the King of France their Father, and the Canadians their Brothers.

All this affair consists then in the perfect analysis and distinction of the Articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, the 15th Article whereof does not make mention of any property or possession, and where it is always assumed as belonging to France, as in fact it has always done; and although the Marquis de Beauharnois hath allowed the word "limits" to escape in the letter he wrote to the English Governor, whereunto he hath not paid sufficient attention, as he ought to have confined himself simply to the text, this word "limits" is not found in the recapitulation the English Governor makes of Article 15, and of the terms in which it is conceived.

'Tis nothing more, then, than an Article of respect and of details, and a precaution adopted to obviate what might embroil the two crowns; and the provision that the Indian Nations will be at liberty to visit mutually such French and British Colonies, shows that those nations must have been deemed perfectly distinct and separate, since the Commissioners have no other power than to distinguish and specify these nations.

Such is not the case with Articles 12 and 13 of that Treaty, which have reference to estates and properties, the King ceding Newfoundland and Acadia thereby.

As regards Acadia, the King cedes it according to its ancient limits; but as he never had any dispute respecting Acadia with any Power, wherein Limits could be designated by him, these

[1] *Sic.* New-York. — Ed.

ancient limits are no other than those given by Nature. It is a Peninsula and a portion of land attached to a larger continent. These ancient and natural boundaries are, therefore, only its Isthmus, or tongue of land, which separates it, and holds it attached to the principal continent, of which it forms a part, in the possession of one Sovereign.

The accessory may, indeed, follow the condition of the principal subject, but not carry it away with it. If the King have ceded any thing else besides Acadia, he should have explained himself distinctly thereupon. This more ample cession demanded a special explanation, without which the cession of a part so distinct and separate could never have carried with it any portion of the Continent, which remained to the King in its integrity, to be calculated from the River St. George, and from that river proceeding towards Virginia, with the exception of what the English have usurped from the French nearly a century after France had entered into possession.

He says, the Decree of the 20th of March, 1703, by which the King reannexed Acadia to his domain, throws great light on this point.

That decree alleges, in one article, that the River Saint George forms the frontier and bounds of the Province of Acadia to the South, toward New England. In another part, its bounds are from the mouth of the River of the *Isle Verite* to New England. And in a third, it is called Peninsula.

He observes, that he has prepared a longer Memoir on the subject, which he could not continue in consequence of having fallen sick; he will transmit it immediately, as it is so much the more necessary to engage conferences thereupon, for should the English again preoccupy any post, as they threaten to do, it would perhaps be necessary to leave [it] to them by arrangement. Herein lies always the danger, when things are suffered to drag; and Canada would be no longer as valuable as it is to the King, should the English encroach on it further than they have already done.

If my Lord consider him qualified, and deem it expedient to begin some informal conferences, which would at least suspend the progress of encroachmnt, and afford time to collect Forces, M. Dupuy offers to set out. Perhaps even it would not be useless to learn the disposition of New England. He will await orders thereupon.

ANNOTATION. It does not appear proper to regulate any thing, nor exhibit any desire to do so.

In my opinion we must not evince any doubt of our right, but at the same time neither cause nor give rise to any idea that we are desirous to form any new establishments.

The people of New England[1] are an industrious people, who think only of thoroughly cultivating their land; they will not think of going to form an establishment, and will not approve of undertaking any, because they must bear the expense of it.

This is not the case with the French. The Canadian would wish that settlements were made 500 leagues off; these sorts of new establishments cannot but be a source of gain to him as well as to the governors, who have by these means more favors to bestow and more money to spend.

[1] York?

It is not expedient for us to remain quiet; and Mr. Dupuy appears to be in error when he treats as a bagatelle the article of the Treaty which states that Commissioners will determine which are the friendly or allied Nations belonging to the two Powers.

This rule, once established, will necessarily bring the country of the friendly or allied Nation under the Crown of which the Commissioners shall declare it the friend or ally.

1st November, 1727.

Lords of Trade to the Duke of Newcastle.

Translation of the letter written by the Lords Commissioners of the Board of Trade to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Whitehall, 21st Decr, 1727.

My Lord,

Your Grace will perceive by the inclosed copy of a letter which we have had the honor to write formerly to you, and likewise by the copies of letters we have just received from Mr Burnet, Governor of New-York, what industry is employed by the French at Canada to encroach upon his Majesty's Dominions in those parts.

In the year 1726 they erected a Fort at Niagara, upon the land belonging to the Five Indian Nations subject to His Majesty, of which complaint has been made, but no redress has as yet been obtained.

Since the building of the Fort by the French, Mr. Burnet has thought it necessary to erect another on the River Osuego, within the territory of the Five Indian Nations, for the protection of our Trade in those parts. What we now complain of is, that the Governor of Canada has peremptorily demanded that this fort be demolished.

This proceeding of the French Governor we conceive to be directly contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, highly detrimental to his Majesty's Rights, and in no sort agreeable to the good union at present existing between the two Nations.

But as the papers inclosed will give your Grace a full state of this affair, we shall only beg leave to add one circumstance, which must put this matter out of all dispute between the two crowns, and inevitably decide the right in favor of Great Britain; namely, that in the year 1726 the Indian Nations, as a confirmation of their entire obedience to the Crown of England, did surrender all their lands to his Majesty, and it is upon part of these very lands that both the Forts in question are erected.

As we look upon this to be a matter of very great consequence to the British interest in America, we desire your Grace would be pleased to take the first opportunity to receive His Majesty's directions for his Minister at the Court of France to make the proper instances for redressing of those grievances.

We are, &cs.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Dupuy.

CANADA.

Memoir of the [illegible] to Messrs de Beauharnois and Dupuy. 29 April, 1727.

His Majesty has been pleased to learn that the Abenaquis of S[t] Francis and Becancourt are disposed to continue the war against the English, and not to listen to any proposals of peace until the English have razed the forts they have erected on the lands of the Abenaquis. That course is of such importance to Canada, that Sieur de Beauharnois cannot adopt measures too precise to foment that war and prevent all accommodation. On which subject his Majesty has nothing to add to what he has prescribed in his despatch of the 14[th] of May, of last year.

On Sieurs de Longueuil and Begon's report that M. Gaulin, Missionary, had prevailed on the Micmaks and the Indians on the River S[t] John to conclude peace with the English, his Majesty caused Sieur de S[t] Ovide, Governor of Isle Royale, to be written to, with a view to obtain correct information on the subject, and had orders sent him at the same time to encourage hostilities. That officer has reported that the Micmaks had not made peace, and so far from M. Gaulin and the other Missionaries having prevailed on these Indians to do so, that they had, on the contrary, incurred the displeasure of the English for having incited the Indians to continue the war; that it is true some young Micmaks and Indians of the River S[t] John, who had been invited to make peace, had, in the month of July, 1726, visited Port Royal rather for the purpose of being entertained there than of negotiating a treaty; that the Governor had submitted propositions to them, but that their Chiefs had recalled them, and sent word to Sieur de S[t] Ovide that they would refer them to him until the spring; that a party of 8 Micmaks had since pillaged an English vessel; that two of these Indians had been killed, and two others taken prisoners, and that this affair would again enkindle hatred and distrust among them; that the Indians assured him that they would not listen to the proposed Treaty of Peace, and seemed disposed to reject any proposals that might be made.

Father Duparc, Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, has written that although the Abenaquis of Panaounké appeared desirous of peace, they did not delay joining the other Abenaquis in the march against the English, and that the Indians of Narantsouak would unite with those of Becancourt.

All this intelligence, joined to the statements of Sieurs de Beauharnois and Dupuy, afford reason to believe that those Nations will continue the war; which is greatly to be desired.

His Majesty has continued the fund of 4000[ll] on the Domain of the West as an aid to Abenaquis families. He approves that a part of the same be appropriated to construct the picket fort which those of S[t] Francis and Becancourt have demanded for the purpose of assuring the more timid of their individual safety. He is persuaded that Sieur de Beauharnois would not have allowed the erection of that fort, and that Father de la Chasse would not have proposed it, could it be productive of any inconvenience.

NOTE. — The above Memoir ought to accompany the King's despatch, of the same date, to Messrs. Beauharnois and Dupuy, *supra*, p. 964, of which it is evidently a part; but 'tis printed here in its order in the Paris Documents, where it is mixed up with the next paper. — ED.

Abstract of Despatches from Canada; with the Minister's recommendation, approved by the King. 16 March, 1728.

20th October, 1727. They observe that the peace which the English have concluded with the Abenaquis has produced a great change in the disposition of these Nations towards us. Father de la Chasse, whose memoir they transmit respecting the non-execution of the Fort they had mentioned, pretends that nothing had caused them to take this step but pure weariness of the war; that those of them who are provided with missionaries always entertain the same affection for us, and would even be disposed to go to war should an expedition be set on foot against the Foxes, and the Nations of the Upper country. A more correct opinion of the situation of the whole can be drawn from the exposé of Father de la Chasse than from their simple conjectures, which is all they can furnish.

Father de la Chasse's Memoir represents, that as the Abenaquis of the village of S^{t} Francis, within 11 leagues of Three Rivers, and in the centre of Canada, had been required to continue hostilities against the English, they had demanded, in 1726, to be provided with a Fort of which they stood in need; that Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Dupuy, being in want of funds to build that fort, Father de la Chasse proposed to appropriate to its construction a portion of the 4000^{ll} destined for the support of the women and children of the two villages of S^{t} Francis and Beccancourt, inasmuch as the 2000^{ll} the King had granted, in augmentation of the 22000^{ll} his Majesty had appropriated in ch[arity] for all the Indians of the Continent, were to be employed in extraordinary presents to the Abenaquis, as was in fact done on occasion of the death of Father Rasle, whose body has been covered.

Fathers Aubry and Mareil, the missionaries at those two places, agreed to that proposition in order that these Indians may be deprived of the plausible excuse of the want of a fort for not continuing the war; but in the beginning of November, 1726, immediately after the departure of the vessels for France, two Abenaquis of Acadia, Deputies from the Village of Panaouamské, came to complain to Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Dupuy that the expeditions from S^{t} Francis and Beccancourt, which had been got up by the Governor and Intendant, had struck a blow on the English; that they, therefore, prayed them to arrest the hatchet of their Brethren domiciliated in Canada, so as not to expose to destruction the entire Abenaquis Nation, especially that adjoining the English, which could not, by itself, resist the forces and great numbers of the English.

An effort was made to encourage those of Panaouamské to prosecute the war, or at least not to prevent those of S^{t} Francis and Beccancourt continuing it; but, notwithstanding all the representations respecting their common interests, they answered that they understood better than any one the importance it was to themselves not to continue the war against the English, and even to entertain the proposals for peace that had been offered them, and to arrest the hatchet of their Brethren domiciliated in Canada, the rebound of which would inevitably fall on them, and that they were resolved, no matter how much they were forbidden, to visit their Brethren of S^{t} Francis and Beccancourt, in order to represent the danger to which they were exposing them by continuing the war. They were told, in answer, that the step they were about to take, was at entire variance with the interests of the whole nation; that nevertheless there was no wish to embarrass them. They did proceed thither in fact, and made the villages of S^{t} Francis and of Beccancourt so sensible of their reasons, that they

continued the war only in spite of themselves; and hastened to stop some parties that were already in the field.

As Father Aubery, Missionary of S^{t} Francis, heard nothing but peace spoken of, and saw that these Indians thought of nothing but of going to ratify the treaty concluded by those of Panaoüamské, and no longer asked for a fort, the project of erecting it disappeared.

80 domiciliated Indians, belonging to S^{t} Francis, Beccancourt and Narantsouak, joined those of Panaouamské and S^{t} John, and all spent the Summer in concluding a peace, the conditions of which have been transmitted in writing by Father Lauverjeat to M^{r} de Beauharnais.[1]

The Missionaries continue to labor diligently to manage the Abenaquis, who serve, even after the recently concluded peace, in which they have renounced neither their religion, their territory nor their union with the French, as a barrier against the encroachments of the English, on the Acadia frontier, where they are partly located and have some French Missionaries.

Besides assisting to prevent their Brethren of Acadia abandoning us altogether, and besides resisting the seductions of the English, those of S^{t} Francis and Beccancourt will be able to serve in the war which it is believed it will be necessary to proclaim against the Foxes and other nations; Father de la Chasse therefore considers it proper to continue the pension of 4000^{ll} to these two villages, which, being distributed by the Missionaries, will keep them always attached to the French.

25th 7^{ber} 1727. The Marquis de Beauharnais observes that my Lord will perceive, particularly from the extract he transmits of the letter of Father Lauvergeat, Missionary at Panaoüamské, how ill founded were Father Aubery's false alarms respecting the peace of the Abenaquis with the English.

It sets forth that the Chiefs of Panaoüamské request him not to entertain any doubt of their fidelity, and to be persuaded that the English will never be able by all their presents and schemes to detach them from the French, nor debauch them from their religion; that if necessity, or want of strength to continue the war, hath constrained them to make peace, it will not prevent them joining the French as soon as the latter will declare war; that he will himself perceive from the paper he transmits how far the English are out in their calculation, and what degree of credit is to be attatched to these rumors.

The papers sent by Father Lauverjeat are, 1st, a certificate signed by himself and Sieur de S^{t} Castin, of the 12th July, 1727, to the effect that they have heard the interpretation of the English documents containing the Articles of the Peace purporting to have been stipulated at Boston, and confirmed and ratified at Caskebay, between the Indians of Panaouamské and M^{r} Dummer, Governor-general of New England, which interpretation has been made in the Abenaquis tongue, in presence of the Chiefs and Deputies of the said Village of Panaouamské, by two of the English interpreters, who had interpreted these Instruments to the said Indians at Boston and Caskebay; that these have suppressed, in the beginning of these instruments, the article wherein the English make the Indians say—

That they come to submit to them.

That they acknowledge themselves to be the sole authors of the War which has been waged on both sides during 4 or 5 years.

That they renew the pretended Treaties formerly concluded between them and the English, whereby the English claim that the Indians surrendered themselves and their lands to the

[1] The Treaty concluded at Falmouth, Maine, 11th July, 1727. *Williamson*, II., 155. — Ed.

King of England, acknowledged him for their King, and placed themselves in the number of his subjects.

That they accept English laws.

That they make a league, offensive and defensive, with the English.

The English Interpreters have rendered the above articles by the following words :

That the Indians of Panaouamské were come to pay their respects to the English Governor ; to make peace with him, and renew the ancient league formerly entered into between them.

The English interpreters refused to interpret the act of amnesty and pardon granted to the Indians by said Governor in behalf of the King of England, in consequence of the pretended Treaties herein before cited.

Father Lauvergeat and Sieur de S^{t} Castin furthermore declare that the said Indians of Panaouamské protested to them, in the presence of the English interpreters, that they, the Indians, had never spoken, nor the said interpreters mentioned to them, aught respecting the aforesaid articles, except in the subsequent terms above reported, and that the English interpreters had never mentioned any thing to them except an Armistice, a Treaty of peace, accommodation and amity between these two Nations.

The 2nd is entitled, Treaty of Peace concluded at Caskebay between the Indians of the Village of Panaouamské and the English, the of August, 1727.[1]

It begins in these words:

I, Panaouamskyen, inform ye — Ye who are scattered all over the earth, take notice — of what hath passed between me and the English whilst negotiating the Peace that I have just concluded with him. It is from the bottom of my heart that I inform you, and, as a proof that I tell you nothing but the truth, I wish to speak to you in my own tongue.

The remainder is couched in these terms:

His reason for communicating this truth to the French, is the diversity of interpretations given to the English documents containing the articles of the peace which they have just mutually agreed to ; which writing appears to contain things that are not, so that the English themselves disavow them in his presence, when they read and interpret them to him.

He then declares that it was the English who first spoke to him of peace, and that he made no answer until they had spoken to him a 3^{d} time ; that he went first to the River S^{t} George to hear the propositions, and afterwards to Boston, whither he had been invited on the same business.

On arriving at Boston, with two other Indians, he saluted the Englishman in the usual style, but was not the first to speak to him, and only answered his questions at this interview.

The Englishman began by asking him what business brought him to Boston? he merely answered, that he was come at his invitation to hear the propositions for a settlement that he wished to make.

To the Englishman's question, Wherefore did they kill each other? he replied, he was right; but never told him that he acknowledged himself the author of the War, and did not regret having waged it against him.

The Englishman, having invited him to propose what was necessary to be done to come to a settlement, he made answer — That such was rather his business, because, having spoken first of a settlement, he did not doubt but he would make him some advantageous propositions.

The Englishman said to him — Let us observe the Treaty our Fathers have made, and renew the ancient league ; whereunto he made no answer.

[1] Abstract of Document. *Supra, p.* 965. — Ed.

The Englishman asked him again—Did he not acknowledge the King of England to be King in all his States? He answered, Yes; but do not understand that I acknowledge thy King as my King and King of my lands; God having willed that he, an Indian, have no King, and be master of his lands in common.

He again asked him—Did he not admit that the English were at least masters of the lands they had purchased? Whereunto he replied, that he admitted nothing, and knew not what he had reference to.

The Englishman asked him whether they would not unite to arrest whomsoever hereafter should desire to disturb the negotiation of Peace that they were engaged about. To this he agreed, but did not understand that they were to go in company to attack such person, nor that they should form a mutual league, offensive and defensive, or unite their forces together. He understood only that if any one was disposed to disturb their negotiation of peace, they would both endeavor to appease him by fair words.

The Englishman again said to him—In order that their peace be durable, should any private quarrel hereafter arise between the English and the Indians, they would not take justice into their own hands; they would refer it to their Chiefs to decide; Whereunto he consented, but he did not understand that the Englishman should alone be Judge, but that each should judge those belonging to his own party.

Finally, the Englishman said to him—There's our peace concluded. Whereunto he made answer—Nothing is yet determined, because it must be approved in a General Assembly; an armistice was sufficient for the present, and he was going to inform all his relatives of what had passed between them.

This was all that occurred at his first visit to Boston, and there was not a word about grace and amnesty accorded by the English in the name of his King; the Englishman never spoke of it to him and he never asked it.

His second visit to Boston, he being the fourth, was merely to tell the Englishman that all his Nation did approve of the armistice, and of the negotiation of Peace, and even then the time and place of the meeting, for the purpose of negotiating, were agreed upon. That place was Caskebay, where two conferences were held, without any thing being decided except to approve and ratify every thing the Indian did assent to, and on these conditions was the peace concluded.

Only one point more was arranged then. That was to permit the Englishman to keep a store at S^{t} George, without building any other house or post—not giving the land.

He concludes by saying, that what is herein before set forth is the truth; and should any one produce any writing that makes him speak otherwise, no attention is to be paid to it, because he does not know what he is made to say in another language, but he knows well what he says in his own. And in testimony that he states things as they are, he has signed the present *Acte*, which he wishes to be authentic and to remain forever.

Father Lauverjeat has advised Father de la Chasse that the Abenaquis had told the English that they were making peace with them only on condition that they would not encroach on Abenaquis lands, and that they reserved unto themselves, in case of a rupture between France and England, the right always to adhere to the French. But these two conditions are merely verbal, and have not been inserted in the Treaty. This will oblige him always to manage these Indians, and not to refuse them what he might be justified in not allowing them, after having made their peace with the English contrary to his advice and without consulting him.

In reply to the representation to the M[s] de Beauharnois on the 13[th] of May, 1727, that Father Aubery, a Missionary of the Abenaquis of S[t] Francis, had in a letter to Father Davaugour mentioned only an allowance of 2000[li] annually to the Abenaquis Nation, whilst the King allowed 6000[li]; namely, 2000[li] from the Marine for presents, and 4000[li] from the Domain of the West, under the head of Jesuits, and that that aid ought to suffice for the support of the families belonging to these Indians—

25 7[ber], 1727. He answers, that having communicated this despatch to the Jesuits, they replied, that Father Aubery intended to speak only for his own village when he stated that the 2000[li], which the King allowed annually, did scarcely suffice to support the women and children, and they have added, that of the 6000[li] which his Majesty accords annually for the Abenaquis, about 2000[li] went for the subsistence of the village of S[t] Francis, and as much for that of Beccancourt. This comprises the 4000[li] under the head of Jesuits, the remaining 2000[li] being employed in presents, which it is usual to give those Indians when they go to fight.

OBSERVATION.

There was originally in the estimate of the expenses of Acadia a fund of 4000[li] for presents to the Indians of that Colony. The staff and troops having afterwards moved to Ile Royale, this fund was included in the estimate of the expenses of that Island; but Mess[rs] de Vaudreuil and Begon having represented that, as Ile Royale had no communication with the majority of the Indians of Acadia, who were more convenient to Quebec, 2000[li] were deducted from the estimate of Ile Royale, and appropriated since, in that of Canada, for presents to the Abenaquis, irrespective of peace or war.

On the representation that these Indians would be more readily disposed to wage war against the English if they were assured that their wives and children would be supported during their expeditions, it was determined, in 1723, to appropriate 2000[li] annually to that object, on the estimate of the Domain, under the head of Jesuits, in order to conceal from the English the source whence they derived this aid; and on the representation that this sum was insufficient, it was resolved, in 1725, to appropriate 4000[li] instead of 2000[li], and the appropriation was made in the estimates of 1725, 1726 and 1727.

The motive for this allowance having disappeared by the Peace which these Indians have apparently concluded with the English, or at least by their cessation of hostilities, would seem to indicate the stoppage of this expense, not for 1728, because these Indians will possibly have gone on the expedition against the Foxes.

This fund could be more usefully expended hereafter on the enceinte of Montreal.

20[th] 8[ber], 1727. Mess[rs] de Beauharnois and Dubois, explanatory of two petitions of the Jesuit Fathers—

First. That the Abenaquis of Narantsoüak being desirous of reëstablishing their ancient village, apply for a Missionary who may preserve them in the Catholic Religion; that they will furnish them with one if the King, having regard to the losses those Indians have suffered on the occasion of Father Rasle's [death], will be pleased to supply them with a Chalice, a Ciborium, an Ostensorium and other Church ornaments, and with furniture for the Missionary's house, which they lost there.

Second. That the Hurons of Detroit are asking for a Missionary, whereby they would be attached more strongly to the French. They are ready to supply one, hoping that his Majesty will be pleased to furnish his maintenance.

NOTE. The Jesuits have, on the estimate of expenses, yearly:—

For their Missions in Canada,		5000ll
For their Iroquois and Abenaquis Missions,		1500
For the support of a Missionary at Kanzas,		600
For the support of a 3rd Regent at Quebec,		400
For the support of 2 Missionaries to the Sioux,		1200
For that of a Missionary at Tadoussac,		600
On the marine. For the School of Navigation at Quebec,	800	
On the marine. For their house at Montreal,	500	
		1300
		10600

They have learned by Sieur Brau, who visited Quebec this summer, that Sieur Gaulin did not act as was reported of him. These clergymen are required at Acadia, where a great number of Catholics have remained. The Bishop of Quebec[1] has just sent thither one Mr Desclaches,[2] a man burning with the zeal of the house of the Lord, devoid of all solicitude for himself, and such a person as is wanting in these missions, which are still the more difficult in consequence of the greater degree of management and discretion required there than in any other quarter.

EXTRACT FOR THE KING.

The peace of the Abenaquis with the English is an inconvenience, but apparently these Indians could not do better. As they served as a barrier at the lower part of the Colony of Canada, where the English could inflict most damage in time of war, it seems proper to preserve them in the French interest, and for that purpose to continue their allowance of 4000ll. But instead of distributing this exclusively among those domiciliated at Beccancourt and St Francis, it appears better to divide it among those of that Nation who possess Missionaries; as those who are not domiciliated have it in their power to serve the Colony as usefully, because they constitute the barrier to the English of Acadia.

16th of March, 1728. Approved by his Majesty.

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 388.

[2] Rev. JACQUES DE L'ESCLACHE, No. 416, *Liste Chronologique*, which states that he received Holy Orders in Canada on the 7th October, 1714, and died on 31st October, 1746. — ED.

Hon. Mr. Walpole to the Court of France respecting Forts Oswego and Niagara.

Memoir respecting a Fort built by the English at Oswego. 9 March, 1728.

M^r^ Burnet, late Governor of New-York, having thought proper to build a fort on the River Osuego for the security and protection of the English trade in that quarter, the Marquis de Beauharnois, commanding for his Most Christian Majesty in Canada, wrote him a letter from Montreal, dated the 20^th^ of July, 1727, which he transmitted by M^r^ de la Chassagne, Governor of the town of Three Rivers, complaining of the permission granted by the Governor of New-York to the English merchants to trade on the River Osuego, and particularly for having caused the aforesaid fort to be built.

The Commandant of Canada pretends that the French have the exclusive right to trade in that country; that being masters of Canada, including Lake Ontario and the adjacent territory, it is a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht to build a fort at the place where this Lake joins the Osuego river, since by that Treaty it is provided that the subjects of the one and the other Crown are not to molest each other nor to encroach the one on the other, until the Limits be fixed by Commissioners to be named on both sides.

On this principle the Commander of Canada says that he sends M^r^ de la Chassagne to M^r^ Burnet to communicate his sentiments and intentions to the latter, at the same time that he dispatches an officer to summon the commandant at Fort Oswego to withdraw with his garrison and to demolish all the works.

The Commandant of Canada feels no difficulty in treating, throughout his whole letter, the establishment of this fort as an act of hostility, and doubts not but his Court will so regard it.

It is to be remarked that the Marquis de Beauharnois executed his plans so adroitly that M^r^ Burnet was, before M^r^ de la Chassagne's arrival at New-York, already advised by the commander of his fort of the aforesaid summons on behalf of the Commandant of Canada. This summons was to the effect that the garrison should withdraw within 15 days at farthest, with their arms, ammunition and all sorts of effects belonging to the English, and completely demolish all the works, in default whereof the Marquis de Beauharnois would adopt such measures against them as he would deem proper. This summons bears date 15^th^ of July, 1727, and it appears by the test of Begon, Major of Quebec, that he made formal service thereof on the 1^st^ of August following.

It is of this proceeding, among others, that M^r^ Burnet complains in his letter to M^r^ de Beauharnois, dated the 8^th^ of August, 1727, stating that it had been well, had the Commandant of Canada awaited M^r^ Burnet's answer, and afforded time to the Commandant of the fort to receive orders from New-York before having recourse to such a proceeding.

In regard to the Trade which the Commander of Canada pretends to belong exclusively to the French, M^r^ Burnet abides by the Treaty of Utrecht, Article 15 whereof states, that one and the other — namely, the subjects of Great Britain and the subjects of France — shall enjoy full liberty of resort on account of trade. This shows that the Trade is every where as free to the English as to the French; and with much less reason ought the English be denied the liberty to trade with their own subjects, such as the Five Nations are, as will more fully be seen in examining what regards the fort.

A Plan de la redoute a Machicoutes que
ont fait construire a l'entree de la rivi
avec maconnerie de moilons et terre q

B Elevation de la dite Redoute

C Vingt bateaux du bois aux Anglais

D Huit Canots d'Ecorce

E 70 Cabanes aux Marchands Anglois et F

F Tentes des Troupes ou campent 60 Soldat

G Situation de la redoute

H 200 Pieux de Cedre de 15 pieds de long q

I Mouillage des Barques

A Plan of the Redout with Machicoulies which the English
built with rough masonry and clay at the mouth of the
Riviere Chouaguen

B Elevation of said Redout

C Twenty Batteaux belonging to the English

D Eight Bark Canoes

E 70 Cabins belonging to the English and Dutch Traders

F Tents of the Troops where 60 Soldiers Camp

G Situation of the Redout

H 200 Cedar pickets 15 feet long supposed to be intended
for the erection of a fort

I Anchorage of the Vessels



Copied from the Original now in the Archives of the
Marine & the Menus and Colonies Sept 1840

J. Vinycomb Goodhue

M^r^ Burnet would be entirely justified in building this fort, and maintaining it, without violating the treaty or encroaching on the French, since the Commissioners to be named would have nothing to determine relative to the Countries of the Five Nations, who are already declared by the Treaty of Utrecht to be subjects to the Crown of England. Now, it is precisely on the lands of the Five Nations that this fort is built. All that the Commissioners would have to do would be to determine exactly and distinctly who are and who ought to be [accounted] subjects or friends of Great Britain or of France. This does not include the Five Nations, but, indeed, certain other nations of America, friends of Great Britain. Here is the Article itself:

"The inhabitants of Canada and others, subjects of France, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians subject to Great Britain, nor to the other Nations of America who are friends of the same. In like manner, the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends of France, and they shall, on both sides, enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade. And the Natives of these countries shall with the same liberty resort to the British and French colonies, for promoting trade on the one side and the other, without any molestation or hindrance either on the part of the British or French subjects. But it is to be exactly and distinctly settled, by Commissioners, who are and who ought to be accounted subjects of Britain or of France."

To pretend, then, that Commissioners would have to pass on the Five Nations, would be to destroy what is formally declared in the first part of the Art. respecting the submission of these people to Great Britain. But as mention is made of other nations of America, friends of this Crown, and immediately afterwards of Americans, subjects or friends of France, without naming either the one or the other, it is of these latter Americans, or Nation of America only, that the Commissioners will have to determine which will or ought to be accounted subjects and friends of Great Britain or of France; and not the Five Nations, who, independent of what is declared above regarding their submission to Great Britain, have judged fit to donate anew to the King of Great Britain their entire country, as will be more fully seen by a Memoir presented to his Eminence Cardinal de Fleury on the 9^th^ of May, 1727, Copy whereof is hereunto annexed, Let^r^ B.

Memoir respecting Fort Niagara, presented to his Eminence, Cardinal de Fleury, 9^th^ of May, 1727.

The Governor of New-York, being informed that the French were engaged, by order of M. de Longueil, who commands in Canada, in building a fort at Niagara, a country dependent on the Senekas, one of the Five Iroquois Nations subject to Great Britain, considered it his duty to write thereupon immediately to the aforesaid, his Most Christian Majesty's Commander in Canada. This he did on the 5^th^ of July, 1726, representing to him that these Indians being subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and acknowledged as such by the Treaty of Utrecht, which granted them and the other Indians permission to visit the British and French Colonies for reciprocal advantage of trade, without any molestation or hindrance on either side, as expressly stipulated by the 15^th^ Article, they had every reason to fear that they would be molested and hindered, in their trade and otherwise, by means of a fort so situated between

Lakes Ontario and Erié, that not only would they no longer have free passage to go hunting in their country beyond these Lakes, but they would be cut off from all trade with the Farther Indians, who being no longer able to repair to the country of the Five Nations, could not consequently visit the English Colonies for purposes of trade, conformably to the said Treaty. Wherefore, the said English Governor requested M. de Longueuil to be pleased to desist from an undertaking which he had no right to attempt in another's country, and contrary to the consent of the people to whom that place belonged — an undertaking so opposed to the Treaty and to the perfect union that exists between the two Nations.

M. de Longueuil says, in the answer he returned on the 16th of August, 1726, that he was not acting except by the orders of his Court; that it was not his intention to shut in the Five Iroquois Nations, and to deprive them thereby of their trade; and that he did not think he was contravening the Treaty of Peace of Utrecht, denying, at the same time, that the Five Nations were subjects of England, and that so far from doing what he was engaged in against their will, he was building that fort with the consent of these People, given in a Council holden at Niagara, on the 14th of July, 1726.

Mr Burnet, Governor of New-York, caused, about that time, the Five Nations to be assembled at Albany, on the 7th of September, 1726, in order to ascertain whether it was true that they had consented to the establishment of Fort Niagara, and to learn all that had taken place in the Council of July, on which the French founded their pretensions.

At this meeting at Albany, the Deputies of the Five Nations (or to speak more precisely, of the Six, since the Tuscareras had removed from Carolina and formed a Sixth) publicly and unanimously protested against the attempts of the French, saying that they had never consented and would never consent to it; that the Onondages, one of the Six Nations, had indeed, at first, given some sort of consent; that it was lawful for one of the Six Nations to submit propositions for the approval of the others, which were of no effect, in case the remainder of the body non-concurred, and that the consent of these Onondages amounted to nothing more. They, themselves, had repented of this, and united with the Five Nations shortly after in sending a Deputation from the entire body to make a joint and unanimous representation to the French, who were working at the Fort, that they should desist from their work; that they had not the least right to establish themselves in that passage, and that they, the Indians, had every thing to fear from such an undertaking; that they protested against it, which they did according to their fashion.

As if this proceeding on the part of the Indians was not sufficient to indicate their disavowal, they repaired to the Governor of New-York, as above, and in three conferences with the English, in full assembly, on the 7th, 9th and 13th of September, 1726, protested anew against the French undertaking. The Onondages, in particular, expressed the utmost regret and sorrow for their weakness, and, in a word, they all claimed the protection of their Sovereign and King of Great Britain, most humbly praying Mr Burnet to be pleased to take charge of their representations, and to inform his Majesty of their complaints and apprehensions, and to recommend them to his goodness and clemency, so that He may employ his good offices near his Most Christian Majesty to have Fort Niagara demolished. And, as a stronger mark of their entire submission and complete obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, the Three Nations contiguous to the Lakes and to the place where the fort was building, gave a Deed of all the Beaver hunting ground beyond the Lakes, in confirmation of a like Deed made in the year 1701, as well as of a large extent of country on this side of the Lakes of about 60 miles;

Namely, from Canahogué, on Lake Erie, to Cahaquaragha.[1] This they did of their own accord, relying on the justice and power of his Britannic Majesty for their safety and protection.

It is to be remarked, that the Nations in question are formally acknowledged, by the Treaty of Utrecht, to be subject to and under Great Britain, and in virtue of the same Treaty they and all the Indians are to enjoy full liberty of coming and going for the purpose of trade, without molestation or hindrance. Now, the pass at Niagara is that by which the Far Indians are able to repair to the country of the Five Nations, and also the only one by which the Five Nations themselves can go into their own territory to hunt; and in spite of the benevolent and innocent views Sieur de Longueil pretends to entertain in building such a fort, the Indians cannot be reputed to enjoy free trade and passage so long as they are bridled by a fort built on their own territory, against their will, and which absolutely subjects them to the pleasure of the French, wherefore they have recourse to their Sovereign and King, the King of Great Britain, who cannot refuse to interest himself strongly, as well on account of these subjects as for the maintenance of Treaties.

Abstract of the Correspondence between Messrs. de Beauharnois and Burnet.

Canada. Abstract of Mess^rs^ Beauharnois and Burnet's letters respecting Fort Oswego, with the decision of the government of Canada, and the Minister's conclusion.

The French have been from all time in exclusive possession of the Lakes of Canada, called New France, and the sole traders in the Upper countries. This fact was so generally acknowledged, that the English who were taken in these Lakes, though in a time of profound peace, had their property confiscated without any protests.

Since the Treaty of Utrecht the English have endeavored, in virtue of the 15^th^ Article, to prosecute trade there the same as the French, and have even wished to prevent the establishment of a house somewhat stronger than that the King had built at the place formerly occupied by Fort Denonville, on Niagara river, near Lake Ontario, which obliged the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France, to dispatch, last July, Sieur de la Chassaigne, Governor of Three Rivers, to New-York, and to write to M^r^ Burnet, the Governor of the latter place, complaining of the permission given to the English merchants to trade at the Choueguen river, and of the building erected at the mouth thereof; that such an undertaking was capable of disturbing the union of the two Crowns; that he could not be ignorant of the possession by France, since a considerable time, of all the territory of Canada, whereof that of Lake Ontario and the lands adjacent form a part, and whereon his Majesty has had Fort Denonville, on the River Niagara, now rebuilt; Fort Frontenac, still existing; another on Famine river; Fort des Sables; that at Cayuga bay, and at Choüeguen, all of which have been occupied by the French, who alone have been entitled, and in

[1] For this Document, see V., 800. — Ed.

possession of the right, to trade there, and that such an undertaking is an infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht.

He sent, at the same time, Sieur Begon, Major of Quebec, to Choüeguen to summon the English officer in command of that new post to withdraw with the garrison, to demolish the fortifications, and to wholly vacate that post.

Mr Burnet has answered M. de Beauharnois, complaining that, without awaiting his answer, the English commandant at Choüeguen had been summoned; he does not admit the establishment, or the trade, of the English to be an infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht, inasmuch as they have traded there for 5 consecutive years without opposition.

That Art. 15 expressly stipulates that the subjects of the two Crowns shall have full liberty of coming and going among the Nations for purposes of trade; and by these Nations are to be understood, as is evident from what precedes, all Americans, subjects, allies or friends of France and of Great Britain.

That in virtue of such Treaty England claims to have a right equal to that of France to trade throughout all the Lakes and the Continent, and that it follows also that all the Natives of the country should be likewise permitted to trade in the English and French Colonies indifferently, without any molestation; that nevertheless the Canadians have done, and still do, all they can to prevent the Indians frequenting the English for purposes of Trade.

That though the Canadians might have been in times past in exclusive possession of this trade, it avails nothing, as the Treaty constitutes the rule.

That the fortified house built by the French at Niagara, on the territory and with the consent of the Five Nations, according to M. de Longueuil's letter to him dated the 16th of August, 1726, suggested to him the idea of erecting one which is much smaller at Choüeguen.

That had the Niagara post not been on the territory of the Five Nations, their consent would not have been asked; that the same has been the case with all other posts mentioned by M. de Beauharnois, which, with the exception of Fort Frontenac, had been abandoned several years before the Treaty of Utrecht, and that it is certain that they have not been built except with the permission of the Five Nations, as M. de Beauharnois admits, when he says that these establishments were formed without any opposition; and what has been built without objection can never be regarded as a conquest, as the French have wished to maintain.

That no Convention or Treaty appears ceding to the French any of the lands of the Five Nations, who, on the contrary, assert that the lands on the one and the other side of Lake Ontario belong to them.

That Art. 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht expressly declares the Five Nations under the dominion of England; that the conclusion of that article, to the effect that Commissioners to be named on both sides shall specify, exactly and distinctly, what people are and ought to be considered subjects or friends of France and what of Great Britain, cannot possibly be imagined to apply to the Five Nations, for if Commissioners were to decide anew if they be subjects of England or of France, that would be an indirect contradiction of the first part of the same article, which expressly declares them to be under the dominion of England; but mention being made of other Americans, allies of England, and of American subjects or friends of France, without naming them, it was as clear as day that the Commissioners will not have to decide except as to the last alone; that finally, he considers himself obliged to maintain the post of Choüeguen until further orders, and will complain to the Court of England of the summons served on the officer in command there.

Here are the terms of Article fifteen of the Treaty of Utrecht:

"The inhabitants of Canada and other subjects of France shall not hereafter molest the "Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subjects of Great Britain, nor the other Nations of "America, friends of that Crown; in like manner, the subjects of Great Britain shall behave "themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends of France, and on "the one and the other side shall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade; "and with the same freedom the natives of these countries shall resort to the French and British "Colonies for reciprocal benefit of trade, without any molestation or hindrance on the one side "or the other. But commissioners shall exactly and distinctly settle who are and who ought "to be accounted subjects and friends of France or of Great Britain."

M. de Beauharnois had intended to dispatch a body of Regulars and Militia to dislodge the English from Choüeguen, but, upon reflection, did not consider it proper to do so without his Majesty's orders, the rather as the success of that expedition depended on the part to be adopted by the Iroquois, who had not yet gone down to Montreal. The earnestness with which these Indians spoke to him, beseeching him not to stain their territory near Choüeguen with blood, showed him that he had adopted the wise course, as it appears they would not have failed to sustain the English in case an attempt had been made to drive them from Choüeguen.

This fort being occupied, Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Dupuy observe that nothing remains to be done but to endeavor to render it useless to the English.

That the colony belonging to New England[1] being for the present again delivered up to Companies of Traders, who turn it to their profit, it is to be presumed that the principal object of the English, who have just settled there, is to carry on a direct trade with the Indians, and to drive a commerce immediately with the French who are engaged in smuggling.

The views of the English are equally prejudicial to the Colony, and the first remedy thought of has been to prevent the canoes of French traders, coming from the Upper country, to pass along the south shore of Lake Ontario, and to oblige them to keep always on the north of that lake, or to pass by the Grand River.

The decision of M. Dupuy, in 1726, that the King's sloops at Niagara should take on freight the packages of the Upper country Voyageurs, will facilitate this plan; because the obligation on the part of the Voyageurs to place their peltries in these barks will insure — 1st. Care being taken, by the requirement of precise declarations on their part, that they do not conceal their packages, and the arrival of such packages agreeably to the manifest; also, the security of the cargo of the sloops against fraud. 2d. That those who will refuse to put their peltries on board the barks shall be marked and necessary orders issued to observe them more closely.

This attention, and a special severity towards those Frenchmen who will have the audacity to undertake the voyage to Choüeguen, will possibly render that establishment entirely useless; and as it has been erected only by Traders, apparently, and with a view to traffic and profit, the cause of the project not continuing, its effects and consequences will possibly likewise disappear.

The course adopted by M. de Beauharnois to suspend his expedition against Choüeguen in consequence of being without orders, and on account of the dispositions

[1] *Sic.* New-York. — Ed.

of the Iroquois in this regard, seems wise. It appears proper not to make any public demonstration at present; to restrict their past and future measures to rendering that post useless to English trade, and to endeavor to induce the Iroquois to contribute to that end.

16 March, 1728.

Louis XV. to Messrs. Beauharnois and Dupuy.

Extract of the Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Beauharnais, Governor and Lieutenant-general, and M. Dupuy, Intendant of New France.

His Majesty has been surprised to learn that the English have succeeded in prevailing on the Abenaquis to make peace; it is an unexpected inconvenience, but these people have been, apparently, constrained thereunto, and unable to act otherwise, and will always retain the same attachment for the French, which it appears by their speeches they are determined to do, according to assurances to that effect given by their Missionaries. He permits Sieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy to use every means to retain them in these sentiments. It is in this view, that his Majesty has been pleased to continue the annual appropriation of Four thousand livres, granted since some years for the support of the women and children whilst the men were engaged in war, and which allowance he might have stopped; but his intention is, that this sum, which was distributed only among the Abenaquis domiciliated at Beccancourt and S^{t} Francis, be divided among all those of that nation who have Missionaries; those not domiciliated being able to serve as usefully as the others, inasmuch as they form the barrier against the English of Acadia, and it is, consequently, best to manage them. Sieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy will make arrangements with Father de la Chasse respecting this repartition, and will see to the execution of the King's intentions in this regard.

As the English possess the power, in case of a rupture, to inflict more injury on Canada by attacking it on the lower part of the Colony than elsewhere, it would be very desirable to render it populous in that direction, which would contribute much more to its security than any thing that can be accomplished above Montreal, where the major portion of the colonists, attracted by eagerness for the Indian trade of the Upper country, endeavor to form establishments, without reflecting that they could not be sustained, and would have to be abandoned in time of war. It will be difficult to convince them of this, but however that be, his Majesty desires that Mess^{rs} de Beauharnais and Dupuy will encourage those who have no establishments to settle in the lower part of the Colony, as much as possible, and to report the measures to be adopted, in case they find it difficult to determine on this plan, the execution whereof is of the utmost consequence.

His Majesty approves of the Jesuits sending a Missionary to Narantsoüak, to retain in the Catholic religion the Abenaquis who are willing to resettle in that village. He is pleased, at the same time, to allow them wherewith to replace a Chalice, Ciborium, Ostensorium and other Church Ornaments which were pillaged when Father Rasle was killed at that Mission

by the English. M. Dupuy will have them manufactured at Quebec with all possible economy, and deliver the whole to the Missionary, who will be sent thither.

His Majesty cannot give any orders respecting the furniture they require, as no care has been taken to transmit any estimate. But as they have not been subject to any deduction during the time that Mission was vacant, the balance of the allowance can easily defray the cost of this furniture, which must be trifling.

If Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Dupuy consider it necessary to allow the Hurons of Detroit a Missionary, according to their desire, his Majesty will approve of the Jesuits sending one thither; but he is very glad to explain to them, at the same time, that he shall not allow any increase of expense for that service.

It has afforded his Majesty much pleasure to be informed of the proofs they have received that the conduct of Sieur Gaulin, the Missionary, had not been such as reported; his Majesty was well satisfied of the contrary, aware that he is a firm and zealous clergyman. As there is no longer a Récollet in Acadia, and the governor has declared that he would not suffer any Friar there, his Majesty has approved of the Bishop of Quebec having sent thither Sieur Desclaches,[1] who will be very useful there, if, as Sieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy have written, he be a zealous, prudent and discreet clergyman, devoid of all selfishness.

His Majesty, who was expecting to receive, by the return of last year's vessel, the plan and estimate of the fort which Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Dupuy had proposed to erect at Choueguen, has been greatly surprised to learn that he has been anticipated by the English, who have built and established a fort and garrison at that place. This is so much the more unfortunate, as it places them in a position to compete with the French for the Upper country trade, and perhaps to prosecute it with greater advantage. His Majesty has, nevertheless, approved M. de Beauharnais' resolution not to make any attack on that post, out of deference to the dispositions of the Iroquois on that subject; because, also, it was not proper to do so without his Majesty's orders, and there is every reason to believe that the Iroquois have not been sorry for, but contributed to, the attracting of the English to that quarter. Be this as it may, it is his Majesty's pleasure that no public movement be made at present against that establishment; that Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Dupuy restrict themselves to the measures they have already taken, and those it will be in their power to adopt, to destroy the trade of the English, and that they so manage as to prevail on the Iroquois to contribute thereto, by giving them to understand that the English (which is a fact) are only trying to invade the Upper country, and that if once in the ascendant there, they will reduce the Iroquois to slavery. Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Dupuy ought to use every means to make them understand their interests, and induce them to adopt early measures to prevent their impending fate. All which must be adroitly managed.

His Majesty has not been surprised to learn that no attempt has been made on the house at Niagara, as all the reports the English had been spreading in that regard were intended only to cover their design to settle at Choüeguen and conceal all knowledge thereof from Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Dupuy, wherein they have but too well succeeded.

As the reconstruction of the house at the Niagara carrying place seems at present no longer necessary, in consequence of change of circumstances, his Majesty has approved of their not having done any thing in that business, and does not authorize the remittance of the Twenty thousand four hundred livres that he had destined for that object, and which Mess^rs^ de

[1] See note 2, *supra*, p. 995. — Ed.

Beauharnais and Dupuy propose to expend on an establishment at La Galette, where the Lake Ontario sloops would come to load and unload. His Majesty is ignorant of what utility such an establishment may be; he is, besides, not in a condition to supply therefor the necessary funds, which exceed always two-fold the projects sent from the Colony. Meanwhile he desires that the plan of this establishment be transmitted; also, an estimate of the expense, with a report from which some idea may be formed of its use to his Majesty, to the Colony and to Commerce; whereupon he shall cause his intentions to be communicated to them.

His Majesty becomes more and more convinced that the management of posts to which they are sent by officers for their own benefit, so far from increasing the trade and the attachment of the Indian Nations, is productive of quite an opposite effect. The trade diminishes whilst that of the English makes considerable progress; and the confidence and attachment of the Indians towards the French become daily weaker. Independent of the trifling attention perhaps paid to the selection of those who are sent to these posts, all this is the consequence of the officers, who solicit such appointment only with the view to their own interest, taking up goods on credit in the Colony at excessively high rates, as they are unable to advance out of their own pockets the funds necessary for the trade, and raising those rates still higher when they sell to the Indians, so as to derive a profit. This estranges the Indians, favors the trade of the English, who, not being subject to the same charges, or excess of cost, can afford to furnish goods at a lower price. As it is impossible for things to remain in this state without exposing the Colony to imminent destruction in consequence of the annihilation of the trade, his Majesty would have determined this year to order the recall of the Officers and soldiers in the Upper country, and the farming out of all the posts, as it is his opinion that those who will become the lessees, being in a condition of themselves to advance the funds necessary for the trade, and interested to augment their Commerce, would supply the Indians with goods at a lower price, and by civility and good treatment keep them attached to the French, whereunto they are well disposed. They would be still further cemented by the attentions of the Missionaries and the distribution of presents for which his Majesty appropriates Twenty thousand livres annually. He has, however, been unwilling to issue any precise orders on this subject, before causing his views to be communicated to Mess^{rs} de Beauharnais and Dupuy, who, he desires, will examine them without prejudice or complaisance, transmit a very circumstantial Report containing the reasons *pro* and *con.*, and the means proper to be used; he recommends them not to be swayed except by public interests, commercial advantages, and the safety of the Colony.

If they consider it proper to lease these posts, his Majesty will approve of their commencing, without waiting further orders, by farming those of Niagara and Detroit, which can be very advantageously leased, and will produce, independent of the profit his Majesty will derive therefrom a very considerable saving, by the curtailing of the expenses incurred there, which can hereafter be more advantageously applied to the security of the Colony.

They will observe that, in farming these posts, his Majesty is to be discharged from all expenses attendant on them, even for the keeping up of the two sloops on Lake Ontario, which it will be proper to convey to the Lessees.

They will observe, in like manner, not to issue any license to go and trade at these posts, as whatever will be done there is to be for the profit of those who will take the leases thereof.

According to the intelligence his Majesty had received respecting the negotiation of peace between the Illinois and Fox Indians, he had reason to believe that it was on the eve of being

concluded, and has been much surprised to learn, not only that it had been broken off, but, still more, that Sieur de Beauharnais had determined on making war on the Foxes. His Majesty is persuaded of the necessity of destroying that Nation, as it cannot keep quiet, and as it will cause, so long as it exists, both trouble and disorder in the Upper country; but he should have wished that such a step, the success whereof is problematical, had been postponed until his orders had been received. It is even to be feared that the project may not have been so secret as that the Indians have not been informed of it. In this case, if they foresee their inability to resist, they will have adopted the policy of retreating to the Scioux of the Prairies, from which point they will cause more disorder in the Colony than if they had been allowed to remain quiet in their village. Possibly, even the other Nations, who have been apparently animated against the Foxes, will be touched at their destruction, and become more insolent should we not succeed. As the expedition is apparently organized at present, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow the 60 m.ll demanded by Sieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy, for the expenses of that war, news of the success of which he will be expecting with impatience.

He has examined the plans and projects of the proposed Fortifications at Quebec, and has not approved Messrs de Beauharnais and Dupuy's proposition to build a Citadel there, because these species of Fortifications are not adapted to the genius of the Canadians, who do not like to be confined; and because there are not sufficient Regulars for its defence. Moreover, his Majesty is not in a condition to meet an expenditure of 325290ll, required for the execution of that project. Means must be found to provide for the security of that place at a less cost. Messrs de Beauharnais and Dupuy are not ignorant that any design the English could form against Quebec would entail considerable expense on them, in consequence of the vast number of ships and troops they would be obliged to employ. The attempts they made during the last war gave them reason to know that success is very uncertain; but granting that they should be willing, in case of war, to get up a new expedition, and were sufficiently fortunate to reach Quebec, their besieging it in form and capturing it appears a matter of difficulty. Messrs de Beauharnais and Dupuy must examine this subject maturely in conjunction with the Engineers; draw up a plan of fortification which will not be susceptible of alteration like the preceding ones, and be careful to transmit it to his Majesty, in order that when it will have received his approval, and the state of the Treasury will justify the expense, he may appropriate the funds necessary for its execution.

His Majesty regards the completion of the inclosure *(enceinte)* of Montreal as highly useful, and necessary for the security of the Colony. He recommends Messrs de Beauharnais and Dupuy to urge that work forward with all the diligence compatible with the annual appropriation of Seven thousand two hundred and fifty livres, destined therefor. He desires that the work be proceeded with immediately, that there be annually transmitted a plan of what will have been executed, and that Sieur Dupuy do annex thereto the account of the funds that shall have been disbursed for that object. He forbids him to divert these funds to any other use, for any cause, motive or pretext whatsoever.

He is persuaded the farmers will pay punctually what they owe of the tax imposed to meet a portion of this expense; Sieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy will carefully attend and have an eye to this matter.

His Majesty has seen all they have written on the subject of the distribution of Brandy among the Indians, on which subject no complaint has reached him. He recommends them to see that no abuse be committed in this matter, because, should any come to his ears, he

would resolve on prohibiting this trade with the utmost rigor. He continues persuaded that had Messrs Beauharnais and Dupuy perceived that their toleration was prejudicial to the religion or to the Colony, they would of their own accord apply suitable remedy thereunto, by causing the former prohibitions to be rigorously executed, which he cannot too earnestly recommend them.

Dated at Versailles, 14th of May, 1728. LOUIS.

PHELIPPEAUX.

Hon. Mr. Walpole to the Keeper of the Seals.

Soissons, 22nd June, 1728.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the translation of a letter I have received from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, which you will perceive relates to two Forts erected on the territory of the Five Nations of Indians, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain. One of these forts, the first, situated near Niagara, has been built by the French, who, we say, have no right to build there, for the purpose of molesting the said Five Nations, and keeping them in check; the other fort has been subsequently erected at the River Osuego, by the English, who assert that they have a right to do as they please on the lands of a people subject to, and recognized as the subjects of, the Crown of Great Britain. Independent of this difference in the two cases, it is to be remarked, that the English Governor contented himself with complaining of the matter to the Commander in Canada, whilst the latter commenced by summoning the garrison of the English fort, and treating him as an enemy.

The better to illustrate the first point concerning the Niagara fort, I must request you, Sir, to be pleased to permit me to refer further back. This I shall do, by informing you that on the 9th of May, 1727, I had the honor to communicate to his Eminence the Cardinal, by letter, the inclosed Memoir,[1] by which it appears that, as the Five Nations are under his Britannic Majesty's protection, he will interest himself deeply in their safety, they having been formally declared by the Treaty of Utrecht subjects to the Crown of Great Britain; and that they, in further proof of their submission and obedience to his Majesty, again made him a full grant of all their territories and countries. I repeat to you, Sir, to-day this last fact the more readily, as it is an argument which goes equally to demonstrate what little right the French had to build a Fort at Niagara, of which we have already complained, by showing with what justice and reason we have erected, and pretend to be entitled and obligated to continue, our fort at Osuego. As his Eminence gave assurance that this matter should be investigated, I doubt not but our not having received advice of the good effects produced by his most Christian Majesty's orders is owing altogether to the great distance of the places. Meanwhile, as the instructions from my Court refer as well to that affair of Niagara as to that of Fort Osuego, I beg you, Sir, to be pleased to attend to both at the same time. Wherefore I transmit you a memoir on the latter subject,[2] together with a translation of a despatch from the Lords

[1] *Supra*, p. 997.

[2] *Supra*, p. 996. — ED.

Commissioners of the Board of Trade to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. From this and from the former, marked A., which the Duke of Newcastle addressed me on the 16th of last month,[1] you will ascertain the sentiments of the King, my Master, and how much his Majesty desires a redress of the grievances of such consequence to his interests, in order to disseminate every where the good effects of that happy and intimate union between the two Crowns.

Not to overwhelm your Excellency by [sending] all the papers I have received on these subjects at different times, and which are very voluminous, I refer to Mr. to give you more ample information, until I shall have the honor to confer personally with you thereon, and I flatter myself to be able to place the whole matter in a light that you will feel no hesitation in ordering the Commander in Canada to desist from his undertakings. No one honors you more perfectly than I.

Signed WALPOLE.

M. de la Chauvignerié's Visit to Oswego and Onondaga.

Report of the Voyage of M. de la Chauvignerie, officer, Interpreter of the Five Iroquois Nations, sent by order of the General, with a message to the 'Nontagués, 1728.

Three leagues from Choüéguen I sent three Wampum belts to notify the Nontagué Chiefs to meet me on the business which brought me among them; and with three other belts I invited the four other Iroquois Nations, their allies, to repair to the Nontagués to hear the message of their Father, Onontio, which I had to communicate to them.

On the arrival of the Nontagués at my tent, they told me, on the part of the Commandant of Choüéguen, that as I was passing his place on public business, I must fire the first salute and lower my flag. His proposition surprised me; my people would persuade me to do so. I therefore suddenly stood up and said to them: Ye know such is not the intention of your Father, Onontio, whose message I carry. A young fool in the canoe of those of the Lake,[2] cried out to me, that he would fire and salute the fort. I replied to him, Indian fashion, that he lied, and that I should not suffer it, being unwilling either to witness or be an accomplice to such a folly; that I was surprised he had so soon forgotten the words of his Father, Onontio, whose intentions I had communicated to him during our voyage; that I had no manner of business with him who was Commandant of the house at Choüéguen.

They returned to said Fort and reported to me that the Commandant insisted on what they had first communicated to me. I asked them whose was the land over which I wished to pass? The question caused them to droop their heads and they remained in pensive silence. It was not until I told them I wanted a decisive and categorical answer, that they replied: The ground over which I wished to walk was theirs. I then said to them, since it was their property, I, as Child of their Father, Onontio, and bearer of his message to them, wished a clear

[1] *Supra*, p. 959, the date of which, according to the present Document and on comparison with the despatch of the Lords of Trade, *supra*, V., 845, ought, seemingly, to be 1728, instead of 1726. — ED.

[2] i. e., of Two Mountains.

road, and that all the branches overhanging the river be cut away, so that my flag might pass without being obliged to remove it from where their Father, Onontio, had placed it; and that I should not fire a salute until others had saluted me. Willingly or unwillingly they approved and we proceeded.

When I arrived opposite the house of Choüéguen, we found at the mouth of the river a canoe with people of the Sault who were returning from war. This obliged us to land to give our folks an opportunity of learning the news and to cause the Prisoners to dance, as is the custom among the tribes. During this interval the Commandant at Choüéguen sent for six of the principal Chiefs, including me. My Chiefs invited me to follow them. I answered that I had no business at that house; they were masters to go there, since they wished it; I should keep my tent with the young men. Tegarioguen wished to remain with me; I persuaded him to accompany the others, so that I may learn from him what transpired. He is, moreover, a man on whom I place great reliance. They accordingly set out for the fort. In the interval of their visit, three cannon were fired, the meaning of which I did not understand. On their return I learned that it was to do honor to the toasts. They began by—The King of England; The Commandant of the Fort, and the General of the French in Canada. These are the terms they made use of. Here is what was said to them by the Commandant of the Fort.

Brothers, I never failed to assist the people of your Nation, and you in particular, when you pass by my house and come to see me. I will always act so towards you. I invite you to peace and tranquillity between you and us.

He gave them three pots of Rum, a large piece of Pork and a bushel of Peas, which they brought to the Camp. I found them all except Tegarioguen in a state of great drunkenness. They assured me that the Choüéguen Sachem had been charmed to see them, and that he gave them milk to drink to their Brother's health. But the excitement they were in led them, nothwithstanding all the entreaties I could make, to finish what liquor they brought. This delayed me three days before the Fort, as they were drunk, so that I was unable to do any thing. I was not free from uneasiness, having only Tegarioguen for support, if I were insulted.

When the Chiefs of the Lake of the Two Mountains and of the Sault S^{t} Louis returned to my tent, the Nontagué Chiefs came to summon me, on the part of the Commandant of the Fort, to strike my flag that I had hoisted over my Tent, as I was under the guns of the Fort. I always answered Indian fashion—I knew no flag but that of their Father, Onontio, which I carried, and it should not be lowered until I was tied. Contrary to the custom of lowering it at sundown, it remained flying, night and day, the whole of the time I was constrained to remain at that post.

On the day of our departure it was again the same tune: I must absolutely fire first and strike my flag. This I would not do; therefore no salute on the one side nor on the other, and we set about starting. A Nontagué Chief, carrying a British flag in his hand, called out to me to embark. I forbade my people doing so, telling them I would not march under an English flag, and they obeyed me. I told them we should start when the English flag was no longer to be seen, which we did. I reproached the Nontagués with their weakness and the little respect they paid their Father and his colors, since they dared not pass Choüéguen without a British flag. They answered—You're right, Father; but you know we have to use every sort of management here. I replied—Under their Father's flag there was nothing to be feared. And forthwith they furled the British flag, which has not made its appearance since.

When we were within half a league of the Nontagués, the Chiefs of that Nation came to meet us with three strings of Wampum, to wipe away our tears and clear our throats, according to the custom of that Nation, after which we set out with the flag for the village. I hired Karskaroanin, a chief of the Nation, to bewail on my arrival the recent death of Ononsarogon and his nephew, and, afterwards, all the dead of the Five Nations, on behalf of their father, Onontio. On arriving at the village, he whom I had hired to wail entered first, according to custom, and I next, followed by those of the Lake of the Two Mountains and of the Sault S^{t} Louis, always bewailing the dead. I took possession of Ononsarogon's Cabin, over which floated the French flag. We remained there two days without speaking, waiting for the Chiefs of the other four Iroquois Nations, whom I had invited to come to hear the word of Onontio, their Father. Of the four Nations that were invited, the Oneida and Cayuga only came. The Nontagués assured me that the Senecas and the Mohawks do not make their appearance in their villages when invited on business. Notice was given me of the arrival of the Oneidas and Cayugas. I sent to inform them that I would speak to them on the morrow, in order to allow them the remainder of the day to recruit themselves. I did so in these words:

A Present for the Two Dead.

8 Blankets, 8 shirts, 8 pairs of stockings, 8 breech-cloths, 2 dozen of butcher-knives, 4 dozen with dog-heads, thread, needles, 2^{lb} of vermillion; on these were stretched the two Dead, three belts and other articles that were given to the family being strewn over them. The following is the speech:

Children. This is to announce to you that your chief is not dead; he reposes on my arm; by these Belts I support him.—(Naming the one and the other).

4th Belt.

Children, I am come to cover up the Dead of your Nontagué village.

5th Belt.

Children: 5 Nations. I invite you by this Belt to reunite all together. Your fire, which I kindle again, is designated by this Belt. I invite you to preserve it all together, and with your brethren of the Lake of the Two Mountains, and of the Sault S^{t} Louis, and to have but one heart. This is what I invite you to do by this Belt.

6th Belt.

Children: Five Nations. I am aware that grief overwhelms you. I know your heads are bowed down, and that you take no thought of any thing. With this Belt I lift up your heads, and clean your mats so that you may freely talk with your young men, the Warriors, about all the affairs of peace.

7th Belt.

Children: Five Nations. I suspect that your heart is sick. With this Belt I administer a mild medicine to you, to cleanse your breasts in order that you may talk freely about affairs of peace.

8th Belt.

Children: Five Nations. I wipe away your tears; I raise up your heads, cleanse your hearts and your mats. Children: Five Nations. I also know you are in darkness; by this Belt, I clear the sky and set up another brilliant and new sun, in order that you might all be able to see clear in the affairs of peace.

9th Belt.

Children. By this Belt I gather together, on your mats, all the bones of the Five Nations that have been killed, and that have died; I bring them all back to my Children, the Nontagués, and inter them in the same grave. Where I have lighted up again the fire in your country, continue always, my Children, good business.

10th Belt.

Children. I have settled all the affairs of your villages. Here now is a tenth Belt, by which I engage you all, my Children of the Five Nations, to remain quiet, and to listen, at the same time, to my word. I present you this Belt in order that you sustain, all together, the Five Nations, and all think of good business; and I invite you that we hold each other's hands, and not listen to any evil minds that may still remain. Remember I have relighted your fire, and that I am seated by it; keep your word with your brethren of the Lake of the Two Mountains, and of Sault St Louis; happy if you can form but one fire and one heart.

Notice to the Five Nations from the General, by me, La Chauvignerie, by three strings of Wampum.

Children. Messrs St Vincent, Contrecoeur, Meloise and Robert the Chief, with whom you were all acquainted, have died since you were to see me at Montreal.

End.

Abstract of Messrs. de Beauharnois and d'Aigremont's despatches, and Orders thereupon.

English Establishment at Choueguen, on the Shore of Lake Ontario.

1st October, 1728. Messrs de Beauharnais and d'Aigremont observe, that they will adopt the best measures to render the post of Choueguen useless to the trade of the English; that, to effect that, orders have been issued obliging the Canoes of the French Voyageurs, on their way down from the Upper country, to pass along the north shore of Lake Ontario, which orders will be strictly enforced, and such measures pursued as will tend to the same end.

They propose forming a new establishment in the bay of the Cayugas,[1] 8 @ 9 leagues west of the River Choueguen, by means whereof the English post would decline so that it would be abandoned.

To defray this expense, they demand a grant of 38047ll.

[1] Great Sodus bay, Wayne county, N. Y. — Ed.

It is to be apprehended that the English will form this establishment, and if they be not anticipated, France may possibly lose the South part of the Lake.

Decision of the Minister, submitted to the King, by whom it is approved.

It appears proper to stay the measures which have been adopted to render the Post at Chouguen useless to the English; it does not appear to have been prejudicial to the trade carried on for the King's account at Forts Frontenac and Niagara, on Lake Ontario, which is two-thirds more in 1728 than in 1726 and 1727.

As for the proposed establishment at the bay of the Cayugas, it does not appear very necessary, for, independent of its cost, which would be greater than is proposed, it would occasion an annual expense besides; it would even be difficult to establish it on account of the opposition and jealousy of the Iroquois, which would be fomented by the English. Even were it attended with success, there is no doubt but the English would immediately set up another post alongside of it, as they are favored in that regard, by the Iroquois, whose policy it is that neither of the two Nations should be superior in their country. This same policy would lead them to prevent the English establishing themselves at the bay of the Cayugas, should they undertake to do so, as M. de Beauharnais apprehends.

For all these reasons it appears proper that things remain as they are, on Lake Ontario, and that no new establishment be formed; that M. de Beauharnais be recommended to see that the English do not form any, and to excite the Iroquois, should they form one.

Approved.

The supplying the post at Niagara with every sort of merchandise proper for the trade of the Indians, in sufficient quantities to deprive them of all excuse of going to the English in quest of what they will not find at that post, and the furnishing these goods at lower rates than those fixed by the India Company, appear to them one of surest means to destroy that trade. Otherwise the proceedings of the English at Choueguen will never be effectually prevented, no matter what may be done; and it is, on the contrary, to be apprehended that they will soon succeed in putting into execution the views they have long entertained of rendering themselves masters of the head of the Lake, and of pushing their trade as far as the Upper Nations.

The ammunition and goods required by the Colony are carefully sent out every year, and that is to be continued.

Observations.

The India Company sends to Canada nothing but scarlet cloth, large quantities of which were called for and sold at 9$^{\text{ll}}$ the ell; but since 1726, the price has been lowered 30 sous, having fixed it at 7$^{\text{ll}}$ 10 sous the ell.

They send Sieur de Chaussegros' Memoir on the establishment of a post at La Galette,[1] with the plan and estimate which had been required of them when that post was proposed.

The King will not have any new establishment, not even at La Galette.

[1] Prescott, C. W. — Ed.

This Memoir contains reasons for its constructions at La Galette or at Lake Ontario; he represents that some 8 or 9 English [1] west of the River Choueguen is a large Bay called the Cayugas', situate in a beautiful country, which he visited in 1726, and found on sounding, that large ships could anchor and be quite safe there; that the harbor is like that of Louisburg, with this difference only, that Louisburg is oval, whilst the bay of the Cayugas is almost circular, having at its head a large river which leads to the village or country of the Cayugas.

The entrance to this bay, which is narrower than that of Louisburg, is formed by two landspits; they are appropriately called the Peninsulas, and inclose this Bay.

The English being established at Choueguen, he is of opinion that we should be in a position to drive them out of it on the first war, were we seated alongside of them at the Bay of the Cayugas, and did we possess a stronger fortification than they.

> The King will not have any establishment at Cayuga; that at Niagara has called forth that built by the English at Choueguen. If one were made at Cayugas bay, the English would make one elsewhere. Besides, there are already too many posts.
>
> There is no appearance that the English will establish any, either at Cayuga or at any other part of Lake Ontario. It must, however, be closely attended to, and should the English be disposed to undertake one, the Iroquois must be prevailed on to prevent it, by making them perceive their interests. But his Majesty does not desire any open attack to be made on the English.

The advantage of this post is — 1° That large vessels can lie in the Bay, whilst only small craft will be accommodated at Choueguen, on account of the shallowness of the river. 2° Choueguen being established partly for trade only — the English Merchants having the largest share — it is certain that should the King cause any to be carried on at the projected post, the latter will, by its proximity, be the ruin of that of the English. The merchants, being forced to retire, in consequence, his Majesty would find himself in possession of the South shores of this Lake, which belong to him by virtue of first discovery and of having established the earliest Trading posts, such as La Famine, Fort des Sables, Niagara, &c.

If the proposition be approved, nothing remains to carry it out but to gain over the Cayugas by a few presents, and to construct, in the course of one summer, a good redoubt and surround that afterwards with a wall, or a wall with a ditch outside, as it is important to prevent the English encroaching on the territory of the Colony, and more especially on these parts, where they cut off the communication with the Upper country. Should his Majesty not occupy Cayuga bay, this post will possibly share a fate similar to that of Choueguen. He knows that the English are anxious to occupy it, and should they not be anticipated France will possibly lose the South portion of this Lake. It is intended to load, at the proposed establishment at La Galette, the Lake Ontario vessels with the goods for the posts on that Lake, and thereby save a portion of the expense of forwarding the canoes up. Were a house built there, it would cost as much as a redoubt *à machicoulis*,[2] and this house, not being fortified, would thereby be exposed to be burnt. But these sorts of redoubts have the same accommodation as houses, and can eventually be surrounded by a ditch or wall; it will have

[1] Qvere? leagues. — Ed.

[2] i. e., with the upper, projecting beyond and overlooking the lower, story, or the ditch. *James.*

the advantage of being capable of defence and of accommodating eight cannon and a hundred fusileers. It will be safe from an escalade, and, as all the stories will be arched and paved with stone, a garrison and all the property will be safe in it; and he assures that such a work is superior to Fort Frontenac, which, independent of its ill construction, is in a bad situation. The enemy, on their way to Montreal, pass it at a distance of four leagues, whilst they come within cannon shot of La Galette.

Sieur de Chaussegros' plan and estimate state that if this redoubt be placed at Cayuga bay, it will cost 30 or 47. 7ª 9ᵈ; if it be constructed at La Galette it will possibly cost something less, as this post is only 36 leagues from Montreal.

Messrs de Beauharnais and d'Aigremont observe in a special despatch of the 1st of October, that in consequence of its being represented to them, since the arrival of Baron de Longueil, that it would be more for the security of the Colony to form an establishment on the South shore of Lake Ontario, and to preoccupy the posts of which the English might make themselves masters, they have proposed to postpone the post at La Gallette, which can always be made whenever his Majesty shall so order, and approve that the funds which might be intended therefor be employed on the one M. de Longueil proposes to erect in Cayuga bay, between the River Choueguen and the post at Niagara. It is of the utmost consequence not to permit the English to anticipate us. Choueguen is a proof of that, and if we neglect to make an establishment at Cayuga bay, there is no doubt but the English will come and settle there immediately. It is the only place where large vessels can be built; the English cannot build any of that description in the River Choueguen.

Same date. 1st 8ber, 1728. They observe that the late Marquis de Vaudreuil had adopted measures in 1724 to bring the nation of the Chaouanons[1] nearer to the Colony; they are at present between the Iroquois and the English. This nation, which consists of over 700 Indians, has been much attached to the French, and was the first to ask to approach them, saying they were unhappy alongside the English.

It would promote in a considerable degree the prosperity and security of the Colony, could these Indians settle between Lake Erie and the Ohio river. Naturally fond of the French, they would form a barrier between the Iroquois and us, and their numbers would make them respected. They would reinforce our domiciliated Indians, who are decreasing every day; and in case of war with the Iroquois, would, doubtless, be of very great assistance. All these reasons have induced them to adopt M. de Vaudreuil's views; and M. de Longueil, who had, in former years, sent a person capable of properly managing that negotiation to ascertain the dispositions of those Indians, having learned that they continued to be resolved to come near us, though unable to do so through fear of the Iroquois, has proposed to send the same person thither again this year, in order to induce some of the most considerable chiefs of that Nation to accompany him down to Montreal with the word of all their villages, and to examine with those Chiefs the district that could be assigned them for the establishment of the new villages alongside the French.

These Indians have begun a village on the River Ohio, which already contains more than 150 men and their families. They have traded from all time with the French, and are a very industrious people, cultivating a good deal of land.

[1] The French name for the Shawnese. — Ed.

Two families have already removed from this village to the vicinity of Lake Erie. There is another small lake in a tongue of land situate between Lake Erie and the River Ohio, which divides into two branches, whereof one falls into the River Ouabache and the other flows towards Lake Erie. The latter is not very navigable. It is in this tongue of land that the Chouanons desire to settle. This settlement will not be at most over 25 leagues from Lake Erie, opposite a place called Long Point.

Cavillier is the name of the person whom M. de Beauharnais has permitted to return to the Chouanons. He is understood and known by these Indians, and will probably negotiate this affair with success.

The construction of two sloops on Lake Erie would contribute materially to the increase and preservation of the trade of the Upper country. It is intended to establish a small post on the borders of that Lake, to serve merely as winter quarters for those vessels by means of which the whole of Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan would be navigated. The last is convenient to the country of the Foxes, and what war soever may occur hereafter with the Indians, these sloops will afford the means of supplying the upper posts with all the requisite supplies of ammunition and provisions. The colony would derive another additional advantage from these vessels; they would keep in check the Indians who are carrying their peltries to the English, and the latter would be no longer tempted to send canoes loaded with Brandy and merchandise to the head of Lake Erie, whither they sometimes go to trade with the Indians. If these views be approved, they beg that orders may be sent by the first vessels, so as to enable them to commence the post in the very forepart of the next autumn, and to order the cutting of the timber necessary for the construction of these barks. The late M. de la Salle had one built with which he navigated these three lakes.

January 25, 1729. The King will not incur this expense.

Abstract of Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart's Despatches.

Abenaquis.

25 October, 1729. In regard to the measures adopted last year by M. de Beauharnais for retaining the Abenaquis in sentiments of attachment to the French, with which measures the King has expressed himself satisfied, Mess^rs^ de Beauharnais and Hocquart assure that his Majesty will not be less so with those they shall jointly adopt to preserve them in this disposition, and will closely watch their proceedings in case these should be prejudicial to the Colony; they will consult with Father de Lachasse[1] respecting the distribution of the four thousand livres granted annually for the necessities of that Nation, and will see that all the villages having Missionaries, shall share therein.

The Missionary who went to the Village of Narantsouak has returned thence with the intention of again going thither in the spring; the Indians who have brought him are to come in quest of him.

[1] Rev. Pierre Joseph de la Chasse was a missionary among the Abenaquis as early as 1700. He was Superior of his Order in Canada from 1718 to 1727, when he was succeeded by Father Duparc, and is said to have returned to France in 1736. — Ed.

Although they feel all the advantage of restoring that village to its former condition, they observe that it is now to be apprehended that our domiciliated Indians may abandon their villages of S^{t} Francis and Becancourt with a view to go and settle with their brethren at Narantsouak. These ideas may be suggested to them by the proximity of the English, and the presents with which the latter overwhelm them. But every thing possible will be done to dissuade those Indians from that course, as there is no doubt, should they adopt it, they would be, sooner or later, lost to France. This will form one of the objects of attention, and Mess^{rs} de Beauharnais and Hocquart will see what will best comport with the welfare of the Colony, whereof they will afterwards render an account. They add, that on the arrival of the Missionary there, only six cabins of these Indians were at that village; Father Lauverjeat, Missionary at Panaoumské, took charge of them during the former's absence.

Lake Ontario.

They will enforce the orders issued to oblige the canoes of the French Voyageurs when returning from the Upper country to pass along the north side of Lake Ontario, such course being very necessary on account of the Trade carried on by the English at Choueguen.

They will see that the stores at Niagara be supplied with goods adapted to the wants of the Indians. They represent it as desirable that goods be furnished the Indians at the same prices as the English supply them at Choueguen; this would be the true means to destroy the trade of that place. They will adopt, besides, all the precautions necessary to accomplish that object.

Inasmuch as his Majesty has not approved of the proposed establishment at the Bay of the Cayugas, it shall not be thought of any more, unless it be determined upon. It is to be hoped that we shall not be anticipated at that point by the English, who do not omit any opportunity of encroaching.

They will direct all their attention to the preservation of the trade at Niagara and Fort Frontenac, and will curtail every apparently useless expense.

The same objections to the farming the posts always continue, and there is not a doubt of the entire loss of all those posts, should it be decided on to lease them.

Although there be no reason for suspecting that the English will undertake to establish other posts, except the fact that they have one at Choueguen, it is to be presumed that they might think of doing so. There is no doubt of their desire to encroach on Lake Ontario, nor is any reliance to be placed on the policy of the Iroquois, who, loaded with presents, will suffer themselves to be easily seduced by the English should they form such a design. The Indians have not been 'till this time of day without hearing that they must regard the English as a nation that seeks to invade their country and make themselves masters of it. M^{r} de Beauharnais will continue to insinuate this idea among them, and will not neglect any thing to prevail on them not to listen to the propositions the English might make them.

If necessity do not require the employment of the two sloops, one alone will be absolutely required for the forwarding of whatever supplies are sent to Fort Frontenac for the use of the post at Niagara.

The proposition submitted last year, to construct two sloops on Lake Erie, appeared judicious, inasmuch as they would navigate all the Upper Lakes. It was also intended to keep those nations in check by means of these vessels. Provisions and munitions of war for the entire army could be safely conveyed to their country in case of war with the Foxes. The multiplication of canoes would be obviated thereby, and the difficulty and trouble of finding

sufficient persons qualified to manage them would be removed. But as there is an appearance, from all their proceedings, of a solid peace with that nation, and as his Majesty does not approve of the construction of these two sloops, nothing more will be thought of them.

The measures adopted by M. de Beauharnais to bring the nation of the Chaouanons nearer to the Colony have not been without effect. Cavelier, whom he had intrusted with that commission, brought him four of their deputies, this summer, to Montreal, to assure him of their entire fidelity and attachment to the French. They told him that, being unhappy with the English, and united formerly with the French, they had come to ascertain if he would receive them, and where he would wish to locate them. These dispositions made him think that it would be well to attract them and take advantage of the inclination which led them to visit him. But as it was not prudent to determine on a place, which perhaps would not have suited them, or might be injurious to some other Nation as regards hunting, on account of the proximity of the one to the other, he contented himself with telling them that he could not better respond to the pleasure he felt at seeing his children, than to leave them entirely at liberty to select, themselves, a country where they might live conveniently and within the sound of their Father's voice; that they might report, next year, the place they will have chosen, and he should see if it were suitable for them. What quarter these Indians shall have selected will be reported next year, when it will be approved of only so far as it will comport with the welfare of the Colony. They do not expect that this change will entail any other expense than a few presents to that Nation, which it is necessary to attract, and which will be a barrier between the Iroquois and us.

Brandy.

The toleration his Majesty is pleased to entertain in favor of the distribution of Brandy to the Indians, is so much the more necessary, as that liquor is the sole allurement that could attract and preserve them to us, and deprive them of all inducement to go to the English. Care will be taken that no abuse arise therefrom, and if this toleration be found prejudicial to Religion and the Colony, they will apply a remedy, and cause the prohibitions against this liquor to be enforced.

The Fort at the Scioux.

They agree that the fort the French built among the Scioux, on the border of Lake Pepin, appears to be badly situated, on account of the freshets. But the Indians assure that the water rose higher in 1727 than it ever did before, and this is credible, inasmuch as it did not reach the fort this year. When Sieur de Laperrière located it at that place, 'twas on the assurances of the Indians that the water did not rise so high; moreover, he could not locate it more advantageously in regard both to the quantity of land suitable for cultivation and to the abundance of game. These two considerations, the one and the other of which are paramount, conjoined to what the Indians told him respecting the freshets, determined him; but as the water might possibly rise as high as in 1727, this fort could be removed four or five *arpens* from the lake shore, without prejudice to the views entertained in building it on its present site.

It does not appear probable that this settlement any more than the fort, could give umbrage to that nation, which, itself, had solicited it. The favorable reception it had extended to the French on their arrival, seems to contradict the representations on this subject. It is very true that these Indians did leave shortly after, on a hunting excursion, as they are in the habit

of doing for their own support, and that of their families, who have only that means of livelihood, as they do not cultivate the soil at all. Mr de Beauharnais has just been informed that their absence was occasioned only by having fallen in, whilst hunting with a number of Prarie Scioux, by whom they were invited to accompany them on a war expedition against the Mahas,[1] which invitation they accepted, and returned only in the month of July following.

The interests of Religion, of the service, and of the Colony are involved in the maintenance of this establishment, which has been the more necessary as there is no doubt but the Foxes, when routed, would have found an asylum among the Scioux had not the French been settled there, and the docility and submission manifested by the Foxes cannot be attributed to any cause except the attention entertained by the Scioux for the French and the offers which the former made the latter, of which the Foxes were fully cognizant.

It is necessary to retain the Scioux in these favorable dispositions in order to keep the Foxes in check and counteract the measures they might adopt to gain over the Scioux, who will invariably reject their propositions so long as the French remain in their country, and their trading post shall continue there. But despite all these advantages and the importance of preserving that establishment, Mr de Beauharnais cannot take any steps until he have news of the French who asked his permission this summer to go up there with a canoe-load of goods, and until assured that those who wintered there, have not dismantled the fort, and that the Scioux continue in the same sentiments. Besides, it does not seem very easy, in the present conjuncture, to maintain that post, unless there be a solid peace with the Foxes; on the other hand, the greatest portion of the Traders who applied in 1727, for the establishment of that post, have withdrawn, and will not send thither any more, as the rupture with the Foxes, through whose country it is necessary to pass in order to reach the Scioux in canoe, has led them to abandon the idea. But the one and the other case might be remedied. The Foxes will, in all probability, come or send next year to sue for peace; therefore if it be granted to them on advantageous conditions, there need be no apprehension when going to the Scioux, and another Company could be formed, less numerous than the first, through whom, or some responsible merchants able to afford the outfits, a new treaty could be made whereby these difficulties would be soon obviated. One only trouble remains, and that is, to send a commanding and sub officer, and some soldiers up there, which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of good order at that post; the Missionaries would not go there without a Commandant. This article, which regards the service, and the expense of which must be on his Majesty's account, oblige them to apply for orders. They will, as far as lies in their power, induce the Traders to meet that expense, which will possibly amount to 1,000ll or 1,500ll a year for the Commandant and in proportion for the officer under him, but as in the beginning of an establishment the expenses exceed the profits, it is improbable that any company of merchants will assume the outlay, and in this case, they demand orders on this point, as well as his Majesty's opinion as to the necessity of preserving so useful a post, and a nation which has already afforded proofs of its fidelity and attachment. These orders could be sent them by way of Ile Royale, or by the first merchantmen that will sail for Quebec. The time required to receive intelligence of the occurences in the Scioux country, will admit of their waiting for these orders before doing any thing.

[1] One of eight tribes composing the Nation of the Southern Sioux in the older maps. They occupied the territory around the Great and Little Sioux rivers in Iowa, from which they have not moved very far, being now located between the Missouri and Nebraska rivers in the territory of Nebraska. — Ed.

IROQUOIS INDIANS.

Mess^rs de Beauharnais and Hocquart send the extract of a letter written by Father de Lauzon,[1] Missionary at Sault S^t Louis.

This letter states that, reflecting on the means to be adopted to detach the Iroquois gradually from the English by attracting them to the Missions, it is easy to get their relatives who are domiciliated at the Sault S^t Louis to invite them to come among us. Thirteen years' experience has shown him that success will attend this course when some trifling present can be made those who quit their country to reside in ours, and there has not been a year since he has been in the mission that some Iroquois family did not come to settle there and be instructed. 'Tis true that all have not remained there, but what mostly discouraged them seemed to him to have been that their wants could not be supplied as readily at the mission as in their own country; for although the Christian Indians are well inclined to assist those who come to settle among them, and the Missionaries help them as much as they can, it often happens, notwithstanding, that it is impossible to meet all the wants of the new comers as soon and as abundantly as is needed. Hence, the Indians imagine that they are thought nothing of, and under the apprehension that poverty, some of whose pinchings they already begin to feel, will endure a long time, they decide on returning home.

It would be necessary for the King to grant the mission of Sault S^t Louis some revenue whereby facilities might be afforded to the Missionaries to assist the new comers and to have fields cleared for them promptly, in order that they may gather corn the very first year for their support.

He observes that the Mission of the Sault is the oldest, the most populous, and that which has afforded the most proofs of its attachment to the French in the wars with the English and the Iroquois, and the one, which, notwithstanding, derives the least benefit from the King's bounty, receiving only 500^ll^ though it has three Missionaries. An increase of revenue would afford it the means of sending a deputation, from time to time, to the villages of the Iroquois with a view to attract some of them to the mission, and to assist them to settle there, which, whilst promoting the glory of God and advancing their salvation, will augment, at the same time, our strength, by depriving the English of those whom they would use against us in time of War.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I have the honor to communicate to you some intelligence respecting what passed at Orange, between the English and the Iroquois. It was sent me by M. de la Corne, who received it from Sieur de la Fresnière, Lieutenant of the troops, and it was communicated to him by an Abenakis Chief who came thence.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, and most

Obedient Servant,

Quebec, 10^th^ October, 1730. BEAUHARNOIS.

[1] Rev. FRANÇOIS LOUIS DE LAUZON succeeded Father Lafitau (*supra*, p. 882) at the Sault St. Louis. He is said to have died in 1745. *Liste Chronologique.* — ED.

A Chief belonging to S[t] Francis arrived here this day, the thirtieth of September, on his way to hunt at the head of Lake S[t] Francis, and not being able to speak to the Commandant, requested me to tell him, that he (the Chief) fell in three days ago, with two of his people, who, after having been deer hunting some time in the neighborhood of the Little Fall,[1] went to Orange, which place they had left ten days ago; that they had been present at a meeting of Dutch and Iroquois, held on occasion of the death of an English or Dutch man who had been killed at Chouaguen, last Spring.[2] At that meeting, the Iroquois gave three bundles of beaver; one to appease the minds of those belonging to the family of the deceased; the other as an assurance that the Iroquois had duly interred his remains, and to wipe out the blood; the third to invite those to whom they addressed this word, to bury this affair so deep that it would never more be heard of.

The Iroquois receiving no answer demand one, and were told they must wait for one from the Governor of Menathe; [They answered] that Orange was the place they received answers, and that usually they had not to wait for any one to come from Menathe, with an answer. They were told that even if they had the bulk of a house of beaver, they would not receive any answer until the Governor had arrived, and that he it was, who would reply to them; they were, moreover, informed that they were speaking about a man they had just killed, but did not say a word of the three other murders they had previously committed.

The Iroquois replied, that he saw clearly they were seeking to pick a quarrel; that his young men, 'twas true, had killed some evil disposed *(malingré)* English, some time ago; and since those old sores were ripped up anew, some bad designs were entertained, but he would give himself very little trouble about them, and return home to his village. A few days after this an Iroquois runner arrived with orders to notify all the hunters belonging to that Nation, who were somewhat numerous around the Little Fall and Lake S[t] Sacrament, to return forthwith to the village, where news had been received that the Governor of Menathe had arrived quite out of humor at Orange; whereupon all these hunters took their departure next day.

These same Abenaquis assure that all the English or Dutch, who were at Choueguen, had gone away from that place and left the house empty, no one remaining behind there but one man who could not get his property away, and preferred to remain there than to abandon all.

Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

We have the honor to send you copy of the trial of a man named John Henry Lidius, a native of Orange, in New England, who has resided at Montreal since 1725, and the decree of the Superior Council which hath declared him impeached and guilty of having contravened the King's Edict in form of letters patent of the month of October, 1727, and especially Article one of Title six of said Letters, and hath consequently condemned him in a fine of 3000[ll] and banished him the Colony forever.

[1] Whitehall, Washington County, N. Y.

[2] Jacob Brower, an Indian trader, was "barbarously murdered" at the falls on the Oswego river, in the spring of 1730, by an Onondaga Indian. *N. Y. Council Minutes*, XVI., 28. — Ed.

On information we received at Montreal that this foreigner was carrying on an unlawful trade with New England through some Indians whom he had endeavored to conciliate by presents and entertainments, we jointly resolved to have him arrested, and M. Hocquart immediately commenced proceedings, which have since been concluded in the Superior Council.

Although this man has not been convicted of having plotted against the government, we received through the Missionaries of the Sault and the Lake of the Two Mountains, such strong suspicions of his conduct towards our domiciliated Indians, in whose minds he daily ingratiated himself, either by visiting them or by receiving them at his house, or by painting them himself, telling them that it was thus they should go to war, that there is every reason to believe that this foreigner was a very dangerous man in the Colony. The Misssionaries have again complained, on information received from their most trustworthy Indians, that the said Lidius was representing to them that the Religious mysteries which the Missionaries were announcing to them, were pure impositions which they ought not to believe. All these suspicions cannot be verified more exactly. It simply appears by the certificates of the Curé of Montreal, that the said Lidius has given no evidence of Catholicity since his abjuration, the record whereof we transmit you.

We had the honor to report to you, My Lord, last year, that this foreigner having connections in New England and with the Indians, it might be dangerous to disturb him in his trade. It would be more dangerous now to send him back to his country; wherefore we have determined to send him to France in the King's ship. We send him to M. de Beauharnois, who will await your orders in the premises. There is no fear that he will return to New England, where, we have understood, he has been bankrupt, and has been obliged to abscond in order to hide himself from the suits of his creditors. This foreigner married a Metive,[1] by whom he has two children.

M. Hocquart did not consider that the Lidius affair was within his jurisdiction as Intendant, because Attorneys-General are enjoined by Article 4 of the same Title 3, to attend to the execution of the three preceding articles, and cannot prosecute except before the Council.

In regard to the accusations against some Frenchmen of Montreal, contained in Lidius' dispositions, the Superior Council has referred the investigation of them to M. Hocquart, who will follow up this matter as far as prudence will permit. You need not doubt, My Lord, but the example in the instance of the said Lidius, will make a strong impression at least for some time, on those who are in the habit of carrying on, or favoring foreign trade.

M. de Beauharnois having been informed that the Indians of the Sault and of the Lake of the Two Mountains were to send him some deputies to solicit the liberation of said Lidius, sent them word that he would not hear them, and that their deputation would be unsuccessful. They did not move any further.

On perusal of the proceedings you will observe, My Lord, that Father Lauzon, the Jesuit Missionary of the Sault, is accused by the said Lidius, with having himself carried on or favored foreign trade: but this is evidently a pure recrimination on his part, and a frivolous accusation. We, on the contrary, have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the conduct of this Missionary, and his zeal for the King's service, and the good of Religion.

We are with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servants,

Quebec, 15th October, 1730. BEAUHARNOIS, HOCQUART.

[1] A half-breed; the offspring of a White and an Indian. — ED.

I, the undersigned, Priest of the Seminary of S^t^ Sulpice, performing Parochial duties in the town of Montreal, in Canada, certify, on the juridical inquiry which M. Hocquart, Intendant of New France addressed to us as to the conduct of Sieur Lydius, an Englishman, in regard to the exercises of religion, that I have not, during the six months I have had charge of the parish of Montreal, seen said Sieur Lydius assist at any office of the church, or even enter that building. I, in like manner certify that I have no knowledge of his having, during that time, performed any act of the Catholic religion.

Done at Montreal, this 26 July, 1730. A. Deat,[1] Priest.

I, the undersigned, Priest of the Seminary of Montreal, formerly performing parochial duty in the town of Montreal, certify on the juridical inquiry which M. Hocquart, Intendant of New France addressed to us respecting the conduct of Sieur Lidius, in regard to the exercises of religion, that the said Lidius, an Englishman, has not, since his abjuration, given any proofs of Catholicity, but many utterly repugnant to the Catholic religion; firstly, in objecting to present his child in the church to have it baptised; secondly, in having exhorted an Englishman on the point of death, to persist in his heretical opinions; and thirdly, in having assisted at his interment, and performed the service according to the manner of English Ministers.

J. G. M. Du Lescoat,[2]
Missionary Priest.

Abstract of M. de Beauharnois' despatches relative to Crown Point, with the King's approval.

Proposed Establishment at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. 5^th^ February, 1731.

[From the Original resumé of the Minister in the Archives of the Marine, Paris.]

M. de Beauharnais having been informed that the English of Orange were going to Lake Champlain and its vicinity to trade with the Indians, sent an officer and thirty soldiers thither in 1730, with orders to drive them thence; but owing either to their having been warned, or from some other cause, none of them were found there.

The English, bent on augmenting their possessions in America, profit by the peace to advance into the country of Canada, and use every means to gain over the Indians. 'Tis known that with a view to establish himself on Lake Champlain, the King of England granted

[1] Rev. Antoine Deat, a Sulpitian, was born on the 16th of April, 1696, at Riom, parish of St. Amable, and diocese of Clermont, in Auvergne. He entered the seminary of that town in 1718, and accompanied Mr. Normant to Canada in 1722. He was a man of great talent and exemplary piety, and an eloquent preacher; he succeeded M. de Lescöat, as Rector of the parish of Montreal, in February, 1730, and died 13th of March, 1761, in the 65th year of his age. *Faillon, Vie de Mde. d'Youville*, 62. *Vie de Mde. de Bourgeoys*, II., 329.

[2] Rev. Jean Gabriel le Pappe du Lescöat, was born in 1689. He was a native of the diocese of St. Malo, in Brittany, entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, in 1709, and volunteered in 1717, to go to Canada. He was accordingly sent to Montreal the following year. After having been sometime in charge of the parish of Point aux Trembles, near that city, he was recalled, and finally appointed parish priest of Montreal. He filled that office until 1730, and died on the 7th February, 1733, at the age of 44 years. *Ibid.* — Ed.

it to the children of M. Peter Schul,[1] a famous citizen of Orange, and there is every reason to fear that, if not provided against, they will seize on it, and in such case force will be necessary to oblige them to retire.

As a means of prevention, he proposes to form an establishment at Crown Point, which will close on the English the road to the French settlements, and enable us to fall on them when they least expect it.

When the establishment will be completed, lands can be granted to settlers who will consent to live there, and who will insensibly add to our strength at that point.

It appears proper to order the construction of a stockaded fort there, until one more solid can be erected, and to place such a garrison in it as M. de Beauharnais shall deem fit, and to concede lands to such farmers as will demand them.

The Map of this lake and environs, is annexed with that of Canada.[2]

Good.

Respecting Posts to be erected at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. 13 February, 1731.

Letter of the 15th 8ber, 1730.

Extract for the King.

The proposition appears fitting.

Approved by the King.

The Marquis de Beauharnois states that the English apparently intend to form some posts in these parts, he having been informed that some Dutchmen of Orange were going there to trade with the Indians. This induced him to send one officer and thirty soldiers thither this year, with orders to drive them away. The officers who have been alternately there, have, however, found nobody in that quarter, the Dutch having apparently been informed of his design. He will continue to pay attention that they form no establishment there until he have received orders.

He transmits a Memoir from M. de la Corne, King's lieutenant at Montreal, on the importance of forming these establishments there.

MEMOIR.

Crown Point is at the head of Lake Champlain, about half way from Chambly to Orange. It is a small strait, separating that Lake from the *Grand Marais*, about 15 arpens wide at the head of which is a place called The Little Fall of the River *du Chicot*.[3] The English caused a fort to be built on this river in 1709, where they constructed the bateaux necessary for the conveyance of their army to Canada, but not being able to reach Quebec, they abandoned and burnt that fort.

There is a Carrying place four leagues long from the place where this fort stood to the River of Orange, which comes from the country of the Oneidas, passes through that of the Mohawks and disembogues into the Sea.

See Map.

Within 3 or 4 leagues of Crown Point, to the right, lies Lake Saint Sacrament, leagues long and wide, at the head of which is a Carrying place to reach the River of Orange. This is the shortest route to the Mohawks.

When in possession of Crown Point, the road will be blocked on the English should they wish to pass over our territory, and we will be in a position to fall on them when they least

[1] *Sic.* Schuyler. [2] An Engraved Map. [3] Wood creek. — ED.

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expect it. Should they, on the contrary, anticipate us in this establishment, we could never show ourselves on Lake Champlain except with open force, nor make war against them except with a large army, whilst seizing on this post, we could harrass them by small parties, as we have done from 1689 to 1699, when we were at war with the Iroquois.

Now, when the Colony is better settled than it was at that time, this Post can be begun by constructing a good post there and granting farms on Lake Champlain. If this be neglected, the English will not fall asleep on it, and they are already adopting, for that purpose, similar measures to those they had recourse to at Chouéguen. They have located some farmers among the Mohawks and Oneidas; have had a convenient road cut to facilitate the requisite land carriage from the River of Orange to the Lake of Thechesegueu, or of the Oneidas; through the outlet of this Lake they pass into the River Chouéguen in canoe, so that by sending small Trading parties into all these places, they have gradually succeeded, when we were off our guard, to settle themselves, by open violence, at Chouéguen, on Lake Ontario, where they are forming a permanent establishment, by building houses, and there will be a town there probably before long.

Though profound peace exist, we must be on our guard against them; they take advantage of this season to seize on the country and gain over the Indians by supplying them with goods at a bargain.

He knows, beyond a doubt, that the King of England has granted Lake Champlain to the Children of Sieur Peter Scult,[1] a well known resident of Orange. Therefore, we must anticipate the establishment they may form at Crown Point. It has been observed that establishing Niagara would engage the English to settle at Chouéguen; it was likewise observed, when Detroit was founded, that it would bring the English nearer our Indians. Yet, certain it is, that if we had not erected these two posts, the English would now be settled there and at Missilimakinak.

The Indians did not wait for our coming to Detroit to communicate with the English; the latter were there before 1683, since Messrs de la Durantaye and Du Lude, who commanded in the Upper country, and were on their way to attack the Senecas, did, at that time, capture, in Lake Erié, 50 or 60 Englishmen who were going to trade at Missilimakinac, under the command of the Major of Orange, and guided by a Renegade named La Fontaine Marion, whom M. Denonville ordered to be put to death.

Count de Maurepas to M. de Beauharnois.

Versailles, 24 April 1731.

Sir,

I have received the letters you wrote me on the 10th, 15th and 24th of October last year, with the papers annexed thereunto, and have rendered an account thereof unto the King.

His Majesty has consented on your application, to maintain the Abenaquis in the French interests, and to neutralize the reiterated attempts of the English to induce that Nation to sell or cede their lands to them. It is to be hoped that they will not succeed in those attempts so

[1] *Sic.* Schuyler. — Ed.

long as you will be careful both by yourself and through the Missionaries, to insinuate to these Indians that their destruction would be certain, should they yield to those solicitations; in fact, it is certain that they would become slaves. Their attachment to the Religion may contribute essentially to retain them. This is an important matter and must command your entire attention.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The views and movements of the English to obtain the ascendancy in the Upper countries, are but too notorious. It seems, nevertheless, that their urgent applications to the Iroquois with a view to determine the latter to come to a rupture with the French, will meet with no success, because it does not comport with their interests, and they are too politic to allow themselves to be won by presents. Meanwhile his Majesty has approved of your having sent Sieur de Joncaire to the Senecas, to find out the secret intrigues of the Iroquois with the English, and to thwart them by his experience and influence over the minds of these Indians. I recommend to you not to lose sight of this object which is of the greatest importance.

His Majesty has likewise approved of your having, in concert with M. Hocquart, sent Sieur de Rigauville to Niagara to command that post during Sieur de Joncaire's absence, being persuaded that you have found in him all the talents necessary for that command. You cannot pay too much attention to the selection of agents for the posts, and I beg you to observe that neither predeliction nor complaisance have any share in such choice.

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Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Marly, 8th of May, 1731.

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His Majesty is satisfied with the attention paid by M. Hocquart to supplying the posts of Frontenac and Niagara abundantly with goods for the trade. That is so necessary for the overthrow of the post the English have established at Choueguen, that M. Hocquart cannot pay too much attention to it.

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He has been pleased to see that Sieur Hocquart does not perceive any impropriety in his Majesty tolerating the distribution of Brandy to the Indians; being convinced of the attention of Messrs de Beauharnois and Hocquart in this regard, he recommends them not to relax, and to put most rigorously into execution the prohibitions on this subject, should the privilege degenerate into abuse.

They are not to be discouraged by the difficulties they experience in settling the Colony on the South side of the lower St. Lawrence. They will, doubtless, encounter eventually more favorable dispositions. Therefore they can not follow up these views with too much industry. They are aware of its entire importance.

His Majesty has had cognizance of what M. de Beauharnois has written respecting the proposed establishment at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain.

That post may be very advantageous either to prevent the English coming to the French settlements, or to fall on theirs in case of war. Therefore, his Majesty desires that a stockaded fort be erected at that place, until a stronger one can be constructed, and that M. de Beauharnois send such garrison thither as he shall judge proper; but in order to increase the strength of that quarter, Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Hocquart are to be careful to make grants there to the farmers who demand land. His Majesty recommends them to follow carefully these views; to report what action will have been taken thereon, and to transmit an estimate of the expense of this establishment.

He has likewise had cognizance of the proposal submitted by M. Hocquart to build on his Majesty's account a flyboat of 500 tons, and to construct a larger one every year. His Majesty would decide on it readily, but as wages are too high, it is proper that our endeavors should be confined at present to fostering and encouraging the disposition apparently entertained by the people of the country to apply themselves to ship building. With this view his Majesty is pleased to grant a bounty of 500^ll^ for each vessel of 200 tons that will be built there; 150^ll^ for each batteau of from 30 to 60 tons, and 200^ll^ for those of 60 to 100 tons, on the proprietors producing certificates of the sale of those vessels either in the ports of France or in the Islands. He has confined this bounty to two ships and six bateaux for the next year, and will afterwards increase the number of the vessels according as things progress. He orders Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Hocquart to communicate his intentions in this regard to the inhabitants of the country, and recommends them to redouble their care and attention to encourage them in this (ship) building. In this way merchant vessels will be obtained; the number of workmen in the Colony will be increased, and wages will be reduced to a point that will admit of vessels being constructed there for his Majesty. He recommends Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Hocquart not to lose sight of this important object; to pay every possible attention to it, and to report the result.

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They are to be informed that his Majesty has accepted the surrender of the province of Louisiana and of the Islinois Country from the India Company, to date from the first of July next. They will find hereunto annexed copies of the arrêt issued on this subject. That Province will in future be dependent on the general government of New France, as it was previous to the Grant to the Company.

His Majesty has not determined whether the Islinois Country is to remain dependent on the government of Louisiana. That may nevertheless be the most convenient, as the Governor-general will be always equally able to send his orders to it, and to be informed of what will occur there in regard to the Indians. Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Hocquart will examine whether it be proper to leave this country in its present state, or to disconnect it from the Government of Louisiana, as was the case before it had been granted to the Company. They will be careful to report on that point and to state the reasons for and against, whereupon his Majesty will communicate his intentions. He recommends Mess^rs^ de Beauharnois and Hocquart to contribute all in their power to support the Colony of Louisiana, and to put themselves in correspondence with Sieur Perrier,[1] the Governor, and Sieur Salmon,

[1] M. Perrier du Salvert, who held a Commission in the Marine and was a Knight of Saint Louis, succeeded M. Dugué de Boisbriant in 1726, in the government of Louisiana, where he was very popular. In 1730 he led an army against the Natchez, and utterly subjugated that Indian Nation. He was succeeded by M. Bienville, who resumed the government, in 1734 when M. Perrier returned to France, where, as a reward for his public services, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-general. *Dumont. Memoir sur la Louisiane*, II., 116, 128, 206, 210. In 1755 he was sent in command of a fleet for the protection of St. Domingo, and served at the head of a squadron in the war which was subsequently declared in 1756. *Entick.* — Ed.

Commissaire ordonnateur[1] on every point that will possibly promote the reciprocal advantage of the two Colonies.

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Done at Marly, the eighth of May, 1731. Signed Louis.

And lower down Phelypeaux.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

You do me the honor to inform me by your letter of the twenty-fourth of April last, that his Majesty continues to be satisfied with my efforts to maintain the Abenaquis in the French interest, and to render the views of the English null. His Majesty may rely on my entire zeal in this regard, and on the measures I shall constantly adopt to thwart the design they have formed of seizing the lands of the Indians who, on their part, continue, it seems to me, indisposed to sell or to cede their lands to them. I constantly encourage these dispositions, by making the Indians sensible of the danger to which they would be exposed, and what I say to them in that respect is frequently repeated by their Missionary, who, like me, adds thereunto the motive of Religion to which these Indians appear attached. It were desirable that they should not allow themselves to be corrupted, and that they would perform the promises they have made me on this subject.

I entertained the same opinion that you did, My Lord, on the report made me by Sieur de S[t] Castin respecting the attempts and proceedings of the English, but it is impossible, nevertheless, to deny the principle; the object they contemplate of insinuating themselves into the Colony, lead them to try every means to effect it.

They would have found the policy of gaining over some Indians by presents the least difficult, and it would in fact have been less, had I not rendered these as firm as they seem to me in their resolutions; but although my uneasiness may be relieved on that point, the superiority of the English, and the considerable establishments they are forming in the neighborhood of the Indian territory, make me apprehensive that they will succeed in rendering themselves masters of it by force; this would agree closely with the representation of Sieur de S[t] Castin, who did not come this year.

I shall conform myself, My Lord, to what you did me the honor to observe to me in regard to the discharged soldiers, and will not grant discharges except to such as will come within the

[1] The *Commissaire Ordonnateur*, in the French service, was a civil officer who had charge of the public treasury, provisions, ammunition, and stores generally; no payment or issue could be made unless on his order, but he was obliged to give a return to the commandant, when required, of the provisions and stores on hand. He likewise had the superintendence of the hospitals as far as concerned the details of their management; also of the department of Police, and the administration of justice was his attribute. As first Councillor to, or in the absence of, the Intendant, it was his duty to preside in the Superior Council, hear complaints, call the causes, collect the votes, pronounce the judgments, &c. Conjointly with the Commandant or Governor, to report the conduct of the officers of justice, and propose proper persons to fill vacancies; to concede lands; maintain religion and public order, and encourage population by protecting the weak against the powerful, and seeing that the officers of justice did not abuse their authority. *Pichon. Histoire du Cap Breton*, 141 – 145. — Ed.

rules you prescribe to me. Although his Majesty has been so good as to send eighty-nine recruits this year, the companies will be far from being complete, inasmuch as the rolls returned to me show that the whole are in want of men. The number of soldiers who settle, die, or desert, from year to year, is the reason that the recruits annually sent by his Majesty scarcely suffice to replace them. In consequence of the numbers which we need this year, permit me, My Lord, to make new representations to you on the subject of the want of soldiers we experience, and which will increase in consequence of the new establishments formed among the Scioux, at Lake Ouinipigon, and Crown Point; the last especially requiring a constant garrison of thirty men, as it is the nearest frontier post to the English. Moreover, the detachments required by the service employ the greatest portion of the soldiers, and diminish the number in the towns, so that hardly sufficient remain there for duty, and these are the circumstances under which I have taken the liberty to solicit an increase of troops from you, and wherein I dare to flatter myself with your coöperation this year, by engaging his Majesty to cause to be sent over, next season, a number of soldiers sufficient to replace those required to complete the companies, and to place me in a condition to keep up the garrison in the new establishments without loss to the service in the towns.

I have continued to give orders to the commanding officers in the neighborhood of the River Ouabache, to be on the look out for any attempts the English might make in that quarter. I have heard nothing on the subject, and the Chaganons, whom I had located in the vicinity of that place, (as I had the honor to report to you in the answer to the King's despatch) have promised me, should the English send horses loaded with goods thither, as they have done heretofore, that they would kill the horses and plunder the goods. If these Indians keep their word, it is to be supposed that the English will think no more of forming establishments in those parts, especially when they will discover the French connected commercially with that nation, and in a position to carry on trade conveniently with the neighboring tribes.

You do me the honor, My Lord, to inform me that his Majesty has approved of my having sent Sieur de Joncaire to the Senecas, for the purpose of investigating the secret intrigues of the Iroquois with the English, and that he recommends me not to lose sight of so important an object; I had already anticipated his Majesty's intentions in this regard, by sending thither, this year, that officer's son, who has resided a long time among those Indians, and who is thoroughly conversant with their language. He went there with his father, who is to leave young Joncaire at the Seneca village and to proceed himself to the Chaganons, whither I have dispatched him to place these Indians in the location proper for the proposed purpose. There is reason to believe that Sieur de Joncaire's presence among the Iroquois has been a check on them as regards the English, and that by continuing to keep a person of some influence constantly among them, we shall succeed in entirely breaking up the secret intrigues they have together. On the other hand the Iroquois will be more circumspect in their proceedings, and less liable to fall into the snares of the English when they have some one convenient to consult with, and in whom they will have confidence. Sieur de Joncaire's son is well adapted for that mission.

You must be persuaded, My Lord, of my care in the selection of the officers whom I send to command the posts. I have already had the honor to inform you that neither partiality nor complaisance will have any part therein, and that I will consult only the capacity and experience of those whom I shall send thither. I have acted on this principle hitherto, and I will continue the same course. I shall attend to what you have been pleased to observe to me respecting Sieur de Noyan.

Also, regarding the distribution of licenses, by confining them to officers' widows and daughters whose necessities are known to me. I annex hereunto the Return of the distribution I have made last year, in which I employed the Mdmes Leverrier and de Lacorne agreeably to the permission you were pleased to grant me. I shall make Abbé Falaise[1] a participator therein to the amount of two hundred livres, in accordance with your intentions. This Clergyman, certainly, stands in great need of this trifling assistance.

I shall conform myself, My Lord, to his Majesty's intentions regarding Miss Desgly, and from the proceeds of the licenses this year, will pay her the thousand livres, the balance of her dowry; I shall, moreover, make arrangements for her *trousseau*, having disposed of the greatest portion of the proceeds of the licenses previous to the receipt of your letter. I should have concluded to pay it to her on the application of her relatives last year, had I not reflected that by taking so considerable a sum out of the proceeds of the licenses, I should deprive five or six poor families of assistance they expect every year for their support, and I considered it my duty to give them a preference.

I have had no news of the pretended misunderstanding between the English and the Iroquois, nor of the evacuation by the former of the post of Chouéguen. What has been reported on that subject by an Abenakis Chief has no appearance of truth, and I should have been highly flattered by the favorable opinion you entertain of my punctuality in communicating this news to you, had they been true. The Indian's story is based, apparently, on the murder of a Dutchman by an Iroquois, prompted whilst drunk by some motives of interest or of jealousy. It is true that some Chiefs of the Iroquois did, according to the usual Indian custom, pay a visit to Orange to cover the Englishman's corpse, and settle this matter. The Governor of Manatte, as I learn, did not accept their present, except on condition that they would bring him the murderer; the Iroquois made some such promise, but on their second visit, gave for answer to the same demand of the Governor, that the assassin had fled, and they knew not what had become of him. Matters remained in that position, and the English do not seem to me to persist in wishing to have him. This, My Lord, is what may have given that Abenaquis Chief occasion to retail the news that have been transmitted to you.

Sieur de Courval's daughter has a strong resemblance to the King's portrait, which is at her father's house. In regard to the three lilies which form her stump, they are scarcely visible any more.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

1st October, 1731. Signed Beauharnois.

P. S. I annex hereunto the Message of the Chasanons, and my answer thereunto.

[1] Rev. Paul Thomas de Gannes Falaise. The *Liste Chronologique* contains also the name of Joseph Bernardin de Gannes Falaise, a Récolet Friar. — Ed.

Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I had the honor to inform you, by way of Isle Royalle, that I had sent Sieur Hertel, a gentleman of this country to New-York to deliver to M. de Montgomery, the Governor-general, divers despatches, which were returned to us in consequence of the wreck of Sieur Le Febre's ship; among the rest those regarding the last defeat of the Foxes. M. de Montgomery advises me, in answer to the letter I had written him, that he would attend to the forwarding M. Hocquart's and my packets to Count de Broglio, the King's Ambassador at London, to be afterwards sent to you to Paris.

M. de Montgomery adds in his letter, that some of the King of Great Britain's subjects had complained to him that the officers in command of the frontier posts of this colony, had prevented them, though provided with his passports, from proceeding as far as Montreal, whither these persons were going to collect some old debts, payment of which they were unable to obtain heretofore; that Sieur Hertel, whom I had sent with my pass, had been well received by them, which would be the case with other Frenchmen also, and he requested that his countrymen should experience like civility. 'Tis true that I had sent orders, at that time, to the domiciliated Indians not to go to New England, and had forbidden the officers at the Posts to allow any Englishman to pass, because I was informed that the Small Pox, which is a dangerous disease in this hemisphere, was committing great ravages there; and I replied to the Governor-general with all the politeness consistent with such occasions.

In regard to the subjects of Great Britain, I considered it my duty to inform M. de Montgomery that with his pass they would be admitted into the Colony, provided they brought no sort of merchandise, and I should allow them to collect their old debts on condition that they would not take back any Peltries or goods; that if they did not conform to these terms, they should, notwithstanding their pass, be sent back, and their goods seized; that he could, if he pleased, issue the same orders respecting the French who might subsequently go to New England, and that things would continue in this wise until our Sovereigns would be pleased to conclude a treaty of commercial reciprocity between their subjects. I have learned that Sieur de Montgomery was dead, and towards the end of August received a letter from M[r] Rip Van Dant,[1] president of the Privy Council, who commands in the absence of the Governor, wherein he requests me to have justice done to six Dutchmen of Orange — there are only four of them — who came to Montreal to recover the old debts in question.

M. Hocquart and I issued, on the earliest advice, the necessary orders to discover whether they have not, under this pretext, contracted new ones by importing foreign goods. Nothing resulted from such proceeding except the seizure, through M. de Contrecœur's vigilance, of a canoe above the Chambly rapids, without any crew, and with 80£ of Tin ware or thereabouts, which induces us to suspect that this is not the only goods they have brought. Be so good, My Lord, as to instruct me respecting the course I am to pursue on like occasions, and to inform me if you approve that which I have followed. A strictly rigorous policy towards our neighbors may be somewhat serious in consequence of the difficulties they would interpose on important occasions to the transmission of our despatches to you, and of your orders to us. The 4 Dutchmen have returned to Orange in the beginning of the month. M. de la Chauvigny

[1] *Sic.* Van Dam. — Ed.

who was apparently not informed of the prohibition, or through want of reflection, allowed one of them to carry off to the value of 2400$^{\text{ll}}$ of deer skin, delivered to them by Sieur l' Estage as payment in full of the sum Sieur Delancy, merchant of New York had advanced to M. de la Chauvigny in 1727, when he visited New England. He excuses himself on the ground that it was impossible for him to make any other arrangement to pay that foreigner. We should, however, have discovered some other expedient, had the business not been concluded.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect.

My Lord,

The Intendant and I have jointly drawn up this letter.

Your most humble and most Obedient Servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Quebec, this 1$^{\text{st}}$ October, 1731.

HOCQUART.

Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

We have received the letter which you did us the honor to write us, on the 8$^{\text{th}}$ of May last. wherein you make some remarks on the Returns of the presents given to the Indians in 1729.

'Tis true that a great portion of the goods composing them, are charged higher than in France; others which we were obliged to purchase in Canada, are entered below the cost. As M. Hocquart intends to ask for all that are necessary, both as supplies for the posts as for presents, this expense will be found absolutely reduced to what is indispensable. He cannot transmit you this year the Return of the presents made in 1730, the storekeepers of the posts not having complied with what he demanded of them in order to prepare a general Return. We will transmit it to you next year according to the form you prescribe, so that you may understand the state of that expenditure, which we will meanwhile reduce as much as possible. We can easily admit the impossibility of wholly subjugating the Indians at present. It can be eventually effected by inspiring them, by degrees, with more fear and more respect for the government. These are the principles we apply in our negotiations with them, and it is probable that they will become more docile according as the colony will increase. The effect would be more prompt, were it pleasing to his Majesty to increase his forces. We add, that if you permit us to send some chiefs selected from the different villages to France, to be witnesses of the Royal Majesty, the account they would give of it on their return to the people of their nation, would increase among them the high opinion they entertain of the King's power, and render them more submissive to his will. No difficulty will be experienced in prevailing on some among them to make the sea voyage, the expense of which cannot be very great. This expedient has been already tried some twenty years ago, when M. de Montigny conveyed to France an Abenaqui Chief who was presented to the King. There is a like instance in M. de Frontenac's time, and we have learned that the English had recourse to the same expedient in the reign of Queen Anne and in that of the present King of England. We know from Father Lauson that the Iroquois of the Five Nations have given a brilliant account of this visit to our domiciliated Indians, insinuating into their minds the superiority of

the English over the French. Our Indians who are credulous and have seen only Quebec and Montreal, cannot return them any answer; and meanwhile it is to be apprehended that such might diminish the attachment they entertain for us, and impress them with more fear of the English.

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We are with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and most
Obedient Servants,

Quebec, the first of October, 1731. BEAUHARNOIS, HOCQUART.

Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Marepas.

Respecting the accessories to the escape of the Niagara Mutineers.

Quebec, 23rd October, 1731.

My Lord,

We are in receipt of the letter you did us the honor to write to us on the 17th of April last: At present we answer the article only which refers to the Mutineers of Niagara and their escape from the prisons of Montreal. M. Hocquart pursuant to his Majesty's orders has commissioned Sieur Raimbault to take information against the Jailer and his accomplices. You will find, hereunto annexed, My Lord, copy of the principal papers in that investigation from which you will perceive that Brothers[1] Cesarée and Carpenter are gravely accused with having furnished files to these criminals and abetted their escape. A warrant has been issued for their arrest and search has been made for them in their convent at Montreal whence they secretly fled to Quebec. On receiving intelligence thereof, we have sent to examine their General Superior that he may declare to us the whereabouts of these two Brothers. He frankly acknowledged to us that they were at Quebec and that he would have them forthcoming each and every time we should deem proper.

We have examined the proceedings and depositions concerning these two Brothers from which it seems certain that Brother Cesarée has contributed more than any other to the escape of those prisoners. This crime, grave as it is on account of its consequences, is become by reason of its accompanying circumstances an affair most difficult to be decided in this country. The guilty parties are Brothers, and as such should be prosecuted agreeably to Article 38 of the Edict of 1695, on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; though this Edict and the Declarations of 1678 and of 1684, repealed by said Article 38, be not enregistered in the Superior Council, nor even well known here, yet as we are instructed that it is his Majesty's intention to maintain the Clergy in their privileges, Mr Hocquart would have attended to the provisions of these Edicts, had there been an ecclesiastical court in Canada provided, as in other dioceses of France, with enlightened Judges. Besides, the only effect of two conflicting jurisdictions would be to multiply incidents, prolong proceedings, deteriorate the evidence, and perhaps favor

[1] Frères. *Text.* Religious men who are not Priests. *Richelet.* — ED.

exemption from punishment. This is the view we have taken of it; but in an affair of so much delicacy, we have come to the conclusion to refer the matter to you, and to suspend the prosecution against these Brothers. We had agreed to send them to France, and to leave his Majesty to determine what punishment such an offence deserves. The representations of the Coadjutor Bishop,[1] and those reiterated by the Superior of the Récolets who hopes to obtain a favorable pardon from his Majesty, have again prevented us adopting that course which they regarded as very rigorous, and even most ignominious to their body.

There is also a warrant issued against a 3d Récolet, who is accused only with having conducted, with Brother Cesarée, these criminals to Quebec. M. Hocquart will suspend the warrant for this one, and as regards the other two, their Superior will keep them confined until we shall have received orders next year.

Le Pallieur, the Jailer, is in prison, and after the sailing of the ships, M. Hocquart will examine what charges may be against him, in order to pronounce judgment accordingly.

The prosecution instituted at Montreal, the publication of monitory letters, the issuing of warrants to arrest the said Brothers, the search for them with an armed possé, and the expectation of the judgment which will be pronounced against them by his Majesty, are capable of exciting serious reflections in the Convents and Nunneries where, hitherto, it was considered a meritorious act to assist guilty persons to escape from justice: But such reflections are not sufficient to control them long, if his Majesty do not issue a precise declaration expressly forbidding all Parish priests, ecclesiastics and communities, secular and regular, to liberate and entertain any fugitives, vagabonds, persons accused of crime, with a view to withdraw them from the prosecution of justice, on pain of forfeiting their privileges and of being deprived of the King's bounty, &ca. Let this declaration also enjoin all Parish priests and Ecclesiastics as above, to admit in their Rectories, houses, Convents of both sexes, all searches and examinations for the guilty, authorized by the ordinary Judge, on the simple warrant of said Judge, and to comply immediately with the same, without a special permission of the Governor-general or of the Intendant of the country being necessary; and in case any Clergyman or Religious person contravene the two preceding articles, cognizance thereof shall appertain to the Royal Judges, Article 38 of the Edict of 1695 being annulled in this regard.

It appears to us, My Lord, that it deserves his Majesty's attention that he should please make a law respecting what we have the honor to write him, in order to put an end to difficulties which are but too often renewed since the settlement of this country.

To the pretended motives of compassion and charity entertained by the two Récolet brothers, we can add those of thorough simplicity and ignorance. We possessed at the time an entire certitude of the disavowal of their Superiors, and of the correction they inflicted on them.

[1] Right Rev. Pierre Hermant Dosquet was born in Lille, in Flanders, in 1691. He entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, in 1715. After residing there six years, and receiving Holy Orders, he proceeded to Canada, where he arrived July 1721, and was sent a Missionary to the Lake of Two Mountains. The severity of the climate produced such unfavorable effects on his health, that he was obliged to return to France in August 1723. He was then appointed Superior of the Seminary of Lisieux; next transferred to the Foreign Missions in 1725, sent to Rome and there consecrated by the Pope Bishop of Samos, *in partibus*. Bishop de Mornay, successor to M. St. Vallier, whose age prevented him from going to Canada, appointed M. Dosquet his Coadjutor, who arrived in that country on the 23d of August 1729, after a passage of sixteen weeks. He again sailed, in the fall of 1732, for France, and M. de Mornay having resigned, was acknowedged on his arrival in 1733, Bishop of Quebec. M. Dosquet visited his diocese in 1734, but his health continuing very feeble, he was obliged finally to return to Europe in 1735 and resigned his see at Paris, on the 25 June, 1739. He afterwards became Vicar-general to the Archbishop of Paris; was one of the administrators of that Province in 1758, during the Archbishop's absence, and died in Paris on the 4th of March, 1777, aged 86 years. *Faillon; Bourbourg.* Mr. Garneau fixes the date of M. Dosquet's resignation in 1735; *Histoire du Canada*, 2d Ed., II., 124; but this is an error. — Ed.

We would not have omitted last year to inform you, My Lord, of the cause of the mutiny at Niagara, had it originated from any other cause than the intoxication of some soldiers belonging to the garrison, on the day of the commotion *(emotion)*, and perhaps the state of military discipline which Sieur de Rigauville, the new commandant, had somewhat neglected. This officer comports himself very well at his post, where he causes the duties of the service to be performed with as much exactness as in a hostile country. We have none other than very favorable testimony to report to you of his conduct.

We annex to this despatch copies of the proceedings against the mutineers. 'Tis true that the Court Martial held at Montreal in their case, did commit an error in not having caused the sentence pronounced against the guilty, to be put in immediate execution. The officers who composed that Court were then of opinion that it was necessary to await the arrival of the executioner, not being aware of the disposition of the ordinance in that regard. M. de la Corne, the then Commandant, appears to have adopted proper measures to prevent their escape from justice. He took the advice of the Court Martial, which decided that the crime was so grave, that it called for the most severe punishment. Through a desire to do too well, these gentlemen committed a mistake. This is all we can impute to them. 'Tis true that M. de la Corne, as commandant, might have taken upon himself to have the guilty executed in the absence of the hangman. He is, in other respects, an excellent man; active, vigilant, and loving the service.

We are, &ca.,

Signed, Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor and Lieutenant-general, and M. Hocquart, Intendant of New France.

Versailles, 22nd April, 1732.

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He has learned with pleasure that the Chaouanons had come down to Montreal last summer to demand of the Marquis de Beauharnois, the place where he wished to locate them. He has approved his sending Sieur Joncaire with them to locate them on the north bank of the river Oyo, with a view to approximate them to the colony, and to detach them from the English. He recommends him to carefully cultivate the favorable dispositions of that Nation, so as to be in a position to draw from it the advantages proposed in case of rupture with the Iroquois. It is desirable that they persist in their present apparent resolution not to tolerate the English, which Sieur de Beauharnois is carefully to attend to.

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His Majesty is fully satisfied of the diligence used by Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart, in causing a stockaded fort to be erected at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. He has approved of M. de Beauharnois' appointment of Sieur de Montcount with Sieur de Rouville, to

command 20 men who were to compose the garrison there this winter, and the addition of 10 men to the garrison of this post will meet also his approbation.

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In reply to the complaints of the Governor-general of New-York, that the officers commanding the posts of New France had prevented some of the King of Great Britain's subjects, though provided with passports, proceeding to Montreal where these individuals had some old debts to collect, His Majesty has approved M. de Beauharnois' answer to that Governor, that provided the English possessing these passports were not bringing any sort of merchandise, they will be allowed to pass, and might recover their old debts, on condition not to carry back any peltries nor merchandise. His Majesty's intention is, that Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart pay strict attention to the exact performance of these conditions, and if the English fail therein, that they be treated most rigorously, by the seizure of all their goods.

Declaration of the British Ambassador respecting a French Fort at Crown Point.

The Earl of Waldegrave,[1] Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, has the honor to represent that the Board of Trade established at London having laid divers complaints before the King, his Master, that the French in America continued to encroach on the Territory of their neighbors, has just complained again that the said French have recently commenced seizing on certain territory within the Province of New-York, and that they have caused a fort to be built there, at a place called *Pointe de la Couronne*, in English Crown Point, situate within the Country of the Iroquois, which Fort is only three days journey from the town and city of Albany.

As the erection of said Fort within the country of the Iroquois is in absolute opposition to Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, whereby the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians are acknowledged to be under the dominion of Great Britain, there is no doubt but his Most Christian Majesty will issue the necessary orders that said Fort be razed, and that the subjects of the French Colonies do not henceforward undertake anything contrary to Treaties.

At Compiegne, this 13th June, 1732.

[1] James, first Earl of Waldegrave, K. G., was the son of Baron Waldegrave; his mother was a natural daughter of James II., by Arabella Churchill, sister of the Duke of Marlborough. The family being Catholic, the Baron educated his son in that Faith, but the latter became a Protestant in 1722, to the great scandal of the Jacobites and of his uncle, the Duke of Berwick. All suspicions of disaffection being thus dispelled, he was advanced to offices of considerable trust; was sent on a complimentary mission to France in 1725; was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1727; and in 1730 succeeded Mr. Walpole at the Court of Versailles, where he resided until 1740. During these services abroad he was created a Viscount, an Earl, and a Knight of the Garter. He died in 1741, of dropsy and the jaundice, in the 57th year of his age, at Navestock, in the church of which place a monument is erected to his memory. He married the daughter of Sir John Webbe of Gloucestershire. *Waldegrave's Memoirs*, v. vi.; *Nicholls' Literary Anecdotes*, II., 352, says he died on the 11th of April, 1746. — Ed.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

You do me the honor to observe to me in your letter of the twenty-second of April last, that his Majesty, whilst continuing to be satisfied with the care I take to preserve the dispositions of the Abenaquis in the French interest, recommends me to relax nothing in this regard. His Majesty may be assured that I will not lose sight thereof, and shall always oppose the attempts of the English. I am conversant, since my arrival in this Colony, with the desire of the latter to insinuate themselves there. The means they daily employ are evidences thereof, but it is to be hoped that the application I devote to turn them aside from the snares the English lay for them, will confirm the Indians in the resolution they apparently entertain to attach themselves more and more to the French, and to reject the proposals of the English.

I have had no further intelligence, My Lord, of the latter having attempted to make an establishment in the neighborhood of the River Ouabache. The orders I issued some years ago, and which I have renewed this year, will have apparently diverted them from any views they manifested to establish themselves there.

Sieur de Joncaire, whom I sent last year to the Chaganons, has reported to me this spring that these Indians were settled in villages *(en village)* on the other side of the Beautiful river of Oyo, six leagues below the River Atigué; that there had been some negotiations between this Nation, the Hurons, Miamis and Oouiatanons, to induce the first to light their fire in that place; that the Hurons, among other things, had represented that, as they were disposed to live with them as Brethren, if they located themselves on this side, they would injure their hunting grounds and that it would be better they were in a place where they could not injure any body. The Ouiatanous, who are their nearest neighbors, have expressed the joy they felt on the occasion, and matters have been harmoniously arranged in that way among these Tribes. They continue apparently resolved not to suffer the English to come to trade in those parts; I have sent back Sieur de Joncaire there, with a view to encourage them in these dispositions. They number two hundred persons, exclusive of women and children, and are distant the one from the other only some four or five leagues; the greatest portion of them are six leagues below the River Atigué.[1]

The Belts the Senecas had sent the Outaouacs to attack the Hurons, have been without any result. I correctly surmised that as soon as their secret had been discovered, the execution of their project would fall through, and they would disavow the matter as they have done. The 'Nontagué Chiefs whom I had instructed last year to sift the affair and to render me an account of it, came down at the commencement of this winter to Montreal, to speak to me on the behalf of the Five Nations, in answer to the message I caused to be carried to them and transmitted to the Senecas. After having disavowed every thing and endeavored to efface the bad opinion I might have of them, they protested to me, anew, in the name of the entire nation, that they would be always in favor of a good understanding; that they knew not whence I could receive such bad news; that the Hurons were my Children and their Brothers, and that consequently they never entertained the design to betray their kindred; that finally, they requested me not to lend an ear to such wicked words, and that they had not given me the name of Father for the purpose of not securing to me its title.

[1] Laid down in *Bellin's Carte de La Louisiane*, as R. au Bœuf, now French creek, Pa. — Ed.

Though their eloquence did persuade me only apparently, as the Belts had been given to the Outaouacs, I nevertheless expressed to them the satisfaction I felt at their having washed their hands of so wicked a business, and at knowing that they entertained proper sentiments. They returned home quite contented, as this affair had embarrassed them.

Sieur de Joncaire, Junr, who had come down this summer, has been sent back to the village of the Senecas, to continue to sift their intrigues with the English. It appears that his presence among those Indians serves greatly to restrain them, as he has not reported to me that any intimate commercial relations, or any intrigues, are carried on between them and the English. I have the honor to report to you, My Lord, in one of my letters, the ravages which the small pox, brought by a Seneca from Orange, is making among these Indians; the Missisagués, who have lately come down to Montreal, report that the disorder continues there with the same virulence, and that it rages in like manner in all the Iroquois villages.

The news I had the honor to communicate to you last year, respecting the Governor of Orange prohibiting the merchants going to Choueguen to trade, is not confirmed; I have heard that the report arose from these traders having returned last year early and before the usual time; two Canoes of Outaouacs having been there to trade, and not meeting any merchants, reported to Sieur de Rigauville, that there were no more traders there, adding, apparently, that such was by orders of the Governor.

One thing, My Lord, is certain; they begin to raise the price of their merchandise and to diminish that of the Beaver; this alteration will possibly effect a change among the Indians, and disgust them with going thither, when they will no longer find the cheap bargains they used to get there.

Sieur de Boishebert's occupations regarding the proceedings of the Hurons and Iroquois against the Foxes, will not have permitted him, I believe, sending you the draughts he was to make of Lakes St Clair and Huron. I have not failed to recommend to that officer, as I had done to his predecessors, to give all their attention to the establishment of Detroit, and to the general welfare of that post. But although they do not appear to me to be wanting in attention in these two particulars, it is impossible for that establishment to become considerable, so long as a sufficient number of troops are not sent thither, to whom lands would be granted for the purpose of improvement, by which course farmers would eventually be introduced. If, on the other hand, it be his Majesty's intention to send thither a hundred *Faussonniers*[1] with their families, to whom some advances would be made in the first instance, this post would become considerable in a short time, and by its strength keep all the Nations of the Upper Country in check. But as these projects cannot be executed until approved of by his Majesty, I shall continue to recommend the officers in command of that post, to induce as much as possible the settlers to cultivate the soil, and to maintain good order there. This, My Lord, is all that their diligence can accomplish.

I thank you, My Lord, for the twelve medals you had the goodness to send me for the Indians. His Majesty may be assured, that I will make the most of them, and that I shall not distribute them except to Chiefs, whose services and attachment to the French will be known to me. As there are many such to whom I have promised such a token of honor, and as the adventure of our Iroquois and Hurons against the Foxes places me under the obligation of giving a few to the principal Chiefs of the expedition, I beg you, My Lord, to order that some be sent me next year, so that I may be enabled to invest them with this mark of honor which also renders them more respectable among their people.

[1] Persons guilty of defrauding the Revenue accruing from the sale of Salt. — Ed.

I beg you, My Lord, to be persuaded of my attention to the choice of the officers whom I send to the posts; I am the most interested, in consequence of the account that I must render you thereof. I have already had the honor to observe to you that neither favoritism nor complaisance had any share therein, and that I consulted only the capability of those whom I was sending thither. I am not ignorant, My Lord, that attention in my selections excites feelings of jealousy among the officers. Many who, most frequently, have only self interest in view, think they have a claim to these places, without reflecting on their incapacity in affairs, the management of which appears to them as simple as it is difficult, and of which they have not the remotest idea. The examination I have made of the talents of the officers of this Country, has given me some knowledge thereof, and I considered it my duty to consult only the capacity of those to whom I have confided the command of the posts, as the good of the service and of the Colony is involved therein. Such will be the spirit, My Lord, in which I shall always act, and it appears to me conformable to your intentions.

I expect to send Sieur Noyant, next spring, to command at Missilimakinac.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
most obedient Servant,
Signed BEAUHARNAIS.

15 October, 1732.

The King's approval of M. de Beauharnois' Vigilance.

Marly, 18 February, 1733.

The English, ever alive to the extension of their possessions, are taking advantage of the peace to encroach on the country of Canada, and using every means to gain over the Indians.

In anticipation of an establishment they were projecting on Lake Champlain, a fort of stockadoes has been erected at Crown Point, until an opportunity be had to build one more solid. And as there was reason to fear that they might attempt to construct one on the opposite side of the same Lake, though they have no right to that territory, incontestably which belongs to France, orders were transmitted last year to the Marquis de Beauharnais, to adopt measures for being advised of the proceedings, and for opposing any attempts they may make there.

He observes that he had not as yet learnt that they had manifested any design of that nature, but in order to be constantly on his guard, he has given orders to the Commander of the post to watch their proceedings, and he will strengthen the garrison if necessity so require.

Neither has he learned that they have attempted to make any settlement on the River Ouabache; and it is his opinion that the orders he issued several years ago, and which he has reiterated this year to the Commandants of the posts adjoining that river, will have diverted them from any views they manifested of establishing themselves there.

It appears proper to approve M. de Beauharnais' attention in watching the proceedings of the English, and to recommend him not to neglect anything in that regard.

Approved.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart.

Extract of a Memoir of the King to Messrs de Beauharnais and Hocquart. May 12, 1732.

Secret Document copy whereof cannot be allowed to be taken. D'A.

[Veto of the Keeper of the Archives of the Marine. J. R. B.]

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I received the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the 12th *of May last.*[1] M. Hocquart and I have, in our answer to the King's memoir, made some observations on the projects the English might form to attack this Colony, either by Quebec or from above, and on the necessity of fortifying Quebec. We dwelt at length also last year on that subject, *and I have nothing* to add thereunto *in regard to* the attack from above. Happening to be at Montreal, I informed the Engineer, immediately on the *receipt* of your despatch, that there was a fund formed for completing the enceinte, and that he could hasten the works; which he has done. I hope the work will be finished in Seventeen hundred and thirty-six, and that the place will, with the aid I am about to ask of you, be in an efficient state of defence.

I have adopted all necessary measures for the construction of the Redoubt à Machicoulis at Crown Point. We have transported workmen thither at the commencement of this *Autumn* to prepare materials there, so as to be ready to begin the work early in the Spring; and I will, besides, take proper precautions, at the melting of the snow, to guard against all accidents that may interrupt its progress. Meanwhile, I shall keep Fort Chambly in the best possible state of defence, and for that purpose have had some work done there this fall. The domiciled Indians, to judge by their conduct, are certainly in our interest, and as for the Iroquois they, apparently, will adopt a neutral course. M. Joncaire, Junr is with them, and I have, again, given him orders to watch their proceedings, and to report them to me. I have, also, instructed Sieur de la Gauchetière, who commands at Crown Point, to be on his guard with the thirty men of his garrison. It is impossible to station there *any more on account* of the smallness of the fort. *Until* the redoubt be *built*, a larger body of men *cannot be accommodated* at that place during winter. *If, however*, the English attempt any *thing* in Lake Michigan[2] at this season, and I can be informed of it, I will dispatch some Frenchmen with some Indians on snow shoes. I shall be *advised* by our Indians *at all times* of the movements of the English.

It would be important that I should receive news from you, if the English declare against us. I shall, meanwhile, be informed, through the Indians, of whatever will transpire at Orange and New-York, and by Mr de St Ovide of what will take place at Boston.

Should the English send reinforcements from Old England to *those* troops they have on this Continent, there is no doubt but I would require strong reinforcements to oppose them. I have

[1] This despatch is in Cypher, except such parts as are in Italics.

[2] *Sic.* Qu? Champlain. — Ed.

a very small number of soldiers; and though the militia of New England, who are very numerous, be not greatly to be *feared*, the Canadians are not as as good as *formerly*. *Nevertheless it is* reasonable to suppose that, if attacked at home, they would behave with great courage.

I have read with attention *the letter you write* to M. de S^t^ Ovide. He has not as yet given me any information respecting the projects *therein contained*, *to wit*, against Placentia and Acadia. He is in a better position than I, to be advised of the strength of the English forces, and of the condition of their forts, and of the reliance *to be* placed on the French of Acadia; and he is to judge whether the aid of two vessels of war be sufficient, with that of the troops of Isle Royale, the Fishermen and Acadians, to execute it. The English will *probably* disarm *these last*, *and I* think that M. de S^t^ Ovide will ask you for arms *in addition to the* four *hundred* you send *him*. *The* assistance *he can* derive from Canada, in case the English make no attempt on this place, may amount to one hundred soldiers and two or three hundred militia. But the difficulty *would be*, to transport these three hundred men. We would require a ship *like* le Rubis or two frigates *which* should arrive here in the month of May and should even be pre*ceded* by an *express* boat *independent of the* vessels of war destined for Louisburg, the Canada *merchant* ships of any considerable tonnage *being at present* at sea.

I shall adopt, in addition, the best measures to *make* all our domiciliated Indians annoy the English *settlements* in our vicin*ity*.

As for the rest: Canada will be protected on the Upper part as much as possible, by means of the Redoubt, Fort Chambly, and the fortifications of Montreal; and on the Quebec side there being no fortifications, I shall have *all* the gun-batteries put in order. I shall erect some elsewhere, if necessary; and to oppose a landing, I see no *other* way than to bravely charge the enemy with fixed bayonets and sword in hand.

You can, in *consequence of what* I write you, *issue* your orders to M^r^ de S^t^ Ovide, *who* will, doubtless, communicate his ideas *to me*. *I* shall anticipate *him*, if I do not hear from him. Our present *uncertainty* as to the future, has in*duced* me not to transmit to you the general *and detailed* cen*sus* of the Colony. It is quite ready, and we believe that it is *sufficient* that you should have an extract of it. It actually amounts to *about* eight thousand men capable of bearing arms. *But as* many of these arms are in a bad condition, the good of the service requires that there should be on hand here, from fifteen hundred to two thousand grenadier muskets. There is, in the King's store in Canada, nearly one hundred thousand pounds of powder, including that belonging to the King and to the Company of the Indies, *independent of the thirty* thousand pounds demanded for the next year. We send the estimate of the artillery necessary as well for Quebec and Montreal, as for the other forts. The force I require for the defence of the Colony, depends on what the English will send against us.

In regard to the expeditions I could send out against the English, they *can only be* against Orange, and some other adjacent villages; Choüaguen and the *establishments* in the direction of Hudson's Bay. As respects Orange, you will be informed that the Patroon, or Lord of that City,[1] visited Montreal this summer, in company with another influential gentleman of that country, on pretence of traveling and making a tour, and *nevertheless* provided with a passport from the English Governor, from whom they handed me a letter on the subject of the fort, which that Governor had imagined I was having built among the Senecas. These two Englishmen,

[1] Col. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 3d proprietor of the manor of Rensselaerwyck, was the eldest son of Kilinen V. R., and Maria Van Cortlandt, and was born on 18th of March, 1705. He represented the manor in the General Assembly of the Province of New-York, from 1726 to 1743, and died unmarried in 1745. — Ed.

who are Dutch *(flamands)*, have privately informed me, and I was aware of it, that the late M. de Vaudreuil, in the *last* war, had always spared their country, and had recommended the Indians not to make any incursions into it; that the Father of one of these two Englishmen had kept up a secret correspondence with M. de Vaudreüil, and that they would do the same with me; that as for themselves, being in more intimate relation with the Indians than the English *are*, they would *make no* movement against us; *adding*, that they had thus acted with fidelity during twenty years! I answered that there was no appearance of any rupture, and as for me, I should be much inclined to adopt M. de Vaudreuil's policy, and, in fine, that I would have the honor to write to you on the subject. I entertained them well, and *paid* them every *sort* of attention, and they seemed to me to return home content.

I have demanded troops of you. Some will necessarily be required even though we should not have war; and if it break out, a larger augmentation will be requisite. You will judge thereof by the following details.

In the entire Colony *there are* actually only seven hundred and fifty soldiers, one hundred and sixty of whom are in the different posts, and sixty with M. Desnoyelles' party.[1] The garrison of the Redoubt[2] must be increased to one hundred and twenty men. There would remain four hundred and ten soldiers for the defence of the Country, and the execution of the projects. This is nothing. Therefore it would be for the good of his Majesty's service, to maintain in Canada, an additional force of at least six hundred men, and officers in proportion with a view to secure the Iroquois to us. If these be neuter, we cannot touch Choüaguen; nor the English, Niagara. I answer the remainder of your letter —

Orange is not fortified. There are only two hundred Regulars in the government of New-York, one hundred and ten of whom are in that city, and the remainder dispersed at Orange, Hyssope and Corlar. The Castle at New-York is a fort having four bastions faced with masonry, terraced and provided with forty pieces of artillery. I am assured that there are more than twenty thousand men capable of bearing arms in the city and neighborhood. No attack can be made on that place from this point. I shall endeavor to obtain the plan of it, *and* from this to next year acquire some *more* precise information, which I shall communicate to you. M. Hocquart is the only person to whom I have communicated your letter, and I shall *continue* to employ the cypher in business of consequence so that our neighbors may not know our strength, nor the state of this colony. This is what determined me to put a part of our answer to the King's memoir in cypher. *I shall transmit by the merchant vessels* the estimate I mention in this letter.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

Quebec, 10th October, 1734. BEAUHARNOIS.

[1] Against the Sacs and Foxes. [2] At Crown Point. — ED.

Conference between M. de Beauharnois and the Onondagas.

Annexed to M. de Beaûharnais and Hocquart's despatch of the 7th October, 1734.

CANADA. MESSAGE OF THE SENECAS.

BY A BELT.

Father. On our way home last Fall, we learned from those of the Lake of the Two Mountains, that our Brother the 'Nontaguez had told you that we wished to betray you, and requested you to have Tsatacsot, whom you made chief, put to death when he was going down to Montreal; that he was a man who was seeking only to make trouble for the French; this has alarmed us all. Although our son Joncaire told us that such was not the case, we have, notwithstanding, requested him either to go down to Montreal, or to repair to Niagara, with this Belt, whereby we pray you, Father, not to listen to our brother the Nontaguez; he is seeking only to disturb the land, having wished to sacrifice us repeatedly by Belts which he has given to get us attacked; which Belts have been sent to us.

For me, Seneca, I promise you, Father, never to meddle with bad business, and to be always faithful to you, and if anything happen to you, we will die with you; our warriors are ready to follow you.

Speech of the 'Nontagues. 13th of August, 1734.

BY TWO STRINGS OF WAMPUM.

Father. You are aware that we told you, when we came here, that we were in trouble; you are about to learn the cause.

Father. We know that our Brothers, the Senecas, who came here last year to see you, had returned home angry with us, having learned, as they say, by some of their Comrades, that we had given you a belt, two years ago, to have Tegatacout killed. We know not, Father, who those are who have told them such a falsehood, and request you to show us our message, if it be true that we have sent you one to that effect.

FIRST BELT.

Father. We request you to take pity on us, if we do not speak with richer belts. You were so good last year, as to send our son Joncaire to us, to cover the death of Teganinorins. We thank you for so doing, and as we know that you are as much afflicted by the

Answer to the Speech of the Nontaguez. 19th of August, 1734.

BY TWO STRINGS OF WAMPUM.

I am delighted, my Children, that you have revealed to me the trouble you are in on account of the accusation against you in regard to your Brothers, the Senecas. I have disabused them of it by a Belt which I have sent them this spring by your son Joncaire. You can now rest content, since I have rendered you the justice that was due you.

loss you have experienced in M. de la Chassaigne, we throw this Belt upon his body to cover it, to shelter it from the bad weather, and to cause it to rest in peace.

SECOND BELT.

Father. You sent us word by that Belt, last year, that you were sorry for all our warriors, our wives and children; by this same Belt we thank you and cover all the bodies of your warriors, wives and children who have died of the sickness.

THIRD BELT.

Father. By this Belt we are sorry for Mr de la Corne and Mr de la Noue. We request you, Father, to excuse us if we do not put one on each body separately; but we have no more.

FOURTH BELT.

Father. By this Belt we perceive that your mat is full of ashes in consequence of the death of your Chiefs. We come to clean it, and request you that we may not suffer from your affliction, and we again kindle the fire that was extinguished, in order that you may always gather your warriors around you to work at good business.

FIFTH BELT.

Father. We request you and your Chiefs by this Belt, not to suffer yourselves to be cast down by grief, and to listen the one to the other, so that you may always labor at good business.

SIXTH BELT.

We cannot recommend you too strongly not to allow yourself to be cast down by the grief of your warriors on account of all the misfortunes that have happened you, and we add to this Belt an agreeable beverage to cleanse away all the bile you may have in your heart. We also give some of this liquor to your warriors, in order that they, with you, may always maintain peace.

BY A BELT.

I am flattered, my Children, by the attention you have had in covering up the corpses of M. de la Corne, and of M. de la Noue, and by this Belt, I express to you my gratitude.

BY A BELT.

My Children. I am glad that you are come to clean my mat and to kindle again the fire that was extinguished by the deaths of the Chiefs I have lost. In regard to the request that I should always labor for your peace, you may depend that I shall always do so with as much pleasure as you will labor in like manner to deserve my attentions.

BY A BELT.

My Children. You may depend on it that neither I nor my warriors will ever suffer ourselves to be cast down by such deep grief as not to be always prepared to labor at good business; I hope the same on your part.

BY A BELT.

My Children. The beverage you have given me has entirely cleansed my heart, and no more bile remains in it. I give you a like liquor to cleanse your hearts, asssuring you that I shall not cease to labor at affairs of peace.

SEVENTH BELT.

Father. All your misfortunes have involved you in a sort of night, and the dark clouds which rest on your head, shut out the day from you. We dispel them by this Belt and refix the Sun which you had lost, in order that you may enjoy its light in peace. This, Father, is all that we have to say to you regarding the Dead.

BY A BELT.

I thank you, my Children, for having dispelled the clouds which shut out the day from me, and for having replaced the Sun that I and my warriors might enjoy its brightness. I wish you and your warriors to enjoy its light in peace. By this Belt I fasten it to the spot where you replaced it.

EIGHTH BELT.

Here, Father, is the Tree of Peace which we have brought to Montreal. You know that it is we who have planted it. It was so high that it could touch the clouds with its head, yet you did not consider it lofty enough, and you wished it to pierce the Heavens, so that it might be immovable, and visible to all your children. It embraced in its roots the four quarters of the globe; its leaves were large enough to shelter us all from the heat of the Sun, and its bark was sufficiently strong to resist the axe. You promised us, Father, to sustain this Tree with us, so that nothing could throw it down. We come to-day with this Belt, to refresh its roots, and to make its leaves again green, praying you to hold it as firmly as you have done heretofore, so that nothing may injure it, and that it may always retain its beauty.

BY A LARGE BELT.

My Children. I take it kindly of you that you have come to Montreal, to strengthen the Tree of Peace which you have planted there, by refreshing its roots, and making its leaves again green. I shall always hold it as firmly as I have done hitherto, so that we may be always sheltered under it. But be on your guard lest some of your brethren induce you, by bad advice, to shake it. Then the great Master of Life would throw that Tree down on the Children rather than on the Father.

NINTH BELT.

Father. Here is an old message we bring back to you. It was given to the Five Iroquois Nations, nine years ago, by our late son, Longüeil, when the House at Niagara was built. He promised us that it would be a House of peace for us and for our Children, down to the third generation and farther; he assured us, also, that we should enjoy the peace that he attached to that House. Nothing afforded us more pleasure, and we pray you to give us assurance of the promise, by renewing it to us.

BY A BELT.

My Children. When your son, Longüeil, promised you that the House at Niagara would be a house of Peace for you and for your children down to the third generation, he was justified in so promising you. As you request me to renew that promise to you, and inform me that such will afford you pleasure, I assure you that it will be a House of Peace, as long as you please.

By 3 Strings of Wampum.

Father. This is all that we have to say to you on matters of business. Your Children pray you to have their hatchets and arms repaired for them; to furnish them provisions to take them home, and a little of your red and white Milk to strengthen our hearts, and give us courage to ascend the Rapids that are difficult.

By 3 Strings of Wampum.

I grant you with pleasure, my Children, all that you have asked, to enable you to return home, and I hope you will arrive there without meeting any accident.

Abstract of the Marquis de Beauharnois' Despatch of the 10th of October, 1734.

Canada.

The Marquis de Beauharnois who had been written to on the 12th of May last, on the conjuncture of affairs in regard to the maritime powers, submits his views in case of a rupture with England.

The English could, in that case, attack the Colony either by Quebec or the Upper country.

To secure Quebec, he thinks it would be absolutely necessary to fortify that place.

He writes on this point, conjointly with M. Hocquart, both of whom represent that though the two expeditions the English have, these last years, set on foot against that city have failed, they could still prepare a third, and that they would be well recompensed for whatever expense they might be at. That, in fact, Quebec is the key of the Colony, and the port at which the succors are landed that arrive there from France. That, should the English become masters of that place, they would soon be rulers of the entire country. That there is no other way to remove all attempts on their parts, than to place the city in a thorough state of defence. And it is necessary, for that purpose, to order the execution of the plan they transmitted last year for the construction of a wall *(enceinte)* around the town.

The estimate for that work amounted to 155,817ll 10s. They had proposed appropriating thereto a fund of 155 m.ll remaining from the issue *(fabrication)* of paper money, ordered in 1733, and destined for the fortifications of the colony. But that proposal was not approved, and it was considered better to appropriate that fund to the completion of the works at Montreal, and to the building of a Redoubt à machicoulis in Lake Champlain, inasmuch as the Colony was exposed to more danger in its upper section in case of war.

The Marquis de Beauharnois adds: that Quebec being unfortified, he will cause the batteries there to be put in order; that he will place others elsewhere if necessary; but he sees no other way of opposing a landing, than to bravely charge the enemy sword in hand and with fixed bayonets.

In regard to the attack from above, he has issued orders to the Engineer to urge on the work at the walls of Montreal, and hopes that they will be completed in 1736, and that the place will be in a good state of defence.

He has, likewise, adopted all necessary measures for the construction of the Redoubt, à machicoulis at Crown Point, in Lake Champlain. Workmen have been transported thither at

the commencement of this Autumn, to prepare materials there, and to be ready to commence operations early in the Spring. He will, also, take proper precautions, at the melting of the snow, to guard against all accidents that may interrupt its progress. Meanwhile he will keep Fort Chambly in a state of defence: he has even had some work done there this fall.

As respects the Indians, he observes, that those who are domiciled are certainly in our interests; and the Iroquois will, apparently, adopt a neutral policy. He has given orders to the officer who resides with them to have an eye to their proceedings and to report the same to him. He has, likewise, issued orders to the Commandant at Crown Point to be on his guard with the thirty men composing his garrison, until the Redoubt be completed. And should the English attempt any thing in the direction of Lake Michigan during the winter, he will dispatch some Frenchmen and Indians on snow shoes.

It would be important that he should receive orders, if the English declare themselves. Meanwhile he will be informed by means of Indians, of everything that will transpire at Orange and New-York, and by M. de S^{t} Ovide, governor of Isle Royale, of whatever will occur at Boston.

The forces he will require for the defence of the Colony, would depend on those the English may send thither; but there is no doubt, should reinforcements be sent from Old England to strengthen the troops they have on the American Continent, that he would require considerable aid in order to oppose them. He has no troops, and though the New England Militia, who are numerous, be not greatly to be feared, the Canadians are no longer as good as formerly. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that, were they attacked at home, they would display great courage.

In regard to the attacks that might be made against the English, he observes in relation to Placentia and Acadia, that M. de S^{t} Ovide is in a better position than he to be advised of the strength of the English forces, and of the condition of their forts in these two Colonies, as well as of the reliance to be placed on the French of Acadia; and it is for that Governor to judge what assistance he would require for any expedition in that quarter. The aid he can derive from Canada, should the English make no attempt on that Colony, would amount to 100 soldiers and 2 @ 300 militia; but the difficulty would be to transport this reinforcement, and a vessel like *le Rubis*, or two frigates, would be required at Quebec for that purpose, to arrive in the month of May, inasmuch as the Canada merchant vessels of any considerable tonnage are then at sea. They should be even preceded by an advice boat. He adds, in respect to the French of Acadia, that it is his opinion that the English will disarm them.

Should he send out any expeditions against the English, on his side, it could only be against Orange and some other villages in that vicinity, Choüaguen and the posts towards Hudson's bay.

As respects Orange, the Patroon of that town, and another gentleman of the country have visited Montreal on pretence of traveling. These two Englishmen told him confidentially (what he already knew) that his predecessor, the late Marquis de Vaudreuil, had, in the late war, always spared their country, and recommended the Indians not to make any incursions into it; that the Father of one of them had carried on a secret correspondence with that governor; that they would pursue the same course now. He answered, that there was no appearance of a rupture; that he would be greatly inclined to follow the course of his predecessor, and in fine, he would ask for orders on that point. He entertained them well, and after considerable politeness, sent them back satisfied.

Orange is not fortified. There are only 200 regulars in the government of New-York, 110 of whom are in that city, and the remainder are dispersed through Orange, Hissop and Kerlak. The castle at New-York is a fort with four bastions faced with masonry, terraced and furnished with 40 pieces of Artillery. He has been assured that the town and vicinity contain more than 20 thousand men capable of bearing arms. No attack can be made on that place from Canada, and he will endeavor, between this and the next year, to obtain the plan of it, and to acquire more precise information which he will transmit.

Choueguen remains: but if the Iroquois continue neuter we cannot do any thing against that post, as the English will not be able to do any thing against the French post of Niagara.

The Colony contains at present 8000 men capable of bearing arms, 6600 of whom are armed, but as the greater part of these arms are in a bad condition, the good of the service requires that there be in store 1500, or 2000 grenadier muskets.

There is in store nearly 100m £ of powder, including that belonging to the King and to the Company of the Indies, independent of 30m[li] which he and M. Hocquart have demanded.

The entire Colony contains only 750 soldiers, 160 of whom are at the different posts, and sixty in the expedition sent against the Foxes and the Sacs. The garrison at Crown Point will have to be increased to 120 men when the Redoubt will be finished. Then only 410 soldiers would remain for the defence of the country and the execution of the projects; this is of no avail; so that it would be proper to maintain in Canada an additional force of at least 600 men, and officers in proportion, in order to preserve the Iroquois to us.

He annexes to all these observations, an estimate of the munitions and artillery necessary to place Quebec, Montreal and the forts, in a state of defence. The estimate is subjoined.

24th December, 1734.

Census of Canada. 1734.

Extract from the General Census of New France in 1734.

Churches,	102	Lands under improvement (arpens),	163,111
Parish Priests or Missionaries,	83	Meadows (arpens),	17,657
Presbytères,	76	Wheat (minots),	737,892
Priests or Canons,	32	Indian Corn (minots),	5,223
Jesuits,	18	Peas (minots),	63,549
Récolets,	27	Oats (minots),	163,988
Nuns of the Hotel Dieu,	97	Barley (minots),	3,462
Ursulines,	80	Tobacco (pounds),	166,054
Nuns of the General Hospital and *frères charrons*,[1]	31	Flax seed (pounds),	92,246
Nuns of the Congregation,	96	Hemp,	2,221
Grist mills,	118	Horses,	5,056
Saw mills,	52	Horned cattle,	33,179
		Sheep,	19,815
		Hogs,	23,646

[1] See note, *supra*, p. 907. — Ed.

Families,.....	Six thousand four hundred and twenty-two.
Men above fifty years,....	Seventeen hundred and eighteen.
Men under fifty years,....	Four thousand five hundred and eighty-eight.
Men absent, ...	Four hundred and thirty.
Women and Widows,....	Six thousand five hundred and ninety-three.
Boys over fifteen years,...	Three thousand eight hundred and five.
Boys under fifteen years,..	Eight thousand three hundred and forty-two.
Girls over fifteen years,...	Three thousand six hundred and fifty-four.
Girls under fifteen years,..	Eight thousand one hundred and twenty-two.
Fire-arms,.....	Six [thousand] six hundred and nineteen.
Swords,.....	Seven hundred and seventy-four.

This Census has been taken with all possible care, and it is believed the most exact of any sent up to this time.

Count de Maurepas to M. de Beauharnois.

Versailles, 10th May, 1735.

Sir,

I have received the letters you wrote me on the 10th and 25th of October of last year, in answer to that I had written you on the 2nd of May preceding relative to the then situation of the affairs of Europe, and I have submitted the same to the King.

His Majesty has ordered me to inform you, that the maritime powers have not as yet made any declaration. There is reason to believe that the Dutch will not declare themselves, and that, if England, who is making great efforts to bring about an arrangement between the Powers engaged in war, determine on entering the lists, she will be too late to do any thing this year; and the ill success which is almost inevitable, and which she experienced when she made the attempt, appears to protect Quebec against all insult from that quarter, and it would be so much the more useless to fortify that place as its new fortifications could not be sufficiently solid to guarantee it, for there is every reason to believe that if England made any attempt to reduce it, she would employ a larger force than in the late wars, and in any case, did she not do this, you would be in a sufficient condition to defend the place and to baffle her designs, the more especially as she could not make any such demonstration without organizing in Old England a considerable expedition to coöperate with the forces of New England, which perhaps would not be willing to participate in it. As I would be informed of this armament, and you could easily be advised of the movements and preparations which would be made at Boston, you could adopt measures and precautions to mar their plans. His Majesty would cause to be sent to Quebec the aid he would deem necessary, and you would be informed of every thing by a corvette which I should have despatched thither. Thus, all seems to be reduced to the taking the precaution to guarantee the Upper part of the Colony against all surprise. The labor expended last year on the enceinte of Montreal, led me to hope that this work will be in a state of defence this year, and completed the year following, and that the

Redoubt a machicoulis at Crown Point, will be in a like condition in consequence of the measures you have adopted for preparing materials to commence that work in the spring. These two finished, and Fort Chambly in the condition you describe, will it appears to me be sufficient; and if, as you suppose, the Iroquois will remain neutral, the domiciled Indians being, as you assure yourself, in the French interest, the English will have more to fear in that quarter than the French.

His Majesty has approved your having ordered the officer stationed among the Iroquois, to watch their proceedings; his report thereof will enable you to adopt suitable measures, and meanwhile, without giving that nation to suspect any apprehension on your part from it, you should so act as to induce it to determine on remaining neutral, if you cannot prevail on it in whole or in part to declare in favor of France.

As for the visit the Patroon or Lord of Orange and another gentleman of the country paid last summer to Montreal, to propose to you to act towards him as the late Marquis de Vaudreuil had done with his predecessor; that is, to spare the country and to recommend the Indians not to make any incursions there, I was in fact, aware that such a course had been adopted in the last war, but that the Lord of Orange had not responded, as he ought, to the regard which was had for him, there having been several English parties at Orange and in its vicinity, of which he gave no notice. As for the rest, as you do not propose any thing touching the proceedings of these two men, and as you are in a position to know whether it will be proper or not to accept the proposition, His Majesty will refer the matter to you, observing to you, however, that this kind of secret neutrality may be more injurious than profitable, and that should it occur, 'twill be necessary to adopt precise measures to prevent it causing any prejudice to the Colony.

Should the Iroquois in fact remain neuter, it does not seem as if they would suffer you to make an attack on Choueguen, nor the English on our post at Niagara. In that case it will be necessary to proceed according to circumstances.

His Majesty has seen with pleasure your report that the Colony contains 8000 men capable of bearing arms, though all of them are not, indeed, well armed. Did the state of the finances admit of my incurring the expense of 1500 @ 2000 grenadier muskets, I should have had a portion of them sent out this year, as well as the contents of the memoir you sent me, but that was impossible. I shall provide therefore by degrees, according as it will be in my power.

Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to the Minister.

My Lord,

* * * * * * * * * * *

The King's ship arrived this year on the 7th of August, and the ammunition and goods destined for Forts Frontenac and Niagara have been sent a few days after to Montreal, and will be deposited this fall in both the posts, so that the King's trade will not suffer this year, as it did last season when the King's ship arrived so late that the supplies destined for the trade remained at Fort Frontenac, the bateau which was conveying them from that fort to Niagara having been obliged to put back on account of bad weather and the advanced season. It were

desirable that the King's ship might arrive, every year, sufficiently early to admit of these supplies being transported to the posts in the course of the same season, and to prevent the trade suffering.

As for the commerce now carried on at Fort Frontenac and Niagara, it becomes every year more inconsiderable in comparison to the expenses the King incurs there. These two posts which produced some years ago, as much as 52000^{lb} of peltries have these four years past returned only 25 @ 35,000^{lb}. This falling off has occurred merely since the discontinuance of the distribution of Brandy to the Indians, whereof it is the King's pleasure that Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Hocquart be very sparing. In vain Sieur Hocquart endeavored to tranquilize the store keepers of these Forts respecting the toleration whereby the King is pleased to permit the sale of Brandy to the Indians, observing therein the proper precautions and moderation. The pastoral Letter, of the Bishop of Quebec, whereof Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart have rendered his Majesty an account, disquiets them to such a degree, that they would prefer resigning their situation than to be even suspected of the reserved case.[1] This is what they have repeatedly written Sieur Hocquart. We admit that it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to sell Brandy to the major portion of the Indians without their getting drunk. But it is equally certain that nothing deters them from trading with the French in these posts and every where else in the Upper countries, more than the refusal to sell them any of this liquor for which they entertain an inexpressible passion. They find plenty of it at Choueguen, where they repair from all the posts of the Upper countries, without any means of stopping them at Niagara. Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart perceive, unfortunately, no means of destroying or interrupting the commercial relation this drink keeps up between the Indians and the English.

M. de Beauvais, commandant at Fort Frontenac, and M. de Rigauville, commandant at Niagara, continued to be very careful to prevent Voyageurs passing along the South side of Lake Ontario. The former dispatched a canoe, this spring, after the men named Duplessis and Deniau, Voyageurs, on hearing that they were on the way to Choueguen. Sieur de Tonty, who was in command, overtook them within four leagues of that fort and arrested them. They had on board their bark canoe about 300£ of Beaver, which was seized and confiscated. These Voyageurs have been conducted to Montreal, where they were imprisoned. On suspicion of being Coureurs de Bois, their trial has been instituted at Montreal conformably to the Letters Patent of the month of March, 1716, but by the definitive judgment of the 27th of June, pronounced by the Commissaries, they were acquitted of the charge, and the violation by them committed of the arrêt of the 22nd of May, 1716, was referred to M. Hocquart, who, on receiving notice of this judgment, delegated Sieur Michel to investigate the violation in question, its circumstances and dependencies, all unto definitive judgment, saving appeal. M. Michell condemned them in a fine of 500^{ll} but in consideration of the poverty of both these accused, the consequent impossibility of making them pay, Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Hocquart have been under the necessity of setting them at liberty after an imprisonment of three months. This example will possibly always restrain those who might be inclined to drive a fraudulent trade.

[1] *Cas reservé.* Certain grave offences, the decision whereon the Bishop, or other superior authority in the Church, reserves to himself. — Ed.

The two sloops on Lake Ontario have been navigated alternately by the same crew. That course is necessary to keep them in order.

If Lake Champlain be navigable for sloops, it will be very useful to have one built for the conveyance of the supplies for Crown Point. But we do not as yet possess sufficient knowledge respecting its rocks and sand bars, which may render the building of such vessels hazardous. Up to the present time, only one bar has been discovered; it lies north of Isle à la Motte, and is three-quarters of a league wide opposite Point au Fer.[1] In other respects, sloops will, apparently, be able to sail through this lake.

Sieur de Beauharnois reported last year the cause of the ill success attending Sieur de Noyelles' campaign against the Foxes and the Sakis. He has the honor to inform you, My Lord, by a private letter, of resolution adopted by these Indians, and of the dispositions of the Sakis, according to the news he has received from the commandant at the River S^{t} Joseph.

Sieur de Joncaire, commandant among the Chaouanons, has written Sieur de Beauharnois that his Indians continued to reject the evil advice of the Iroquois, and were disposed to follow their Father's pleasure; that they were about sending Deputies to Detroit to visit their Brothers the Hurons, and that they would come down to Montreal next Spring, to hear Sieur de Beauharnois' word, and obey it. They have added that as he had located them on the Beautiful river, they would not, without his orders, abandon the fire he had lighted for them at that place. Therefore, although the transmigration of these Indians to Detroit has not yet taken place, it is to be presumed from the dispositions they continue to entertain, that Sieur de Beauharnois will succeed in engaging them to do so. The maxim of the Indians in negotiations of this nature, is to have frequent talks together, and nothing is terminated among them until after divers interviews. This has been the cause of the delay manifested hitherto by the Chaouanons. As for the rest, M. de Beauharnois flatters himself that the business will be terminated next year; he will not lose sight of it.

As regards the Miamis, they appear very quiet in their village, and M. de Beauharnois has not heard that any of them have dispersed.

In the answer to the King's Memoir of 1734, Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Hocquart have explained the reasons which had prevented M. d'Arnaud, who commanded the party sent against the Ouiatonons, proceeding beyond the Miamis, and the motives which induced M. de Beauharnois not to push that affair any farther.

He will add, in regard to its probable consequences, that he agreed the more readily to be content with the pardon the Ouiatanons have solicited of him, inasmuch as there is no doubt, had Sieur d'Arnaud continued his march, but these Indians would have been advised thereof by the Miamis, their allies, and have retired to the Peanguichias or Islinois, who are equally their allies, so that, besides being unable to wreak vengeance on the Ouiatanons, it would be declaring war against the other nations, among whom they would certainly have found an asylum, and stopping the path to the Mississippy on ourselves. The peace we are since some time endeavoring to establish in the Upper countries, and the condition of affairs required mild and moderate means to be preferred on an occasion involving neither the honor of the French nation nor the King's arms, and arising merely out of a simple fray between some drunken young Ouitanons and two or three Voyageurs, in an affair of trade. The proceedings and resolution of the French of Detroit to wreak vengeance for the insult perpetrated on these Voyageurs, have not been unknown to all the Nations, and may, in like manner, help to restrain

[1] In the town of Champlain, Clinton county, N. Y., about 18 miles north of Plattsburgh. — Ed.

those of that quarter. In fine, it has not been until after having weighed all these considerations and the unfortunate consequences this affair might involve, which M. de Beauharnois has just explained, that he deemed it prudent, and of infinite importance to the good of the Colony, to grant the Ouitanons the pardon they asked of him, rather than aggravate the troubles of the Upper country, by acting in direct opposition to the views he entertains of reëstablishing peace, the object so strongly recommended to him.

In regard to the Scioux, Sieur Pierre, who commanded at that post, and Father Guignas,[1] the Missionary, have written to Sieur de Beauharnois on the 10th and 11th of April last, that these Indians appeared well intentioned towards the French, and had no other fear than that of being abandoned by them. Sieur de Beauharnois annexes an extract of these letters; and although the Scioux seem very friendly, the result only can tell whether their fidelity is to be absolutely depended on, for the unrestrained and inconsistent spirit which composes the Indian character, may easily change it. They have not come down this summer, as yet, but M. de St. Pierre is to get them to do so next year, and to have an eye on their proceedings.

The Senecas visited Montreal this summer. They seem always well disposed towards the French, and have assured Sieur de Beauharnois that all the Chiefs of their Nation are to come down next year to speak on business. No reason has occurred as yet to suspect their fidelity, but Sieur de Beauharnois continues to have a watch over their intercourse with the English.

The Abenakis have visited Quebec. Those of Acadia who had commissions from the English, have given them up to Sieur de Beauharnois, and promised to bring him, next year, those of the other Chiefs who did not come this season. They assured him, at the same time, that they would not receive any more.

Several Chiefs of the village of St Francis, have applied to go to France next year to render their fealty to his Majesty. Messrs de Beauharnois and Hocquart are of opinion that this voyage would be productive of a good effect among these Nations, and would attach them more and more to the French.

M. de Beauharnois gave an account last year of the affair of the Chicachas, and since that time has not received any news from M. de Bienville.

We are with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Humble and most obedient
Servants,

Quebec 12 8ber, 1736. BEAUHARNOIS. HOCQUART.

[1] Rev. PIERRE MICHEL GUIGNAS (*Liste Chronologique, No.* 425), came to Canada in 1715, and went as a Missionary to the Scioux in 1728, but was soon obliged to abandon his mission when the Foxes defeated the French. On attempting to reach the Illinois, he fell into the hands of the Kikapoos and Mascoutens in October, 1728, and remained five months in captivity among these people, during which time he was condemned to be burned, but was saved by being adopted by an old man. Having induced the Indians to make peace, he was conducted to the Illinois country where he was left on parole until November 1729, when he was taken back by his late masters. Though Shea in his *Missions*, 374, where the Missionary is called "Ignatius" Guignas, says there is nothing to show that he then resumed his Sioux mission, it is evident from the text, that he did return to labor in that field. Noiseux states that he died in 1757. — ED.

Enumeration of the Indian Tribes connected with the Government of Canada; the Warriors and Armorial bearings of each Nation. 1736.

The Eskimaux,
The Micmacs,
The Amalecites or rather the Maneus. } These Nations are below Quebec, and beyond my knowledge.

At Quebec.

		Warriors.
The Hurons. .	1 Village 60 *a* 70 men; bearing arms,.....	60

At the River Saint John, adjoining the English.

The Abenakis. .	1 Village called Panasamsket towards the mouth of said river,	200
The Sbenakis. .	1 Village called Narentchsan, at the head of said river,.....	150

Becancour.

The Abenakis. .	1 Village. Warriors,.....	60

At Saint Francis.

The Sbenakis. .	1 Village, including those of Michiskoui and those who migrate,	180

The Armorial bearings (Totums) of this Nation, which is divided into two sections, are the Pigeon *(tourtre*[1]*)* and the Bear.

There are, besides, some tribes who carry the Partridge, the Beaver and the Otter.

At Three Rivers. See *Montreal.*

The Algonquins. .	fifteen men,.....	15

The Têtes de Boule or Tribes of the Interior.

These are wandering Savages who have no knowledge either of the order or form of villages, and evince the least intellect; they inhabit the mountains and lakes in the interior, from Three Rivers to Lake Superior. Their armorial bearings are unknown, if any hey have.

Boston and Orange.

The Mohegans *(Loups)* who understand the Sbenakis and whom the Sbenakis understand, are dispersed from Boston to Virginia, which is equal to from Lake Champlain to the head of Lake Erie—300 leagues. This nation may be six hundred men, under British rule. No person could give me any information of their customs. This only by way of remark.

665

[1] This word is Otter, (*Loutre*) in Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 4to. Philadelphia, 1853. Part III., 553. — Ed.

Warriors.

Montreal. 665

Algonquins. They are twenty men settled with the Iroquois of the Two Mountains; this is all that remains of a nation the most warlike, most polished and the most attached to the French. They have for armorial bearings, an Evergreen Oak *(Chêne Vert)*, ... 20

At the Lake of the Two Mountains.

The Nepissingues. A part of this tribe is incorporated with the Iroquois. The remainder has its village at the lake of their name. Here are fifty men bearing arms, ... 50

The Armorial bearings of this Nation are, the Heron for the *Achagué*, or Heron tribe; the Beaver for the Amekoses; the Birch for the Bark tribe; Blood for the Miskouaha or Bloody people *(Gens du Sang.)*

Remark, Sir, if you please, that besides the arms of the principal stocks to which I exclusively confine myself, leisure not permitting me to obtain thorough details, each tribe distinguishes itself by peculiar devices. The Iroquois who are masters of this village, amount to no more than sixty-three—I mean warriors,..... 60

At the Sault Saint Louis.

The Iroquois, who compose exclusively the village are nearly three hundred and three bearing arms,..... 300

These two villages are shoots of the Iroquois of Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, and have the same armorial devices. Those of the three principal tribes are the Wolf, Bear and the Tortoise.

Note.—*Argent*, to the Wolf *gules*, &c.

They usually design them merely with charcoal.

The Grand River of the Outawas.

At Lake Nepissingue there is one small village of thirty men, who bear a Squirrel *Atchitamo*,..... 30

River and Lake Themiscaming.

The Tabittibis are one hundred warriors. They have for device an Eagle,..... 100

At the mouth of the Themiscaming there are twenty warriors,..... 20

At the head of the Lake, twenty domiciled,..... 20

These Indians are what are called *Têtes de Boule*, who amount to over six hundred in the Northern country,..... 600

I shall speak of them hereafter without reference to their numbers.

At Missilimakinak.

The Outawas of this village amount to one hundred and eighty warriors; the two principal branches are Kiskakons (1) and Sinago (2); the Bear (1) and Black Squirrel (2),..... 180

2,045

Warriors.
2,045

River Missisagué.

The Missisagués on the river number thirty men, and twenty men on the Island called Manitouatim of Lake Huron. They have for device, a Crane,..... 50

Lake Superior—At the Mouth.

At the Falls of Saint Mary are the Sauteurs, to the number of thirty; they are in two divisions, and have for device, the Crane and the Cat fish,..... 30

Michipicoton—At North of this Lake.

The Papinakois and those of the interior; the first are twenty warriors, and have for device, a Hare,..... 20

River Ounepigon.

The Oskemanettigons are domiciled there to the number of forty warriors. They have for device, the bird called the Fisher,..... 40

The Monsonis, who are migratory, estimate themselves two hundred men, and have for device, a Moose *(Orignal)*,..... 200

The Abittibis and the *Têtes de Boule* come there also. Some have informed me that the first have for arms, the Partridge with the Eagle. I have already stated that they are in all one hundred warriors.

The Namesilinis have one hundred and fifty fit to bear arms. They have for device, a Sturgeon,..... 150

The tribes of the Savannas, one hundred and forty warriors strong, have for armorial device, a Hare,..... 140

Gamanettigoya.

The Ouacé are in number sixty men, and have for device a Cat fish,..... 60

Tecamamiouen, or Rainy Lake.

These Indians are the same as those who come to Nepigon. They are about this lake to the number of one hundred men,..... 100

Lake of the Woods.

The Cristinaux are scattered hereabout, to the number of two hundred warriors. They have for device, the Wild goose,..... 200

Lake Ounepigon.

The Cristinaux are around this lake to the number of sixty men,..... 60

Assenipoëls. See *Scioux.*

South of Lake Superior.

Kiouanan. In this quarter there are domiciled forty Sauteurs, who have for device, the Crane and the Stag,..... 40

The Sauteurs of Point Chagouamigon are one hundred and fifty warriors,..... 150

3,285

Warriors.

3,285

The Scioux, at the head of this lake, in the woods and along the lakes, though scattered, are computed at three hundred men,..... 300

The Scioux of the Prairies are, in the opinion of Voyageurs, over two thousand men, 2,000

Their Armorial devices are the Buffalo, the Black Dog and the Otter.

The Assenipoëls, or Pouans can, according to others, vie with the Scioux, from whom they formerly sprung. They number one hundred and fifty to the south of Lake Ounepigon, and have for device, a Big Stone or a Rock,..... 150

The Puans have retired, since 1728, to the Scioux to the number of eighty; they have for Armorial bearings, the Stag, the Polecat *(Pichoux)*, the Tiger,..... 80

The head of Lake Superior.

The Ayosois are settled at the south of the River de Missouris, at the other side of the Mississipi. They are no more than eighty. They have for device, a Fox, 80

Lake Michigan with its dependencies.

The Folles Avoines, north of this lake, number one hundred and sixty warriors,.... 160

The most considerable tribes have for device, the Large tailed Bear, the Stag, a Kiliou — that is a species of Eagle (the most beautiful bird of this country,) — perched on a cross.

In explanation of a Cross forming the Armorial bearings of the Indians, it is stated that formerly a Chief of the Folles Avoines finding himself dangerously sick, consented, after trying the ordinary remedies, to see a Missionary, who, Cross in hand, prayed to God for his recovery, and obtained it from his mercy. In gratitude for this benefit, the Chief desired that to his arms should be added a Cross on which the Kiliou has ever since been always perched.

Poutesatamis. In 1728 there was a small village of this nation retired on an island to the number of..... 20

The Bay, at the head of this Lake is the sojourn, or rather the country of the Sakis. This nation could put under arms one hundred and fifty men. Others do not count but one hundred and twenty. They have for device, a Crab, a Wolf, and a She-Bear,..... 150

Fox River.

The river of the Foxes discharges into this lake. This nation now migratory, still consists, when not separated, of one hundred men bearing arms. They have for device, a Fox,..... 100

The Kickapous, formerly their allies, may be eighty men. They bear for device, the Pheasant and the Otter,..... 80

The Maskoutin has for Armorial device, the Wolf and the Stag. This nation is estimated at sixty men,..... 60

6,465

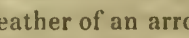
Warriors.
6,465

River Saint Joseph, south of Lake Michigan.

The Poutesatamies, who call themselves the Governor's eldest sons, compose the village of the River Saint Joseph, to the number of one hundred warriors, ... 100

The principal tribes bear the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise.

There are in the village about ten Miamis who bear as their arms a Crane, ... 10

Also, eight Illinois Kaskakias, whose device is a feather of an arrow,  notched; or two arrows supported one against the other (×) in *saltier* (like a St. Andrew's cross.)

These are the nations best known to us as well along the Grand River of the Outawas as north and south of Lakes Superior and Michigan. I propose now proceeding again from Montreal by way of the Lakes to Missilimakinak.

From Montreal; Lake Route.

I have spoken of Sault Saint Louis on the first page.

Toniata.

Some Iroquois, to the number of eight or ten men, have retired at this place. Their device, is without doubt, like that of the village from which they issue; the Deer, the Plover, &c., as hereafter, ... 10

Lake Ontario, or Frontenac; south.

There are no more Iroquois settled.

The Mississagués are dispersed along this lake, some at Kenté, others at the River Toronto, and finally at the head of the Lake, to the number of one hundred and fifty in all, and at Matchedach. The principal tribe is that of the Crane, 150

North of Lake Ontario.

The Iroquois are in the interior and in five villages, about fifteen leagues from the Lake, on a pretty straight line, altho' distant from each other one days journey. This nation, though much diminished, is still powerful.

South of Lake Frontenac.

The Onnontagués number two hundred warriors. The device of the village is a Cabin on the top of a Mountain, ... 200

The Mohawks, towards New England, not far from Orange, are eighty men, and have for device of the village a Steel and a flint, ... 80

The Oneidas, their neighbors, number one hundred men or a hundred warriors, ... 100
This village has for device a Stone in a fork of a tree, or in a tree notched with some blows of an axe.

The Cayugas form a village of one hundred and twenty warriors. Their device generally is a very large Calumet, ... 120

The Senecas form two villages, in which are three hundred and fifty men. Their device is a big Mountain, ... 350

7,585

Warriors.
7,585

Besides the arms of each village, each tribe has its own, and every man has his particular mark to designate him. Thus the Oneida designates his village by a Stone, a fork — next he designates his tribe by the bird or animal, and finally he denotes himself by his punctures. See the designs which I had the honor to send you in 1732 by Father François, a Recollet.

The five villages belonging to the same tribe, have for their arms in common, the Plover, to which I belong; the Bear, the Tortoise, the Eel, the Deer, the Beaver, the Potatoe, the Falcon, the Lark and the Partridge.

I doubt not but the other nations are as well distinguished, but our Voyageurs, having little curiosity in these matters, have not been able to give me any information.

The Tuscarorens have a village of two hundred and fifty men near the Onontagués, who brought them along. I know not their hieroglyphics, ... 250

Niagara — Lake Ontario.

The Iroquois have some cabins at the Portage.

Lake Erie and Dependencies; South Side.

The Chaouanons towards Carolina, are two hundred men, ... 200

Flatheads. The Cherakis, Chicachas, Totiris, are included under the name of Flatheads by the Iroquois, who estimate them at over six thousand men, in more than thirty villages. I'm told they had for device a Vessel, *(un Vaisseau.)* 6,000

The Ontationoué, that is those who speak the language of Men; so called by the Iroquois because they understand each other — may be fifty men. I know nothing of them, ... 50

The Miamis have for device the Hind and the Crane. These are the two principal Tribes. There is likewise that of the Bear. They are two hundred men, bearing arms, ... 200

The Ouyattanons, Peanguichias, Petikokias, are the same Nation, though in different villages. They can place under arms three hundred and fifty men. The devices of these Indians are the Serpent, the Deer, and the Small Acorn, ... 350

Illinois. The Metchigamias at Fort Chartres, number 250 men, ... 250

The Kaskakias, six leagues below, have a village of one hundred warriors, ... 100

The Peorias at the Rock, are fifty men, ... 50

The Kaokias, or Tamarois, can furnish two hundred men, ... 200

All these Indians comprehended under the name of Illinois, have, for device, the Crane, the Bear, the White Hind, the Fork, the Tortoise.

River of the Missouris.

The Missouris.

The Okams or Kamse.

The Sotos.

The Panis.

This only as a note, as I do not know anything of these Nations except the name.

15,235

Warriors.
15,235

Lake Erie; Detroit.

The Hurons at present are two hundred men, bearing arms. They mark the Tortoise, Bear and Plover,..... 200

The Pouteouatamis have a village there of one hundred and eighty men.* They bear for device the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise. (See *River Saint Joseph, south of Lake Michigan,)*..... 180

The Outawas have two villages there, composed one of the tribe of Sinagos; the other of Kiskakons, and may count two hundred warriors,..... 200

They have the same devices as those of Missilimakinak; that is to say, the Bear and Black Squirrel.

Lake Saint Clair, which leads to Lake Huron.

At the end of the little Lake Saint Clair, there is a small village of Mississagués, which numbers sixty men. They have the same devices as the Mississagués of Manitouatin and Lake Ontario; that is to say, a Crane,..... 60

Lake Huron.

I have spoken before of the Mississagués who are to the North of this Lake.

On the South side, I know only the Outawas, who have a village of eighty men at Saguinan, and for device the Bear and Squirrel,..... 80

15,955

Less,..... 80

15,875

Remark.

All the Northern Nations have this in common; that a man who goes to war denotes himself as much by the device of his wife's as by that of his own tribe, and never marrries a woman who carries a similar device to his.

If time permitted, you would, Sir, have been better satisfied with my researches.

I would have written to the Interpreters of the Posts, who would have furnished me with more certain information than I could obtain from the Voyageurs whom I questioned. I am engaged in the history of the Scioux, which you have asked of Monsieur de Linerot.

Missilimakinak.

* Instead of 180, only 100 men must be counted.

Note. — Joncaire is supposed, by some, to have been the author of the preceding enumeration, but this cannot well be, as that officer was on the Ohio at this date, and the writer was at Michilimackina. It is attributed to M. de la Chauvignerie, by Mr. Schoolcraft, in *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, III., 558. — Ed.

Louis XV. to Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart.

* * * * * * * * * * *

His Majesty approves the alternate sailing last year of the two sloops on Lake Ontario, and recommends Sieur Hocquart to pursue the same course each year, so as to keep these two vessels in order.

If it were possible to navigate Lake Champlain with vessels of that description, it will be of use to have one built for the transportation of supplies to Crown Point; but before hazarding their construction, it will be well to cause that Lake to be surveyed, with a view to become acquainted with the rocks to be met there. When Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart shall have acquired correct information on this subject, they will report the same, and his Majesty will cause his intentions to be communicated to them.

His Majesty has learned with pleasure that Captain Desnoyelles' expedition against the Foxes and Sacs in 1735, has not been attended by any bad consequences. As he causes his intentions regarding these Indians to be fully explained to the Marquis de Beauharnois, he will content himself here to recommend him to conform thereto.

He hopes to learn that the Chaouanons will have kept the promise they gave Sieur Joncaire, the commandant in their country, to come down this spring to Montreal, to hear the Marquis de Beauharnois discourse on their migration. It is probable that, should they determine on that course, they will be easily persuaded to settle at Detroit; and that it is very desirable, so as to protect the fidelity of these Indians against the insinuations of the English. But the delay they interpose to that movement induces his Majesty to apprehend that the Marquis de Beauharnois will meet with more difficulties than he had anticipated, and that the English, with whom his Majesty is informed they trade, had made sufficient progress among them to dissuade them therefrom. However that be, Sieur de Beauharnois should neglect nothing to accomplish that removal; and this object deserves now the more attention by reason of the settlement which a party of Cherakis and Chickachas has made on the river Oio, as Sieur de Beauharnois must be aware.

His Majesty is satisfied with his explanations respecting his determination in 1734 not to press the affair that occurred among the Ouiatanons, and to be content with the pardon these Indians demanded of him. A mild and moderate policy is always preferable, when it can be pursued without affecting the honor of the Nation and the glory of His Majesty's arms. But there are occasions when it may be absolutely necessary not to stop short, and when such policy may be accompanied by very unfortunate consequences. It is for Sieur de Beauharnois to decide on the course he is to adopt in occurring circumstances, and his Majesty cannot but rely on his zeal and prudence.

As respects the Scioux: according to what the commandant and Missionary at that post have written to Sieur de Beauharnois, relative to the dispositions of these Indians, nothing appears to be wanting on that point. But their delay in coming down to Montreal since the time they promised to do so, must render their sentiments somewhat suspected, and nothing but facts can determine whether their fidelity can be absolutely relied on. But what must still further increase the uneasiness to be entertained in their regard, is the attack on the convoy of M. de

la Verandèrie,[1] especially if this officer has adopted the course he had informed the Marquis de Beauharnois he should take, to have revenge therefor. His Majesty will wait impatiently Sieur de Beauharnois' report of what shall have been done on that subject, and is, meanwhile, persuaded that he will have adopted such measures as will have appeared to him the most suitable for the public service.

His Majesty has been very glad to learn that the Senecas, when they visited Montreal last summer, seemed well disposed towards the French. But though their fidelity appear above suspicion, Sieur de Beauharnois must not be less attentive in watching the conduct they observe towards the English. This is what His Majesty recommends him to do.

The readiness with which the most of the Abenakis Chiefs who had received commissions from the English have given these commissions up to the Marquis de Beauharnois, must afford a good idea of their fidelity; and it is to be desired, that those who still have any of them may follow their example, as Sieur de Beauharnois has been promised. But he must not rely, altogether, on this proceeding; he must be always attentive to whatever may occur to induce them to accept new commissions. For these sorts of connexions are ever dangerous.

As regards Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquarts' proposition to let the Chiefs of the St. Francis Indians make a voyage to France, pursuant to their request; it seems to His Majesty useless to incur the expense. Nevertheless, should Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart deem it absolutely necessary, His Majesty may concur. But he recommends them not to enter into any sort of engagement in that regard, without having first received his orders.

He has caused the Marquis de Beauharnois to be written to, on the subject of the Chicachas Indians, to inform him of the preparations on foot for a new expedition against that nation, from Louisiana. He recommends him to do whatever will lie in his power, on the Canada side, so as to effect, at last, the reduction of these Indians.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Versailles, 10th of May, 1737.

[1] This gentleman was sent, by order of the French government, on an overland expedition to discover the Pacific Ocean. He set out with his party from Montreal; passed through Lake Superior, and proceeding as near due West as he could, went along the foot of Lake Winnipeg, ascended the River of the Assinibonis and directed his course towards the Rocky Mountains, for several days, over large tracts of land free from timber but covered with very tall grass. In some places, where no European had ever been, were found great pillars of stone, leaning upon each other. The pillars consisted of one single stone each, and sometimes such stones were found laid upon one another and as it were formed into a wall. At one place in the prairie, about nine hundred leagues west of Montreal, the party discovered a large stone, like a pillar, and in it a smaller stone about a foot long and between four and five inches broad, covered on both sides with unknown characters. This curiosity was separated from the pillar and transmitted to the Secretary of State at Paris, where Missionaries conversant with the Eastern languages, affirmed that the inscription was in Tartarean characters. Without reaching the Rocky Mountains, M. de la Veranderie was obliged to abandon the prosecution of his expedition, his party having got mixed up in a war which the Indians of those parts were waging against each other. *Kalm's Travels*, III., 123; *Garneau*, II., 126. The country thus explored, embraces what is known as the North Western Territory of British America, and lies North and West of Minnesota. Three hundred miles West of Lake Winnipeg, on the Assiniboin river, the French erected Fort la Reine, mentioned by Carver, 109; three others were built farther West, the most remote of which stood on the bank of the River Paskoyac. — Ed.

Earl Waldegrave to Count de Maurepas.

Paris, 16th January, 1739.

Sir,

Reclamation of the Ambassador of England, respecting an establishment formed by the French in the Iroquois country.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the particulars of a matter of which I spoke some days ago to his Eminence and to Mr Amelot. Your Excellency will find therein the question in dispute as well as the Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, in consequence whereof I have order to make this Representation. And I flatter myself that although the information we have received on this subject have not come from persons perfectly instructed; yet as those who are supposed to be about forming these new Establishments, pretend to be thereunto authorized by the Governor-general of Canada, this circumstance might merit attention. The proceeding would be in direct violation of the Treaties existing between the two Crowns, and I dare hope from His Most Christian Majesty's acknowledged Justice, that he will be pleased to issue the necessary orders that this project, if approved, may not be executed, and that in accordance with the Letter of the Treaty, the Subjects of France may not molest the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to Great Britain, nor the other Nations of America, friends of that Crown.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and most

Monsieur le Comte de Maurepas. Obedient Servant,

WALDEGRAVE.

Paris, 16th January, 1739.

From some proceedings of the subjects of France in Canada, and from advices which reach us from those Cantons, there is reason to believe that the Governor of Canada has formed the design of sending several families next Spring to settle at *l'Anse au bois*, "The Wood Creek," within ten miles or thereabouts from our settlements, and that it is proposed also to build a fort at the said Wood Creek.

These proceedings would be contrary to the Treaties between the two Crowns, for the Iroquois or Five Nations of Indians in whose country these settlements would be made, are an ancient dependency of the Province of New-York, and acknowledged by the 15th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, dependent on the Crown of England.

ARTICLE 15, OF THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.

Galliæ subditi Canadam incolentes aliique, Quinque Nationes sive Cantones Indorum Magnæ Britanniæ Imperio Subjectas, ut et cæteros Americæ Indigenas eidem Amicitiâ conjunctos, nullo in posterum impedimento aut molestiâ afficiant. Pariter magnæ Britanniæ subditi cum Americanis Galliæ vel subditis vel amicis, pacifice se gerent et utrique commercii causâ, frequentandi libertate plenâ gau-

The subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain, nor to the other Nations of America, who are friends to the same. In like manner, the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans, who are subjects or friends to France; and on

debunt. Sicut pari cum libertate Regionum istarum Indigenæ colonias Britannicas et Gallicas ad promovendum hinc inde commercium pro lubito, adibunt absque ulla ex parte subditorum Britannicorum Gallicorum molestiâ aut impedimento. Quinam verò Britanniæ vel Galliæ subditi et amici censeantur ac censeri debeant id per commissarios accuratè et distinctè describendum erit.

both sides they shall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade. Also the natives of these Countries shall, with the same liberty, resort as they please to the British and French Colonies, for promoting trade on one side and the other, without any molestation or hindrance, either on the part of the British subjects, or of the French. But it is to be exactly and distinctly settled by Commissaries who are, and who ought to be, accounted the subjects and friends of Britain or of France.

Answer of the French Court to Earl Waldegrave.

January, 1739.

Respecting a fort which the English pretended that the French were building at Wood Creek in Canada, among the Iroquois.

We have no knowledge of the projected establishment mentioned in the Memorandum transmitted by the Earl of Waldegrave. The King will cause inquiries to be made on the subject, and assurances are given beforehand, that his Majesty will not suffer any thing to be done in the Colonies contrary to the article of the Treaty of Utrecht referred to in this Memoir.

It were to be desired that the same exactness in conforming to the spirit of Peace and tranquillity which forms the object of that Article, prevailed in the English Colonies on the same Continent. But since the Treaty of Utrecht experience has shown, and still shows only too palpably every day, that the English are continually occupied in corrupting the Indian Nations, the friends of France, and that there are no intrigues left unpracticed to foment division among them, and to excite them against France.

And as it is to be presumed that such conduct is not less opposed to his Britannic Majesty's intentions, than to the Union which exists between the two Crowns, it is to be hoped that he will issue, in consequence, effectual orders to his subjects not to afford any further cause for new complaints in this regard.

Extract of the Conference between Lt. Gov. Clarke and the Five Nations.

Extract from the meeting holden at Orange, with the Five Iroquois Nations, towards the end of August, 1740, which was attended by those of the Sault S^{t} Louis.

ANSWER OF THE IROQUOIS.

Brother. You invite us to take up the hatchet with you against Spain; I have no desire as yet to die; I am not a man to cross Seas; therefore I do not accept, absolutely, your hatchet.

Brother. You ask me to permit you to settle at Fort *des Sables*[1] for the purpose of protecting us, and of closing the passage on our father Onontio, should he desire to destroy us. Our heart is not divided; We love our Father as we love you; when you asked us permission to build a trading house at Chaoueghen, we consented; we did the same regarding Niagara; these two houses are sufficient, and we will not allow any others to be erected.

You renew our ancient Covenant chain, and you clean the Silver bracelet that binds our arms together; I thank you and assure you that if the Earth happen to upset, we shall find ourselves buried together, holding each other by the hand.

You ask me to make peace with the Flatheads and others, their neighbors, who are united in the Covenant chain with you; People do not make peace until they see those who ask it; therefore, when we shall see the Flatheads and the others, and their propositions, we will examine what we shall have to do. This is all I have to say to you.

Address of the Five Nations, and M. de Beauharnois' Answer.

Address of the Five Iroquois Nations to M. de Beaucours, Governor of Montreal, the 12th of September, 1740.

By a Large Belt.

Father. You see our ceremony; we are very sorry that our father Onontio is not here to listen to us; we come to bewail your dead, our deceased son, Monsr de Joncaire; with this Belt we cover his body so that nothing may damage it.

By a Large Belt.

Father. We have learned on the way, at our son's, the Chevalier de Longueuil, that you have experienced a serious loss, in the death of the Bishop;[1] we sympathize with your grief, and throw this Belt on his remains, so that he may rest in Peace.

By a Medium sized Belt.

Father. You know that pain and grief trouble the mind; we present you with this Belt to pray you to continue your attention to the good work which may nothing derange.

[1] Tierondequit. *Supra*, VI.

[2] Right Reverend François Louis de Pourroy de l'Auberivière, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and 5th Bishop of Quebec, belonged to a distinguished family of Grenoble (*Ferland*), and was born in the year 1711. He was selected in March, 1739, by Bishop Dosquet (*supra*, p. 1032), as his successor, and the choice having been approved at Rome, he was consecrated at Paris on the 21st December, 1739, by Bishop de Mornay, at the early age of 28. He embarked for Canada in the course of the following summer in a King's ship, which was conveying a number of troops to that country. A malignant fever broke out among these men during the voyage, and in his zeal to comfort and administer to the sick, the young Bishop caught the disease. He landed at Quebec on the 8th of August, 1740, but survived only 12 days. He died on the morning of the 20th of August, and such dread was entertained of the epidemic, that he was hurried to the grave the next night. Bishop de l'Auberivière left behind him a reputation of great sanctity, and the disinterested zeal to which he fell a victim created such veneration for his memory and respect for his merits, that his tomb was devoutly visited by the faithful, for many years after his decease. *Noiseux; Bourbourg.* — Ed.

By a Small Belt.

Father. By this Belt I again kindle the fire which had gone out through our son's death.

By a Small Belt, almost Black.

Father. By this Belt, I request you to listen to your warriors when they will make any representation to you; we exhort them, also, to listen to everything you will say to them.

By a Small White Belt.

Father. The misfortune which has overtaken us has deprived us of light; by this Belt I put the clouds aside to the right and to the left, and replace the sun in its meridian.

By a Small Belt.

Father. We know that pain and sorrow disturb the heart, and cause bile; by this Belt, we give you a medicine which will cleanse your heart, and cheer you up.

By a Large Belt.

Father. By this Belt we restore the tree that was planted when we both made peace; we have set it high enough to touch the clouds. M[r] de Callières and M. de Vaudreuil, our fathers, made it reach the heavens, so that nothing might be able to shake it; I have preserved it, and beg you to preserve it likewise.

By a Medium sized Belt.

Father. A tree without roots cannot stand; we have furnished it with some white ones in order that if any one should injure them 'twould be easily perceived; those which shoot out on my side are the same as we laid them, but those on the side of your children of the Upper country are spoiled; wherefore, we renew them by this Belt.

By a Black and White Belt.

Father. By this Belt we have put leaves on the Tree of Peace, in order that it may furnish shade as a protection from the sun's heat, when we speak on business. These leaves must not wither, and the children now in the cradle, as well as those unborn, must behold them in all their beauty.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. Eleven years ago, I spoke to you by a Belt of the size of this I show you, by which I told you that I knew M. de Longueuil had a brother; we requested you to send for him that he may watch the Chiefs' fire which was lighted at Montreal; I ask the answer to my word, as I think our request has not been granted.

Father. Passing Fort Frontenac we learned the death of Curot, the interpreter; Father, we inquire if you have any knowledge thereof, because we had no answer concerning it.

We ask you, likewise, if you have received three messages we delivered at Niagara; one by four skins; the other by three, and the third by two strings of Wampum; to ask of my father Onontio, the reason why he did not acquit me of the bad business imputed to me by my brother the Huron.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. We request you by these three Strings, to send back with us our son Joncaire and the Blacksmith. We have retained the entire forge, in order to induce them thereby to return; and in case the Smith be unwilling to go back, on account of the bad cheer in our country, I request you to furnish us another, and that he remain at the Little Village; you are aware, Father, that our people are at the Meeting at Orange; we know not what for. This is the reason why we wish to carry back our son with us, so that he may inform you of what will occur.

By two Strings of Wampum.

Father. When we made peace, I surrendered to you all the French in my hands; I look on them always as my relatives; I beg you to permit Laforge* to come and spend a year with us, in order that he may see all his friends.

By a Bearskin.

Father. As you have a great many children and do not know them all, here is a message I bring you from them, to request you to give them a sample of your powder, your ball and some knives, so that when they will be acquainted with the quality of the powder and ball, they may easily make use of them.

By four Bearskins.

Father. This is on the part of our young men; they are two families who request you by this small present to grant them a little powder, some ball and flints to hunt; they are recently returned from the war path.

Father. Be not surprised that we do not repair the road from your country to ours: It is not long since we cleared it; we are pursuaded that it is not yet spoiled.

Father. We ask you for shoes† that we may return home; there was so much to do in our villages at our departure, that we have not been able to find any good ones; I request you to give us three pairs, so that we may return home at our ease.

Answer of the Marquis de Beauharnois to the Address of the Five Iroquois Nations to Monsieur de Beaucours, Governor of Montreal.

Quebec, 20 September, 1740.

Children. M. de Beaucours has sent me your address by your son, Joncaire; your ceremony has greatly flattered me; I am very sorry not to have been at Montreal so as to have the pleasure of seeing you, and hearing you speak. The affairs of your Great Father, Onontio Goa, called me to Quebec, and I could not dispense with coming down here.

You had cause to mourn for the death of your son Joncaire, and to cover his body; you have experienced a great loss, for he loved you much. I regret him like you.

* Those were Onondagas who made this request for their village.

† Each pair of shoes is a bark Canoe.

By a Belt.

Children. I thank you for the sympathy you express for the loss we have suffered in the Bishop's death. The Great Master of Life has taken him from the Colony which continues to mourn for him.

By a Belt.

Children. Trouble and grief will never disturb my mind when I shall have to listen to you, I will always coöperate with you in good business; I will drive the bad out of my mind. By this Belt I ratify my word, to prove to you that I can tell the truth.

By a Belt.

Children. By this Belt I, in like manner, rekindle the fire that had been extinguished by the death of your son, Joncaire.

By a Belt.

Children. I shall always listen to my warriors when they will have anything to represent to me. I invite you to do likewise, and to hear the words that will come from me.

By a Belt.

Children. I sympathise with you for the misfortune that has overtaken you; this accident must not make you lose the light; by this Belt I clear your sight; I set the clouds aside, in like manner, so that the Sun may enlighten us all.

By a Belt.

Children. I know that trouble and sorrow sadden the heart; I thank you for the medicine that you have given me to cleanse it; I give you another for a like purpose; we should keep no bile on our hearts, because that prevents the transaction of good business.

By a Belt.

Children. I am delighted that you have arrived here to renew the Tree of Peace, which has been planted; I am aware that Messrs de Callières and Vaudreuil have made it reach the heavens so that nothing may be able to shake it; I have preserved it, since I have been in this country, as I have not been able to make it grow higher. I expect you to continue to attend to its preservation. It shall never be thrown down by me.

By a Belt.

Children. 'Tis true that a tree without roots cannot stand. You have afforded me pleasure by having added white ones to it, and your idea has been good, because it will be better seen who shall insure them. I have not yet perceived them damaged on your side, and I congratulate you thereupon. The same is the case on my side; as for my children in the Upper country I have no part in their quarrels; I have done every thing a good father could, to unite the world and keep it quiet, and labor to that end every day.

By a Belt.

Children. You are not the only ones that have put leaves on the Tree of Peace; I have added to it as many branches as possible; we can sit together under it, shaded from the heat of the

sun, and converse together on good business. I shall never cause these leaves to wither, and children in the cradle, as well as those still unborn, will behold them in all their splendor.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. I know that you spoke to me at Quebec, eleven years ago, when coming to mourn M. de Longüeil's death, and that you asked me to send for his brother to watch over the Chiefs' fire that is lighted at Montreal; I answered you, as I now do, that I was not his master. Onontio Goa has disposed of him, since that time, by making him a Great Chief at Louisiana. You have Okoësin, and Thathakoinséré, two of his nephews here, who will take care of it.

Children. I thank you for your attention to Curot, and for having covered his body. It was reported to me at the time, and I am surprised that you have not had an answer.

By a Belt and two Strings of Wampum.

Children. I have received the words you addressed to me at Niagara; I had no difficulty in acquitting you of the bad affair your brother the Huron imputed to you, because I never entertained any but a good opinion of you; therefore, be at ease, and do not trouble yourself about the lies that will possibly be circulated.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. I send you back your son, Joncaire, who will fill, near you, the same place as your late son. Listen attentively to whatever he will say to you from me. The smith you have asked of me will go up with him; he, too, is one of your children; I recommend you to take very good care of him, and not to suffer him to be hungry.

You tell me that your people had gone to the meeting at Orange, without your knowing for what. As I have ears every where, I have heard that your brethren the English, had invited you to join them, and to take up the hatchet against Spain, and that you had answered them that absolutely you would not receive their tomahawk.

That they asked permission of you to settle at Fort *des Sables* in order to protect you, and to shut the path on me, to which you told them that your heart was not divided, and that you wanted no other establishments. I am obliged to you, children, for your answer. Be on your guard lest the English corrupt your heart and mind.

By two Strings of Wampum.

Children. You are right to regard, as your relatives, all the Frenchmen you have restored during the peace. You, Onontagués, ask me to permit Laforge to spend one year with you, in order that he may visit his relations. I readily permit you to take him along, as I cannot refuse you any thing. You have only to prevail on him, and I consent.

By a Present.

I know that I have many children, and that I am not acquainted with all of them. I shall be highly flattered, however, to see them come and hear my word, and supply them, myself, with what they stand in need of; though they be not here, I give you this present for them. Let them make a good use of it.

By another Present.

I give you what you ask for the two families, in whom you take an interest.

You need not repair the road between you and me. It is very clear, and shall never be spoiled by me.

I give you the shoes you ask me for, to take you quietly home. I wish they may carry you home and also bring you back, next year.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

Canada.

My Lord,

You have been able to perceive by my despatches of the 22nd of July last, and of the 10th instant, what I had done and proposed to do in consequence of what you did me the honor to communicate to me on the 12th of August, 1739, 29 *February and* 13th *of May last.*

Nothing has occurred in New England up to the present date. Had there been any movement, I should have been notified of it immediately, having people continually abroad.

I have communicated, *My Lord*, to *M. Hocquart* your despatch of the 12th of August *one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine*, and we have made the proper arrangements together for expenses of utility.

I have been informed, *My Lord*, by the first vessels, of the affairs of Europe, and have always been on my guard against every event. *A vessel arrived here from Isle royale on the 25th of this month, which has reported* that matters were in the same position, and that the Spaniards were making a great deal more progress against the English, than the English against them.

The precautions I have adopted, *My Lord*, have been to send a good garrison to Crown Point, and to supply that post with every thing necessary for its defence. I have done the same to Fort Chambly, and have sent *Sieur Rochbert de La Morandière* to Niagara to have the fort repaired, the pickets whereof were falling down, and, next, to Fort Frontenac to put every thing in order. These posts, *My Lord*, will be furnished this fall with the troops, provisions and ammunition it may require in case of rupture with our neighbors.

I calculate, *My Lord*, on six hundred Regulars. There may be twelve to fifteen thousand effective militia who would serve well when occasion requires, but on whom I cannot rely as absolutely as on disciplined troops, the long continuance of peace having damped the ardor of the Canadians; four hundred Iroquois of Sault St Louis and of the Lake of Two Mountains; two hundred Algonquins and Nepissingues and more than seven hundred Abenakis of Acadia and this place. As regards these Nations you are aware, *My Lord*, of their inconstancy. I took the precaution to let our domiciliated Indians know by some strings of Wampum, not to go far from home, in case they may be wanted.

I advised you last year by a despatch of the 25th *of October, that I had transmitted to you on the twenty-fifth of the same month one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four*, the estimate of the munitions of War necessary for the defence of the country, and to complete those in the King's stores. I took likewise the liberty to ask you to send forty @ fifty thousand weight of powder;

you have not thought proper, *My Lord*, to send more than thirty @ forty thousand weight of it. It is, however, the most important article for the Colony, as well as a larger quantity of muskets which would be required to arm those who have none. They would not be lost, for they would be returned to the store after the close of the expedition, if we should find ourselves in that category.

I am with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,

Quebec, the 31 October, 1740. Signed: BEAUHARNOIS.

NOTE. The preceding despatch was written in cypher, except the passages in Italic.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I find myself under the grievous necessity of having the honor to inform you to-day of every thing that has occurred this year at the Sault S^t^ Louis, both on the part of the Indians and their Missionaries.

Those of the Sault, on their return from S^t^ Francis, the 28^th^ of July, came to salute me agreeably to their custom, and told me that they had received, last fall, a message from the English, inviting them to attend a general meeting to be held at Orange, and that they were very desirous to see what was wanted of them. I told them, on the instant, that I should answer them on the earliest day. They replied to me, that it should be soon, as they were desirous to go to the English to obtain wherewith to cover them before the cold weather set in.

I had resolved, My Lord, to speak to them on the next day, but the Chiefs having learned that I was angry with their village, returned home and carried off all their people. As soon as I learned this, I wrote to Father de Lauzon, to assemble all the principal Chiefs, and send them to Montreal, which he did, and came with them. You will see, My Lord, by the annexed paper, the speech I made to them, which greatly displeased them, for I have been assured they had said that no Governor-general had ever treated them after such a manner.

They came a few days after to congratulate me on the new grade with which the King had honored me, and brought me the English message. They were inclined to excuse themselves and to speak against those of the Lake whom they suspected of having informed me of their intrigues. I ordered them to be silent, saying that I was satisfied, and that I buried the past.

On the 3^rd^ of August I sent an officer to them to entertain them, and to install another into the place of one of their Chiefs who was deceased. I have the honor to annex hereunto, My Lord, the speeches made on that occasion.

Vincent, one of the Great Chiefs of the village of Loretto, went last year to the lake to visit his brethren. He asked to see their treasure, which consists of their Belts and Wampum. These were shown to him, and he found only two of the twelve his Nation had deposited there formerly, on lighting their fire; he took them and carried them off, saying — that fire was

dead since they had disposed of the Belts. On learning this, I made him take them back to M. de Beaucours, to be deposited with him, until the matter was settled.

The custom among the Indians is, to allow everything to be carried away without offering any opposition, but they do not feel the less, hoping as they do, to be revenged. In fact, the Chiefs came to tell me that they were plunged in the deepest grief because their fire had been removed; that they were not aware whether those who had done so, had a village, being but a handful of people who kept themselves hid, and who were never seen on the war path; that they were ready to obey my pleasure, and meanwhile were persuaded I would do them justice.

The Chiefs of the Lake returned this summer to tell me that they no longer possessed any influence over their young men, since their fire had been carried off, and requested me to arrange matters as soon as possible, as they could not be responsible for any thing.

I wrote to Quebec to send up to Montreal this same Vincent, and the other most influential Chiefs. When he arrived, Father Richer,[1] the former *(ancien)* Missionary of Loretto, addressed him thus: — Drop these Belts and be gone, as you are about to be censured in full Council. On being advised of this, I invited this Chief into my study, where I induced him to agree to every thing I should wish him, to which he consented. When I was sure of his promise, after having obtained that of the people of the Lake, I had them assembled, and it was resolved in Council, that Vincent should restore the Belts he had carried off, that I should rekindle a new fire, and be the grand master of the village of the Lake; Vincent rose, drew forth a Belt which he presented to the Iroquois, saying to them, that it seemed an Angel had come down from Heaven to inspire me with these sentiments, so as to quieten the earth; and they parted friends.

On the 12th of August, I sent to the Lake to kindle a new fire, and to replant the tree that had fallen down. You will find annexed, My Lord, the message and the answer. You will remark therein the submission of these Indians to my will; that I am at liberty to dispose of them, and that I have taken advantage of that opportunity to render them wholly subject to his Majesty. This is a fire that is lighted forever. My successor will have nothing to do but to present a Belt to confirm it.

On the 18th of the same month, those of the Lake came to thank me for my attention to them, and to inform me that they had sent a messenger, the evening before, to the Sault St Louis to communicate what had occurred, and to exchange congratulations with them, who sent a string of Wampum in answer by a warrior, from the Missionary Fathers and Chiefs of the village, saying, not to go near them and to pass them by; that they ought to know what Onontio had said, in which they had a considerable share; that those of the Sault wished to have nothing to do with them; to remain quiet on their mats and they should do the same.

Atinon, principal Chief of the Nepissingues who attended the Council, said, that he was surprised that those of the Sault refused to receive their brethren of the Lake, who were of the same Nation, and that he had never perceived that they had any misunderstanding; he added privately to some persons who repeated it to me, that this affair would not pass away without blows *(coups de couteaux)* on both sides.

To prevent such direful consequences, My Lord, and to hinder two villages butchering each other in consequence of the jealousy that exists between them, I immediately requested Father de Lauzon to explain this to me; he told me that the Warrior from the Sault had committed a mistake, and that the Chiefs had sent no other message to those of the Lake, than that they were not prepared to receive them, and requested them to postpone their visit to another

[1] Rev. Pierre Daniel Richer is represented as having arrived in Canada in 1699, and having died there in 1770. *Liste Chronologique.* Charlevoix makes mention of him in his *Journal Historique.* Letter IV. — Ed.

time. I wished to appear as participating these sentiments, having, however, my own opinion on the subject. I communicated to the Missionaries of the Lake the pretended mistake; invited them to the Sault with their Indians; had wherewithal to make an entertainment furnished; every thing went off seemingly well. I cannot answer for the venom which may remain in the heart.

Almost all the people of the Sault, My Lord, have English hearts, as the Indians express it. For this, I can blame only their Missionaries and the Misses Desauniers, who make them trade with New-York.

Sault S^{t} Louis, My Lord, has become a sort of Republic, and it is only there that foreign trade is carried on at present. Here is the proof I possess of the fact, of which I must not leave you in ignorance.

I know, My Lord, beyond a doubt, and as if I had seen it, because I must believe him who informed me of it—

That a Montreal merchant drew some years ago on Sieur Quesnel, of La Chine, in favor of Miss Mary Anne Desauniers for 800£ of Beaver; that on the back of the draft is her receipt for 600£ on account; every thing is still in existence in the hands of the merchant who would have transmitted the papers to me were it not for a certain scruple of conscience that he feels.

It is publicly stated by everybody in this country, that the college of Quebec has been built out of the frauds committed in the trade with the English.

Sieurs Daine and Deschambault reported to me this year that these Ladies have not brought a single Beaver to the Company's office in fifteen years.

I am informed that the Squaws who visited Montreal carried away Beaver in their baskets; they went with it to the Sault, whence it eventually was exported. I have notified Sieur Deschambault of the circumstance, in order that he may be on his guard.

I have learned, further, that those Ladies sent a package of smuggled goods by some Indians to be sold at Quebec, whereof I have advised the Intendant; that they were exchanging their Beaver at Orange for Martins, *Visons*, Otters, Pecans, Foxes, Wild Cats and other small peltry which left them a profit of over six francs a pound.

I am assured that they purchased the Corn and the Pumpkins at a low rate from the Indians, and when these fell short, which usually occurred in the spring, sold them these provisions at three times the original cost. These things have been, and are daily, complained of.

'Tis true, My Lord, that being so perfectly cognizant of these abuses, I might remedy them by removing these Missionaries and their associates. But I dare do nothing without having first received your orders, more especially as you have taken no notice of the under-ground Belt which I had the honor to mention to you in my despatch of the first of October last, and as, from all that has occurred, whereof I have the honor to send you an exact report, I have reason to apprehend mischief, which I would willingly avoid. M. Delaporte will tell you more about it than I can.

The Indians of the Lake came down here these days past on a visit to their brethren at Loretto, and to renew their ancient league. I caused them to be supplied with something for a feast.

I am with profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and most
Obedient Servant,
Signed, Beauharnois.

Quebec, 21 September, 1741.

Communications between M. de Beauharnois and the Indians.

Address of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France, to the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac. 8th July, 1741.

Children. I wrote last year to the Commandant at Missilimakinac, and ordered him to prevail on Mincheokima, Akikamingué, Chelaouiskaouois, Otolimois,* Ouiskaouois,** and other influential Chiefs both Kiskakons and Sinagos to come hither to hear my word.

He has informed me that the reason which had prevented the greatest portion of these Chiefs coming down is, that they have remained at the *Grande Traverse*[1] to look at some lands suitable for the settlement of their villages, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions they experienced this winter, and that they apprehend the recurrence of a similar misfortune, your lands being exhausted.

Children. Several years ago M. de Celoron here present informed me that you intended for this reason, to remove your villages elsewhere. In pursuance of my orders he went in search of you to Maskigon[2] where you had a wish to settle, and brought you back to your villages, as that land was not in any way suitable for you, the sickness which frequently prevails at that place being enough to destroy you; besides it injures your hunting; and you must have remarked when some of your Nation have passed the summer there that they have found the animals driven away and the game less abundant.

Children. The question now is to fix you in a place where you could find fertile land for the purpose of raising good crops for the support of your families, and preserve your hunting grounds. From the interest I take in whatever regards you, and the great friendship I feel for my children the Outaouacs, I do not see any place better adapted to you than Poutchitaouay,[3] Pamitabé point, or *Arbre croche*,[4] which, nevertheless, I consider too far off. Select, my children, whichever of all these places will suit you, and reflect well on it. Think of the pleasure you will experience in being near the French, who purchase your canoes, your guns, your corn, your fat, and every thing that industry causes you to produce, whereby you are furnished with the means of living more comfortably with your families, which you would not find if farther off.

By a large Belt, which you undertake to present to M. de Celoron, I kindle you a fire at the place you will select from those I have indicated to you.

I will in like manner entrust to you for him a large flag that he may plant it himself in your villages. He will raise it so high that I shall be able to see it, and have the satisfaction of saying, I have settled my children at a place where they can live in peace and at their ease; I shall learn that news with pleasure next spring.

As your Chiefs have appeared to me to have great confidence in M. de Celoron, I send him to make this settlement. Listen attentively to what he says; 'tis my word.

* Chief of the Sauteux. ** Two branches composing the Outaouac Nation.

[1] Great Traverse bay on the Northeast of Lake Michigan.

[2] River Maskegon takes its rise from a lake in the North part of the State of Michigan in about latitude 44°, flows thence in a Southwestern direction and falls into Lake Michigan in Ottawa county, a little North of the mouth of Grand River.

[3] The locality between Carp and Pine rivers at the extremity of Bay St. Ignace, at the head of Lake Huron. See *Belin's Carte du Detroit du Lac Superieur.*

[4] Immediately North of Little Traverse bay, on the Northwest corner of the Peninsula of Michigan — Ed.

Children. I've learned that you visit Choüéghen for the purpose of obtaining bad milk.[1] We have some good milk here; why don't you come for some of it since you are so fond of it? You have never been refused any, and my paps are overflowing. I shall let them run with pleasure, when the liquor does not put my children out of their senses; Come and see me before leaving, and I will give you and your village some proofs of my friendship. I have not yet had time to prepare any thing. I have been much pleased to speak to you in presence of M. de Celoron who starts to-morrow, and who will repeat my message to your villages.

Answer of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France to the Iroquois of the Saut S[t] Louis, on their announcing to him that they were about setting out for England,[2] and respecting several other grievances. 30[th] of July, 1741.

Children. But what do I say? Ought I call you Children, and give you so dear a name, you who are endeavoring to uproot in my bosom the emotions and feelings of a Father.

I am that Father whom you ought to cherish, especially on account of my kindness, since I have exhausted on you, in preference to all my other Children, whatever, the most tender friendship can inspire in favor of those who would render themselves deserving of it.

Tell me what have I not done to secure your affection?

I have showered down presents on your village on every occasion.

I have fed you all during the Famine.

I have rewarded you during the War.

I have fitted you out completely when you went to fight by my order.

I have supported your families during your absence.

I have clothed and armed you at your departure and on your return.

I have carried my indulgence so far as to have your horses fed during your absence.

What more shall I say? I have assisted you on every occasion.

I have had your arms repaired in all seasons.

I have furnished you canoes for every voyage, whenever you asked for them.

In fine, I have unsparingly stript myself of every thing to satisfy you.

Are not these the sentiments and acts of a good Father, who is entitled to exact a sincere return from those whom he ought to reckon among the number of his friends.

What have you done to deserve all these favors? Answer me, unnatural Children.

You blush, and feel as much difficulty in confessing your fault, as ingratitude in committing it.

Listen to your fault. I feel pain for you while pronouncing it, and you ought to die of shame to think that it has reached my ears.

How came you to consent to receive from a foreign and inimical hand a Belt injurious to the interests of a Father to whom you are under so many obligations?

What have you not done to suggest bad thoughts to a village of my Children,[A] who understand better than you the value of my friendship?

One of your Chiefs[B] wished to inspire them with sentiments of rebellion against the discipline of your common Father.

[1] i. e., Rum.

[2] *Sic.* In M. de Beauharnois' letter of the 21st September, it is stated that they proposed attending a meeting at Orange or Albany. — Ed.

[A] The Lake of the Two Mountains. [B] Onorekindiak.

You see that I am conversant with all your doings, but however unworthy they may be, I would have willingly forgotten them, in my capacity of Father, which exacts mildness towards his Children.

And passing by these treacheries on your part I warned you not to go astray, that I might be able to furnish you with proofs of my confidence and friendship.

What response have you made? First, by sending a party of your young men to the Chicachas without my knowledge or participation; you next applied to me for provisions to carry you to S^{t} Francis, for the purpose, as you say, of visiting your brethren belonging to that village.

I supplied you abundantly with them, flattered with your attachment for my children of S^{t} Francis, whom I always hold dear.

But what were the real motives of your voyage? Are you not afraid, at this instance of your treachery, that I will overwhelm you with my indignation? Is this the gratitude I ought to expect in return?

Not satisfied with having accepted a Belt which you ought never have laid your eyes on —

You employ this fatal instrument, doubtless, to go and shake the fidelity of my Children at S^{t} Francis.

You go to suborn them in their Cabins where they are quiet, and for what? for the sole satisfaction of making them, like yourselves, ungrateful to me.

Not content with all these wanderings, which ought to make you die of shame, you have the impudence to come and tell me in Council that you are going to England!

You undertake this voyage without consulting me, at a time when I caused you to be informed that I had need of your presence, for reasons which do not accord with the motive of your departure; at a time when your families, who are dying of hunger, are just experiencing all my affection, inasmuch as I have just caused them to be supplied with flour, peas, powder and lead, so as to enable them to attend to the harvest.

Count no longer on my friendship if you continue to listen to bad advice; you cannot avoid this misfortune except by breaking the close relations you entertain with the English.

These are your enemies and mine, the moment they inspire you with sentiments which conflict with your duty to me.

These connections are, moreover, too fatal to your consciences and the general trade of the country; I require you to abandon entirely, and in good faith, the voyage indicated by that Belt.

I require, at the same time, that the Belt itself be brought back to me in order to be burnt, so that not a vestige of it remain.

On these conditions, and according to your future conduct, I shall reëstablish you in your original position near me, and will restore to you my friendship that you have lost by your errors.

Another Message of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France, to the Iroquois of the Saut S^{t} Louis, 3^{d} August, 1741.

Children. Before leaving for Quebec, I send an officer to your village to carry my word thither.

Children. I am very glad to express to you the satisfaction I felt at the compliment you paid me on the new dignity with which the King has honored me.

Children. I did not wish to leave for Quebec without letting your village know that I am pleased with you, and that I have buried all the past.

I go now with a clean heart because I have seen you sorry for your fault, and I regard you now as my children indeed. In order to cheer your spirits, I am making a feast for you, and give you wherewith to smoke at your ease on your mats.

Children. A tree fell last year in your village; I have sent to cover the Dead. To-day, I replant that tree and make choice of Thomas Gaÿengöuiraygoa,[1] whom I appoint Captain agreeably to the good character I have received of him. I invest him with a gorget as a mark of his dignity, until I give him a medal.

By this Belt, I lift up the tree that had fallen; I wish it to be firm, stable, and that it may not be bent by any winds or storms.

Hark ye Gayengouïraygoa; I have just made you a Captain and Chief of the Council; henceforth you must consider yourself as commissioned to promote good, and to drive away and destroy all sorts of wickedness.

My Son. You must also report to me everything that passes in the village.

I recommend you to listen to the Black Gowns whenever they will speak to you of prayer, and to do all that they tell you on this subject.

Hark ye, young men of Gayengouiraygoa's family; acknowledge him as your Chief; respect in him the authority I have just placed in his hands; hear his voice and obey him in everything that he will command you for the good of the King's service.

Message of the Senecas to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France. 7th of August, 1741.

By three Belts of Wampum.

Father. Be not surprised at not seeing me this year. Famine prevails to such an extent throughout our country that I cannot abandon the women and children. I shall go down next year; I believe my brother the Onontagué will go down. He is not to be pitied; he is alive; he has not been in want of provisions like me. (He means that the English furnish them to him.)

By a Belt.

Father. I beseech you not to let your heart be spoiled by the bad reports you will receive of me. Should any of my Nation tell you my heart is ill-disposed, hear him not. Our Son who resides with us will perceive clearly whether I am engaged in bad work. By this Belt I remove all the bad speeches that might come into your head.

By a Belt.

Father. Listen to those who are in the grave.

You know when children are in distress, they will have recourse to their Father. By this Belt we beseech you to take pity on us; to give us some charges of powder and ball. Father, you are at liberty to add something else to it. I am so miserable, that I'm in want of everything.

You will weep in silence *(doucement)* when you hear that the Seneca Nation hath died of hunger. If you grant anything we beg you to send the Blacksmith back immediately, so that should he overtake any men or women alive, they may receive your answer.

[1] i. e., Great Arrow; from *Gaïeng8ire*, an arrow, and *goa*, great. — Ed.

Message of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France to the Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains, delivered by M^r^ de Ramezay, who is sent to light anew the fire which had formerly been kindled by the Hurons of Loretto and to replant the Tree that had fallen in consequence of the said Hurons having carried off some Belts. Twelfth of August, 1741.

First Belt.

Children. Ancients, men, women and children, and all. Attend to my voice as long as you are here; give good heed to what I say.

Children. I could not forget the word you addressed me when your village was first established at the Mountain, when you told me, you placed yourselves under my wings, and added, that those who would bite me, would bite you also.

You again told me that you would, in a moment, be my right hand to strike my enemies. I have always before my eyes the Belt you gave me on that occasion, assuring me of your promise and of your fidelity.

Children. You have always kept that promise, and you have given me and my predecessors, proofs how strongly you were attached to me. I, in my turn, desire to afford you sensible marks of my friendship, and to unite you to myself by a chain that nothing can ever break.

All your old men, warriors, women and children have besought me to become absolute master of your village, in addition to my quality of Onontio, by lighting your Council fire; I have accepted this choice with much pleasure; how could I refuse Children whom I so tenderly love, a favor that affords me so much joy?

Here is the Belt wherewith I light your Great Council fire; around which you will be able to assemble in peace, to consult on my business and your own with the different nations of this country; that will then be the spot on which my fire shall truly burn, since 'tis the first I have lighted in this Colony.

Children. This Belt will tell you every time you look on it, that I am your Father and Great Chief, and, consequently, at the head of all your affairs, and it will tell me, too, that you are my true Children, whom I never can, and never will abandon.

This message will also tell you that you ought to attach yourself to the Great Master of Life; listen with submission and respect to your fathers the Missionaries, and obey them in all things that they will recommend to you for the good of your souls.

It will tell you, besides, that you ought never spoil my village by drunkenness or other disorders, so that I may always find my Children peaceable, when I shall pay them a visit.

I exhort you to love one another, like true brethren, and to live in perfect understanding with your brethren, my Children of the other villages.

And, finally, to charitably receive your brethren who do not pray, and who will be disposed to reside with you; omit nothing that can attach them to God and my village.

On Throwing the Belt.

Children. There's the Belt with which I light your Council fire. Consider it very attentively, in order never to forget it.

By a Belt to Plant the Village Tree.

Children. Listen attentively to me; by this Belt I cause to issue from the earth you inhabit, a Great Tree, which represents me; under its shade all the Nations who are my Children, can come and repose in peace.

I spread its branches particularly over the tribe of the Bear, the Tortoise, the Wolf and all others who may settle in the village.

I cause at the same time, three twigs to sprout from this same tree; they are smaller, it is true, but they each have the same authority in his tribe; I am about to raise these to prop and support that which represents my person.

Children. It is Nissentanni whom I appoint Grand Chief of my village; he has merited my confidence and yours; which circumstance obliges me to elevate him to that dignity.

From this hour he belongs to all the tribes; by virtue of the authority with which I invest him, he has the right to exhort particularly all the bands, in public and in private; you are, consequently, to listen to him as my representative, and as speaking in my name.

The following is the message I propose to send him, in order that you may know his obligations and yours:

Son. Thou shall henceforth be called Garontouanen;* thou wilt hold my place in my village; thou wilt inform me of every thing that passes there, and on all occasions maintain my interests; thou wilt transact all the business I shall entrust to thee, and advise me faithfully of all that will happen among the Nations, and come to thy knowledge.

I recommend thee, above all things, to entertain all possible respect and submission for thy fathers, the Missionaries, and undertake nothing without consulting them.

Courage, son Garontouen; never dishonor the quality of Grand Chief of my village, with which I invest thee; never abuse my confidence; the higher I elevate thee, the more humble and submissive must thou be.

On Giving this Belt.

Here's thy Belt; thou must make prudent use of it, for the honor of my village and the good of the Colony.

Receive, at length, this mark of distinction I confer on thee, as a pledge of my friendship, and a reward of all the good services which I shall never forget.

Messages to the 3 Chiefs of the tribes of the Bear, Tortoise and Wolf.

Children, attend: Sasennouanen, I appoint thee Chief of the Bear tribe; Onontiennés, Chief of the Wolf tribe, and Sonnourio, Chief of the Tortoise tribe, and, by these Belts, I confer on you authority over all your companies *(bandes)*. I raise up your trees, and you shall possess the same power as all the Chiefs of each tribe, in my Children's villages.

These Belts bind you to Garontouanen from whom you shall never separate; you shall be always united to him to aid and sustain him and to coöperate with him in good affairs.

Message to the four Assistants[1] to the Chiefs of the Village.

Children. I considered it my duty to appoint, according to your manners and customs, an assistant to each of the Chiefs whom I have just nominated. You know its necessity. Wherefore I have cast my eyes on the Orators of best repute in my village, and I give

* Which means, The Great Tree. [From *Garonta*, a tree, and *Gouana*, big. *Bruyas.*]

[1] For the functions of these officers, called *Agoianders*, by the Iroquois, consult *Lafitau* I., 474; *Charlevoix, Histoire Nouvelle France*, III., 268; *Carver*, London Edition, 259. — Ed.

To Garontouanen,..... Thégarehonte.
To the Chief of the Bear tribe,..... Yogouaronte.
To him of the Wolf tribe,..... Sahousouanne.
And to him of the Tortoise tribe,..... Gaïenskoton.

By three strings of Wampum and this present I make each of them in particular, I confirm them in their office, and exhort them to follow in all things the intentions of their Chief, whose word they may express.

By a Belt to the Women of the Village.

Children. I know how closely you attend to the maintenance of good order in my village, by your exhortations; I have every reason to hope that you will labor anew with the same zeal for the good of religion and the King's service. By this Belt I invite you to carry out my intentions and the instructions of your Missionaries.

By a Belt to the Warriors.

Children. All you who are in the village of the Lake of the Two Mountains to defend my interests in the different wars I shall have to wage in this country; I bind and attach you by this Belt to Garontouanen, and exhort you not to do nor undertake anything for any war whatsoever, without his participation. I will not now make any further regulations for you. The War Chiefs of each Tribe must be appointed. Hoping to do this on the first opportunity, I rely on your submission and fidelity, as you may depend on my goodness and benevolence.

By a Belt to the Algonkins and Nepissings.

Children. I could not forget what you so often told me when you visited me, that the moment I appeared in this country you took my hand and I took yours; we squeezed them tight; I have never withdrawn mine, and you have never drawn yours away. You add that your fire is mine, and that you have no other than the King, your Father's.

By this Belt, I renew that Covenant chain which I wish to last as long as this earth will endure; and I attach and bind you, at the same time, in an inseparable manner to your Iroquois brethren of the Lake of the Two Mountains, whose fire I wish to light. I shall not exhort you to respond to my intentions. I know your fidelity and submissiveness.

To Makougane, an Algonkin.

Son. I have remembered your services, and as a reward for them, here is a medal that I suspend around your neck. When the Nations shall behold this mark of distinction on you, they will know in what esteem I hold you, and how I reward the King's faithful servants. It is unnecessary for me to urge you to continue in well doing, because I am certain of your heart, and to prove it to you more signally, here's a dress I give you, lest you may be cold this winter.

Answer of the Iroquois, Algonkins and Nepissings, of the Lake of the Two Mountains, to the Message of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France. 12th of August, 1741.

First Answer of the Iroquois Ancients.

Father. We shall forget none of the message you have addressed us in the famous feast you have just made for your children of Ganesatague,* which will be spoken of among all Nations. You are not satisfied with having cleansed our hearts which were choked with grief and loaded with bad words, when you were pleased to re-arrange matters between the Hurons of Loretto and us.

Father. To-day you cause the most beautiful sun that has ever been seen to shine upon our heads; the obscurity and darkness of the night in which we stood are entirely dissipated; we think, we meditate and smoke in peace around the Grand Fire that you have just lighted in your village of Ganesatagué. You have exhorted us to comply with your will; to listen to your word, and on the request we present to you, have been pleased to be the Grand Chief of our village which is now your's.

Father. Is there a happiness like unto our's. We see in our midst a fire which is to endure as long as earth shall be earth, for the power of the King our Father and our attachment to him will never die. Thanks, Father, and a thousand thanks for what you have done; you are our good and true Father; we cannot doubt it; we will be, as we have been to the present time, your true children. This word can never die.

Second Speech of the Ancients.

Father. We could not too much admire what a mighty mind is your's; you perceive that our mode of government tended frequently to our ruin, and that we were exposed in our villages to see the firmest rooted trees thrown down when least expected. Three independent Chiefs could hardly agree to work together and in concert for the good government of the land entrusted to their charge: You have remedied that defect by promoting Garontouanen, and placing him alone at the head of our affairs, and prevailing, by three Belts, on the other Chiefs to be attached and submissive to him, and binding by another Belt all the Warriors to this tree which represents your person even at Ganesatagué. The more we reflect on this good order that you establish there, the more are we penetrated with gratitude. We thank you Father, for having given us sense, and we assure you, that we Old Men, assembled together with the Women, Warriors, Children, in a word the whole village, with us, are perfectly rejoiced, and happy in consequence.

We embrace this opportunity to thank you for your goodness, in lately wiping away our tears at the loss we have experienced of our young warriors at the Chicachas, whose scattered remains you have covered by some magnificent presents at a feast. These four Strings of Wampum assure you of our gratitude. We pray our Fathers, the Missionaries, to aid us to keep our words, to follow your intentions, and to pray for us.

Answer of the Women.

Father. If the Women have any influence over the young men, you can be assured that we shall omit nothing to prevail on them never to separate from the King, our Father, and to

* Meaning, Mountains.

defend his interests on all occasions, even to death; that we will raise up all our Children in these sentiments; this will be the milk with which we will nourish their spirit, when making them suck our breasts; we shall not forget, at the same time, that the King, our Father, is the eldest son of the Church, as we have been repeatedly told, and that his Children ought to be true Christians.

Father. We thank you for all that you have just done for the honor and welfare of our village, and at the same time for the bountiful presents you have made us in this season of scarcity, when we should have all perished of hunger, had it not been for your assistance and that of our Fathers, the Missionaries, who gave us 300 minots of flour, 150 minots of Indian corn, and 45 minots of peas. It is wonderful how happy we are at Ganesatagué; we constantly bless and thank the Master of Life therefor, and unceasingly pray Him long to preserve our Father to us.

Answer of the Warriors.

Father. It is impossible for Indians and young, rash headed fellows like us, to thank you in appropriate terms; we have but three words to say to you—that our heart is at rest, that we have never been so content, that we look on you as our Father and true Chief, that we will never quit Garontouanen, that our arm is raised to strike the first Nation that dares to offer you an insult, and that we shall not hesitate when the defence of your interests are in question. Be persuaded that it is in the sincerity of our sentiments that we speak; there was no need even of the Belt you have given us to confirm your speech; your word alone is sufficient; we request you to convey our sentiments to the King, our Father, and tell him that he has at Ganesatagué loyal and brave warriors ready to undertake every thing in his service. We ask of our Fathers, the Missionaries, to grant us their blessing and to pray for us, so that the Master of Life may enable us to live and die in our present good dispositions.

[Here all the Warriors threw themselves on their knees in the most edifying manner; M. Normant, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal,[1] and Messrs the Missionaries, gave them their blessing.]

Answer of the Algonquins and Nipissings.

Father. We are at a loss for words to express the joy we feel at beholding to-day the manner in which you have rendered our brethren the Iroquois happy and content; in the pain I felt last year in beholding their fire carried off, I at once sided with them, because I sincerely love them, and in my excitement and resentment some words may possibly have escaped me which might offend the Hurons of Loretto.

Father. Now, it is your pleasure that every thing be in quietness and peace. I have entirely forgotten my first speech and say, in two words, that having shared my brethren's trouble, I participate also in their joy.

Father. We thank you for your kindness to our Iroquois brethren; you know we have no other fire than your's; the one you have just lighted for them, will unite us to them still more

[1] Rev. Louis Normant du Faradon, son of Dr. Charles Normant, of the Parish of Chateaubriant, in the diocese of Nantes, in France, was born in May, 1681, and entered the Seminary of Angers on the 25th July, 1701, and that of Saint Sulpice, Paris, in 1706. After filling divers offices in that Institution, he was sent to Canada in 1722, and entered the Seminary at Montreal, and subsequently became Vicar-general. On the death of M. de Belmont, in 1732, M. Normant became Superior of the Seminary, which he governed until the time of his decease. He died on the 18th June, 1759, aged 78 years and one month. He was succeeded in his office of Superior by the Rev. M. Montgolfier. *Faillon. Vie de Mde. d'Youville.*—Ed.

intimately than heretofore; we have now but one and the same village, one body and one heart.

Answer of Makougane.

Father. I thank you for the mark of distinction with which you honor me, and the present you make me; you can always reckon on my fidelity; you have but to command me; I am ready to obey.

Message of the Onontagués, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tachekaroreins,[1] to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France. 17th August, 1741.

Father. Our principal Chief[2] is sick; this is the reason that he is not here; we are very sorry for it.

Father. We are very glad to inform you how Niagara has been settled. Our son, M. de Longueuil, asked us for the loan of a piece of ground for the erection of a house on it, telling us that it would be of use to ourselves, and that we should find whatever we may require at a cheap rate there; we consented that such should endure for three lives (that is to say three hundred years) exclusive of the life of him who founded it, and we said, we could renew still further the life of the other three men, and that there should not be any war between us; on the contrary, that we should live forever in peace.

Father. When we had arranged with our son M. de Longueuil for the settlement of Niagara, he told us we should find whatever we may want at that place; that the Ancients, Warriors, Women and Children would all be welcome there; that we should talk there of peace, and that the earth should be quiet. All that fell out according as he had said, and you have not heard a word since, Father, of anything bad having occurred. We have intermarried with all Nations, and they with us; it is, consequently, impossible for the earth to be troubled on the part of the Five Nations and our Brethren, the Upper Indians.

By a Belt.

Father. You have just heard what we have told you; that the land at Niagara is ours; our brethren, the English, asked us for some; we gave them a piece, also, but we put a trap in it;* they told us that we should find goods with them cheap and abundant; that they had slaves who worked for them, and an inexhaustible well. They have kept their word with us, and let us want for nothing. But we perceive, Father, that jealousy exists between the Traders at Niagara and those at Choüeghen. We request you, Father, to leave every one at liberty to go and trade at the cheapest market. We sincerely desire to see a good understanding exist between you both. We find French powder better than English.**

By a Belt.

Father. As we are your Children, we request you to tell us whether we have spoken impertinently on the subject of the trade, and of the misunderstanding that seems to exist

[1] A Carolina nation which had been destroyed by the Governor of Philadelphia, and took refuge, about twenty years ago, among the Five Nations.

[2] Onoouarogon.

* Meaning, that they have not limited the time, and are always free to resume their land.

** Meaning, they would side with the French against the English; but they are not to be trusted.

between you and our brethren, the English. Father, we are not the cause of it, and we beg of you to believe so. By this Belt we restore your senses, and beg you again to retain the name of Skenon, which we bestowed on you on your arrival, and which means Peace.[1] For our part, we shall never undertake any thing against you. We speak to you in the name of the entire Nation.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. The message which I had to deliver is concluded.

Father. You sent a message last year to all our villages. You told us that we seemed to have very intimate commercial relations with our brethren, the English; that we carried their goods and liquors in quantities, to every place where we knew there was any peltry to be procured; you added, that each ought to trade on his own soil, and that you were well satisfied that we should sell our own property wherever we pleased; we heard your message; we have buried the goods in the earth, and the liquors in the rocks. By these Strings of Wampum, we assure you, Father, that we shall not carry on this trade any more.

By two Belts of Wampum.

Father. We asked you, last year, for Laforge, the Blacksmith, and his wife; she has been brought up among us; we look upon her as our child; they told us that they could not come until next year. Father. We beg you not to refuse them to us, and to permit them to accompany us; we shall be contented having Frenchmen among us.

Answer of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France to the Message of the Iroquois of the Five Nations. 20th of August, 1741.

Children. I was very sorry to hear of the sickness of Onoouarogon; I am glad he is better, because I feel much pleasure at seeing him.

Children. I know how Niagara was settled; I do not think that you have any reason to complain of the promise your son, M. de Longueuil gave you. That house has been always the mainstay of your and my business, and it will be so peaceably, as long as Earth shall be Earth. I do not feel any more desire to have war with you, than you, according to the tenor of your speeches, to have war with me.

Children. M. de Longueuil was right in telling you that the earth would be at rest; you perceive he has told the truth, and events will show you that this will be always the case.

Children. I know you are in alliance with all your brethren, the Nations of the Upper country; I unite with you in rejoicing thereat, for you are all equally my children; it gratifies me, that it is impossible for the earth to be disturbed in your parts; I shall, on my side, apply all my efforts to continue the good understanding that exists between you.

By a Belt.

Children. I have attended to what you have told me: I have no objection that you should go and trade your own property with your brethren, the English. Nevertheless, the house I caused to be built at Niagara, was erected only with the view to furnish you there with whatever you want, and to talk there of affairs of peace. It will always remain a monument

[1] Esprit tranquille. — Text. Skano is the Seneca word for Peace. — Ed.

of what I tell you. I should not have suspected, at the time of its settlement, that you would have permitted the English to establish another at Choüeghen.

Children. You said to me that you would be very glad to see me living in peace with your brethren, the English. I have not any misunderstanding as yet; if they attack me, I will defend myself. I cannot tell you whether there will be war between us, not having received as yet any news from Onontio Goa.* Should there be any misunderstanding between us, it will not rebound on you. By this Belt I confirm my word.

By a Belt.

Children. You always speak well, and I have no reproach to make you on that account. I never was indisposed, nor entertained any ill will, towards you, as you never gave me any cause to do so.

Children. You have requested me to preserve the name of Skenon, which you gave me on my arrival in this country; you know I am what my name purports; you have spoken to me on behalf of the five Nations, and I respond to them by this Belt, that I will not undertake any thing against them.

By three Belts of Wampum.

Children. I flatter myself that you, as well as all your brethren, have heard my word; you have conferred a pleasure on me in having buried the goods and shut the liquor up in the rocks. I invite you to continue so to do, in order to avoid the difficulties that may arise on this point.

Children. I gave Laforge, his wife and children to you with great pleasure, inasmuch as it does indeed afford you gratification; I exhort you to take good care of them, and to pay attention to them if they say anything to you from me.

Answer of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France, to the Message of the Senecas.[1] 1st September, 1741.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. Your son, Joncaire, has sent me your Message, by the Blacksmith, and reported your situation to me.

Children. I sympathized sincerely with you on account of the famine you have suffered, which prevented you coming down this year. The spring has been so unfavorable that it was impossible to send to Niagara provisions enough for your supply. I shall adopt such precautions in future that will obviate a recurrence of this misfortune. You know what the Commandant told you from me on that occasion, and that he divided a piece of bread with you.

Children. The Onontagué has come down here, as you informed me in your Message. The Cayugas, Oneidas and Tachekaroreins accompanied him. Although you told me that he had no reason to complain, provisions not being scarce among them, they, nevertheless, told me that they were dying of hunger in their village, as well as you.

By a Belt.

Children. I have heard no bad account of you, except that your young men had committed some thefts at the Carrying place. You know that I have already repeatedly told you, Chiefs,

* The King.

[1] See *supra*, p. 1075.

that absolutely, I would not suffer my Frenchmen to be robbed, who have so much trouble in going so far in search of packages of peltries. A number of your young men hang around the portage, who are continually drinking the English poison that sets them crazy; several have entered the fort, dagger in hand, on pretence that a soldier had struck one of them for having taken something in his cabin. I have been informed that it was not he who had committed the theft, that it was a woman; whether man or woman, 'twas always one of your nation. It is not proper to rob or to pillage, unless you have a design to declare war against me. I have given fresh instructions to the Commandant at Niagara to do you justice, should the French in any way injure you, and to punish them very severely; but, on the other hand, I will not suffer your young men to act so unruly as they have hitherto done. See to it, you Chiefs, and do not admit any more of that bad liquor.

Children. Onoouragon, who was at the head of those who came down here, and who spoke to me in the name of the Five Nations, did not tell me that your heart was bad; on the contrary, he spoke only well, and it afforded me pleasure to hear him. Your son, Joncaire, wrote me that you would be always my true friends, and would not discontinue to coöperate in good affairs; I, on my part, shall not cease to be your good and true Father. By this Belt, I drive away all the bad speeches that come into my head respecting what your young men have done, and dispel all those that might come near me.

By a Belt.

Children. The sloop will have arrived in sufficient time to assist you, and to draw you out of the grave into which you had well nigh sunk. I am aware of your misery; I take pity on you; I send you what you ask of me, and something wherewith to smoke quietly on your mats.

By a Present.

Children. Admit that if you are miserable it is because of your own fault; if you have a beaver or other peltry, you carry it to the English; What do they give you in return? Bad rum, which continually degrades your mind and contributes to your destruction. Did I not love you as much as I do, and did I not desire your preservation, am I not as much at liberty as he to have an abundance of liquor, and of a better quality, poured out among you? You know very well that I possess inexhaustible wells of it; but you know the French heart which is not disposed to do evil, and that a Father despises self-interest when the destruction of his Children is in question.

No, my Children, I would not weep in silence were I to learn that your Nation had perished of hunger; I love you too sincerely to admit of any consolation for such a loss: I hope that the Great Master of Life will have preserved you all, and that on your reflecting over your past misery, you will labor to cultivate your fields, and not strip yourselves any more to procure rum from the English.

Children. I expected to send back the Blacksmith to you; He has told me that he could not return any more to you, because he was afraid of dying of hunger whilst there; that he did not earn enough to get him an ear of Indian corn, and that you had all your work done by Englishmen. I have ordered another to be looked up. Should I find one, I will send him to you; if not, I shall furnish you with one next year whom you will take along with you. Try to come down early, for then we shall have more time to talk together about good business.

Children. As I have ears every where, I have heard that the Onontagué desired to sell the English the lands of Caskonchagon, and to get you to make peace with the Flatheads. You have always had sense; do you not perceive that he has no other object in view than to make himself stronger, perhaps in order some day to crush you. You know that all the Nations are at war with the Flatheads, and that such a peace would be a declaration of hostilities against them. But what would become of your young men, and where could they go to divert themselves? Besides, your blood has been repeatedly shed in the country of that Nation.

Children. In regard to Caskonchagon,[1] you ought to recollect that you requested me to allow your son Joncaire to settle there, that he may live more comfortably, and that I refused your request on account of the English who would be at liberty to ask for permission to form another establishment. That ought to give you to understand that I would not approve of the Onontagués selling their land to them. I spoke to them about it. It is for you to oppose it. This is all that I have to say to you.

Abstract of Despatches from Canada, respecting Oswego and the Western Tribes. 1741.

On Marquis de Beauharnois receiving information from divers points, respecting the establishment at Choüeguen, where the English were building a stone house, the meeting which he held at his quarters of all the estates[2] of the town of Montreal, took into consideration whether the sole means of preventing the English penetrating into the Upper countries, and depriving us of the trade of those parts, was not to dispatch immediately a detachment of regulars and militia to oppose the construction of the house at Choüeguen, and to drive the English from that post, in case they were not willing to abandon it on being summoned.

There was only one opinion on this point, and as private interest found itself countenanced by the King's service, and the safety of the Colony, specious reasons were not wanting to show forth all the consequences of an enterprise which seemed to threaten the Colony, and must deprive it of the entire trade, and thereby render open opposition to the English necessary.

But these reasons being counterbalanced by the inconveniences to result from so precipitous a proceeding — to wit, the uncertainty of success, and of the part which would in that case be adopted by the Iroquois, who have been unwilling to declare themselves, have obliged the

[1] Genesee river, N. Y. The following is Charlevoix's description of it in 1721: "It is very narrow, and of little Depth at its Entrance into the Lake. A little higher, it is one hundred and forty Yards wide, and they say it is deep enough for the largest Vessels. Two Leagues from its Mouth, we are stopped by a Fall which appears to be full sixty Feet high, and one hundred and forty Yards wide. A Musket Shot higher, we find a second of the same Width, but not so high by two-thirds. Half a League further, a third, one hundred Feet high, good Measure, and two hundred Yards wide. After this, we meet with several Rapids; and after having sailed fifty Leagues further, we perceive a fourth Fall, every Way equal to the third. The Course of this River is one hundred Leagues; and when we have gone up it about sixty Leagues, we have but ten to go by Land, turning to the Right, to arrive at the *Ohio*, called *La belle Rivière*: The Place where we meet with it is called *Ganos*; where an Officer worthy of Credit (Joncaire) assured me that he had seen a Fountain, the Water of which is like Oil, and has the Taste of Iron. He said also that a little further there is another Fountain exactly like it, and that the Savages make Use of its Water to appease all Manner of Pains." Ganos is derived from *Genie* or *Gaienna*, which in the Iroquois tongue signifies Oil or Liquid grease (*Bruyas*). This oil spring is in the town of Cuba, Alleghany Co., N. Y. The other is in Venango Co., Penn. — Ed.

[2] Clergy, Noblesse and Commonalty.

Marquis de Beauharnois to revoke the order he had not been able to refuse to the ardor every one displayed to set out on this expedition; and to confine himself to the instructions of the Court, regarding that establishment; that is, to oppose it as much as possible, by employing the Iroquois for that purpose, without explaining himself any further.

The news received from the Upper countries to the effect that some underground Belts were sent by the English to divers Indian Nations, inviting them to rid themselves of the French scattered throughout that region; and that the Foxes had sent out some war parties against the Ilinois, whereby several Frenchmen have been killed, led the Marquis de Beauharnois to think that some brilliant action would be necessary in order to keep the Nations in check, and that the French and domiciliated Indians who had been called out for the expedition against Choüeguen might be sent, next year, against the Foxes. But as it was of the greatest importance to keep this project secret, he contented himself with giving the Indians and the Militia, who had been warned, to understand that he calculated on them for next year, the season being too far advanced for the execution of the design against Choüeguen.

The Marquis de Beauharnois' opinion respecting the war against the Foxes has been the more readily approved by the Baron de Longueuil, Mess^rs^ De la Chassaigne, Lacorne, de Lignery, La Noue and Duplessis-fabert, whom he had assembled at his house, as it appears from all the letters that the Court has written since several years, that it has nothing so much at heart as the destruction of that Indian Nation, which cannot be prevailed on by the presents and the good treatment of the French, to live in peace, notwithstanding all its promises. Besides it is notorious that the Foxes have a secret understanding with the Iroquois to secure a retreat among the latter, in case they be obliged to abandon their villages.

They have one already secured among the Sioux of the Prairies, with whom they are allied; so that should they be pre-advised of the design of the French to wage war against them, it would be easy for them to retire to the one or the other, before their passage could be intersected, or themselves attacked in their villages.

Conference between M. de Beauharnois and the Onondagas and Senecas.

Address of the Nontagués to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France. 6^th^ of July, 1742.

Onobarogon, Grand Chief.

Father. Here we are come to see you; we are delighted to behold you in such good health; we are all assembled again, and have but one Cayuga among us, who is a child; I know not whether your Council be again assembled.

By a Belt.

Father. As we have arrived here in safety, we request you not to listen to any bad tales that might be reported to you of us; we know there are wicked Nations, that speak badly; we have but the hearts our ancestors implanted in us, which is to do your will. We assure you by this Belt, and beg of you not to believe the evil reports that might have been made to you.

By a Belt.

Father. We are devoid of reason since we no longer see our children (Messrs de Longueüil). Formerly, when there was any business, they used to come to our mats to communicate it to us. It is a very long time since we have seen them, and as their visit spread peace throughout our village, we request you to send them to us when you desire to make your will known, and to announce to us your message.

By a Belt.

Father. We told you that our ancestors gave us sense; we have none any more since we no longer lay our eyes on our son M. de Longueüil; the late Mr de Callières planted for us a Tree of peace, whose bark was so hard that no axe could penetrate it; nevertheless one of our people, a young fool, has stained a leaf of it with blood; we bury this affair by this Belt; Father, we request you to prevail on your Nations to forget it, and to recompose every thing, as we are disposed to do also.

By a Belt.

Father. When we came to see you on your arrival, you asked us for a name. It was I who gave it to you; it is *Skenon*, which signifies Peace. Father, we thank you for having preserved this name among us, and for having prevailed on your young men to obey your will; we, on our part, have not forgotten and shall always preserve it; by this Belt we assure you thereof, and we cleanse your throat, in order that if you have anything to say to us, you may speak to us more freely.

By four Strings of Wampum.

Father. This is all I have to say to you; by these strings of Wampum, I repair our road, so as to remove all obstructions; but, Father, I perceive that I am at work at it alone, wherefore we request you to send some one of our children to pacify our young men, in order that this road may be always peaceable and quiet.

Address of the same to those present from the Sault.

By a Belt.

Brethren. We have commenced by speaking to our Father. You have been witnesses thereof; you know that bad affairs occur when least expected; we have returned a scalp to Mr Darnaud at Fort Frontenac to replace him of your village who was killed at Choüeghen by one of our thoughtless young men, whilst under the influence of liquor. Brethren, you are aware that matters such as these which are of frequent occurence among us, are subject to be arranged; therefore we request you to forget what has passed and to think no more of it.

Brethren. You know that we have covered the dead by presents which we have left with Mr Darnaud. By this Belt, we invite you to maintain like us, peace among your young men.

By another Belt.

Brethren. This Belt is to wipe up the blood that has been shed; to clean the mat of the afflicted, and to quieten their minds.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Brethren. Here is a pleasant medicine which we give you, so that you may not have any more bile in your hearts: wherefore, Brethren, we invite you to bury all that is past, and to entertain no ill feeling against us.

Those of the Sault thanked them, and invited them to visit their village.

Answer of Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France, to the Address of the Nontagués. 18th of July, 1742.

Children. I am very glad to see you all again assembled around me, and that you enjoy good health; you perceive that my Council has also met.

By a Belt.

Children. You may be at ease in regard to evil reports, for I have no desire to hear any. However, I have heard none respecting you: I know your heart is good, and that you tread in the foot steps of your ancestors; as long as you do my will, you shall find me always a good father who will open his arms to you.

Children. I know that Messrs de Longueüil were going to see you on your mats; had any thing of consequence required, I should have sent them to communicate it to you. I will send them as you request, whenever it becomes necessary to communicate my pleasure to you, and to announce to you my word.

By a Belt.

Children. I have seen the Tree of Peace planted by Mr de Callières. I know that the bark was so hard that no axe could penetrate it. The finest tree has always some rotten branches; the leaf which one of your young fools stained with blood has been cleaned; this unfortunate affair is entirely forgotten; therefore Children, remain quiet, and do your best to prevail on your young men not to act so any more.

By a Belt.

Children. I remember that you conferred on me, at my arrival, the name of *Skenon;* you perceive that I have preserved it, and that my young men have always obeyed me; you too have preserved, and not forgotten it. By this Belt, I renew this name, and assure you that I will retain it as long as I live. My heart gives expression to my thought.

By four Strings of Wampum.

Children. I make a smooth road for you on which you will find no obstructions; you see me working on it as well as yourselves, when any business is to be transacted you will see some of your children in your village. Continue to live in peace and quietness on your mats.

By a Belt.

Children. You told me, last year, that you had buried the goods, and shut the liquor up in the rocks, assuring me that you would not carry on that trade any more; I have been told that your young men continued their trade notwithstanding; it is for you to regulate this, if you wish me to believe you sincere in what you said; otherwise, I should suspect that your words proceed only from the tip of your lips.

Children. I have learned that the English were desirous to settle at Kaskonchagon, and continued hard at work to corrupt your Nation, in order to induce them to sell that land. I communicated last year my opinion thereupon to the Senecas; as they are present I intend speaking to them again on this subject.

Children. I have been informed that the English were fortifying Choüeghen. Some evil design against you and me must be hatching, I cannot comprehend how the Iroquois of the Five Nations can tolerate such an establishment, and not oppose it, the more especially as, when the English asked permission of you to settle Choüéghen, they said that they merely intended to construct a Beaver trap. Reflect on what I say to you. I shall repeat this to your brethren, the Senecas, when I meet them in Council.

Children. I have listened attentively to all that you said to your brethren of the Sault, to repair the unfortunate affair that has occurred. They have invited you to visit them. You can set out whensoever you please.

Children. Here's a cup of my milk, and something for you to smoke quietly on your mats. This is all I have to say to you.

Address of the Senecas to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France. 17th of July, 1742.

Father. When we came down here two years ago, you gave us some shoes* to takes us home, and you said to us: Children, I expect they will bring you back here; they could hardly carry us home; we have made others to come down, and we have left our wives and little ones for the purpose of visiting you. We have set out without provisions, and have left every thing to the wide world in order to have this pleasure. We have abandoned even our bodies.

Father. We have been informed that we were not looked upon as Chiefs, and that 'twas said that we were not such; Father, 'tis true that we are young men, and that all our Chiefs are dead. We are, notwithstanding, sent here on behalf of all the village, and we request you to hear us.

By a Belt.

Father. When you granted peace to all the Nations, you planted a Tree of Peace which went up to Heaven, and even pierced all the clouds. Father, we perceive that this tree is shaken, we make it firm by this Belt.

By a Belt.

Father. You know that a Tree ought always have green leaves; we renew them so that the sun may not penetrate, and that all the Nations who will come to talk on friendly affairs, may set under our shade.

Father. When this Tree was planted, some white roots were attached to it in order that we might be able to see more distinctly those who might injure them; on our side they are always in their original brightness; none are rotten but those which are on the side of Sundown; we repair them by this Belt.

* These are Bark Canoes.

By a Belt.

Father. We come to repair the Tree of Peace; here is a Medicine which we give you to cleanse your heart, and we request you not to listen to evil reports.

Father. When the Chiefs began to talk of friendly affairs, they placed a white flag over your head; we now see that it is torn and is beginning to be soiled. By this Belt, we clean it, and remove all the dust which may be on your body in consequence of the business with which we see you daily overwhelmed.

By a Belt.

Father. We learned last year that the King our Father at the other side of the Great Lake, had made you a much bigger Chief than you had been; we express our gratitude in return by this Belt, and request him not to withdraw you from this place. We are acquainted with your manners; you are kind to us; another might come who would not be acquainted with us, and who might not entertain the same kind feelings towards us; therefore, Father, we request you not to leave us. As we sometimes remark whatever passes, we have perceived that your coat is not decorated like that of M. de Vaudreuil; we know not the reason of this.

Father. We met on our way down two Hurons at Choüéghen, who directed us to desire the three chiefs who were here to return, as they would not come down, and that their Missionary located them on Grosse Isle, in the vicinity of Detroit.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. By these three strings of Wampum we request you to order our Interpreters to repeat correctly all that the Indians say, and your answers to them, so that you may understand our words, and we yours.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. When you concluded peace, you left us masters of our late son (M^{r} de Joncaire) who died at Niagara. You replaced him by his son who accompanied us down; we request you to grant him to us, and to let him go up with us in order to assist at a Council to be held next spring with the Flatheads, and to learn what will be concluded at that which is to be held with the English, to which we have been invited. We know not what they want of us; our son will inform you.

By three strings of Wampum.

Father. When you granted us peace, you also gave us a Blacksmith, and you told us Laforge would die with us; as he is old we ask for his son and request you to permit him to reside at the Little Village; we also request you to recommeud him not to treat us rudely when we shall go with work to him.

Father. Here is a present from the Women of the Council *(Dames de Conseil);* they request you to endow their Tortoises with sound, so as to be able to rouse themselves when they are performing their ceremonies.

Father. Here is another message from the Warriors, who request you also to give them some charges of powder and some ball, to enable them to take refuge in the woods, to avoid the famine.

Father. Here is a trifling present sent you by three persons of the village, to request you, if you have any old blankets, to throw a few over them.

Father. I wish to inform you that our brothers, the Nontagués, on their return home last year, took down the French flag, when within sight of Chouëguen, and hoisted that of the English. I, Seneca, do not do that; I have always borne your flag among the English, in spite of all that could be said to me. The one you gave me is worn out; I request you to give me another. This is all we have to say to you; we ask for some of your milk.

Father. Your village appears to be changed; we are repulsed, and are not allowed to enter, when we go in quest of provisions.

Answer of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New France, to the Address of the Senecas. 31st July, 1742.

Children. You must not doubt the pleasure I feel at seeing you arrive here in good health. I had sent orders to Fort Frontenac to facilitate your means of coming down.

Children. I cannot comprehend how you suffer yourselves to be amused by the idle talk that is addressed to you. You, Théruatakonte, are you not aware that I have long known you as a Great Chief, and a man who is continually occupied at good business; I am likewise acquainted with the Chiefs who accompanied you, and am aware that you are all sent on behalf of your two villages. You may have remarked that I made no difficulty in hearing you.

By a Belt.

Children. I remember well the Tree that has been planted. You ought to know that it has never been shaken by me, and that I have done all that has depended on me to preserve it green and bright. By this belt I clean whatever part of it might have been soiled.

By a Belt.

Children. You have well done to renew the leaves of this Tree, though they were always green on my side. I invite you to preserve them carefully. You know that all the People from Sundown have come here to clean the roots that had rotted; by this Belt I make you see them such as they have been planted.

By a White Belt.

Children. I have drank with pleasure the medicine you have given me, though I had no need of it; my heart is always clean, and I do not amuse myself in hearing or listening to evil reports; I give you a like medicine, to cleanse away all the bad stuff you might have in your hearts. Children. I thank you for renewing the white flag, which the Chiefs placed over my head. I will always preserve it, and will never be occupied except in good business.

By a Belt.

Children. I thank you for the compliment you have paid me, on the new dignity with which the King has honored me. I shall report your sentiments to Onontio-Goa.

Children. I am about to repeat to you what I said this year to your brethren the Nontagués who addressed me last year in the name of the Five Nations.

Speech to the Onondagas.

By a Large Belt.

Children. You told me, last year, that you had buried the goods and shut the liquor up in the Rocks, assuring me that you would not carry on that Trade any more. I have been told that your young men continued their trade, notwithstanding. It is for you to regulate this, if you wish me to believe you sincere in what you said; otherwise I should suspect your words proceeded only from the end of your lips.

Children. I have learned that the English was desirous to settle at Kaskonchagon,[1] and continued hard at work to corrupt your nation in order to prevail on them to sell that land. I communicated last year my opinion thereupon to the Senecas; as they are present, I am going to speak to them again on the subject.

Children. I have been informed that the English were fortifying Choüéghen. Some evil design against you or me must be hatching. I cannot comprehend how the Iroquois of the Five Nations can tolerate such an establishment, and not oppose it, the more especially as, when the English asked permission to settle Choüéguen, they said that they merely intended to construct a Beaver trap. Reflect on what I say to you.

Children. I shall repeat this speech to your brethren, the Senecas, when I meet them in Council.

Children. As I have eyes and ears every where, I am going to repeat to you what occurred at the Council at Orange, which you mentioned to me, and whereof, you told me, that my son, Joncaire, would give me information.

Council held at Orange.

By the first Belt, Kora says to the Iroquois: — Children, I have cause to complain of you; every time we met, I exhorted you to go no more to see Onontio, and not to carry on any trade with him; you have always deceived me, inasmuch as you go down every year to Montreal, and your deputies are actually on the road to visit Onontio. This is a matter I take close to heart. By this Belt, I bar the Montreal path against you, and beg of you not to speak to me any more from the end of your lips, as you have done hitherto, but to tell me from the bottom of your hearts that you will have no more business with Onontio.

By the second Belt he said: Children, you know that I had Choüéghen fortified, and that I have put it in order so as to fear no more the insults of the French. You ought to regard this fort as the support of your country, and your refuge in case of need.

Should Onontio come, then, to shake it and to overturn it by his blows, place your hands against the other side of the fort to keep it up, and repel the French with all your might.

By the third Belt, he said: My heart is torn at seeing my children destroying each other; you have unadvisedly taken up the hatchet against the Flatheads, the Cherakis and Chicachas, who are all my children like yourselves. I, therefore, take the hatchet out of your hands, and throw it so far that you can never recover it. I wish all my children to regard each other as brethren; let them all henceforward entertain the same sentiments, and unite together to support mutually the one the other.

[1] See note 1, *supra* p. 1085. The literal meaning of this name, by which the Mohawks or Onondagas distinguished the Genesee river, is "At the Fall," *Gascons-age*. It is derived from *Gasco*, something alive in the kettle; as if the waters were agitated by some living animal. *Bruyas. Radices Verborum Iroquæorum.* — Ed.

By the fourth Belt, he said: I have been astonished to learn that some Frenchmen are settled in your villages, and that they have one of their National flags with them there, which means, that you consider yourselves Onontio's children, and this I must not suffer. By this Belt, then, I haul down the French flag that you have at home; I drive from your cabins all the French who might happen to be there; and whenever any of that Nation or other of Onontio's children come to you, I forbid you entertaining them longer than one night.

Children. I must not keep you in ignorance of what your brethren of the Sault S^{t} Louis said to your brethren the Onontagués, and which they intend to repeat to you when you visit them.

Address of those of the Sault to the Onondagas.

Brethren. The road from you to us has been a long time as it were stopped up, and we can hardly speak to you anywhere except at Montreal; 'tis you that have placed this obstruction in the road, by the English establishment at Choüéghen, which you desired and have maintained. We can hardly go any longer to your country whilst Choüéghen exists, and you ought to know the reason. It is because there is a Demon in that fort that foments discord between you and us, and does all in his power to make us take up the hatchet against you. This Demon is rum that has caused the death of eight men belonging to our village whom you have killed at different times at Choüéghen. We, notwithstanding, love peace and desire nothing so much as always to maintain good intelligence with our brethren. But we would wish, at the same time, that you on your part should do all that depends on you to foster it.

When the English were desirous to build a house at Choüéghen, they requested you to loan them for a season a small piece of ground. When will you take back that land which belongs to you? It is time to set about it, for you see that they already regard themselves as the masters of your country, and are about settling there in such a manner that you will not be able to drive them out of it. They will soon reduce you to slavery; you must perceive that they scarcely love you; you know well they love your enemies the Flathads better than they love you, and that they favor them in every respect. Bethink yourselves, then, Brethren, of what you have to do, but reflect on it like wise men. If you have need of us, we shall remember that you are our brethren. We have readily undertaken the war against the Flatheads, to please you.

Children. The Council held at Orange ought to prove to you how bad hearted the English are, and shew you that their aim is only to disturb the earth, and to make you disloyal to your Father. I know not what response your Nations will have given to these bad speeches; I shall soon know; but I could not believe that the English could seduce you to such a degree as to induce you to get into a misunderstanding with me who am your Father, whilst they are only your brethren. Pay attention to what I tell you, and never allow your mind to be corrupted. By this Belt, I confirm my word, and invite you to continue hostilities against the Chicachas who is our mutual enemy; you know that I have given his flesh for food to all the Nations.

Children. You did well to communicate to me the message intrusted to you by the Hurons, whom you met at Choüéghen, for two or three of their Chiefs who were here.

By three large Strings of Wampum.

I have ordered all my interpreters to repeat faithfully what my Children say to me; I feel the necessity of that being done so as to avoid all confusion in Council.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. I still leave you masters of your son, Joncaire, who came down with you. I send his brother with you to learn your language; you will not hold any Councils except in the presence of the one or the other, so that I may be informed of what passes among you. I shall not repeat to you what I have directed your son Joncaire to say to you respecting the Flatheads; you ought to know what to think of the matter, and how dangerous it would be for you, in regard to the other Nations, to make peace with them.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. I give you a Blacksmith, namely, Laforge's Son, whom you will take along. I shall give him orders to treat you mildly as I treat all my Children. You Chiefs, do you, on your part, get your young men to entertain the same kind consideration for the French whom I send among you, and whom you asked of me.

Children. Here's a present for the women of the Council. Tell them from me that I engage them to continue to be industrious in good affairs.

Children. Here's also a present in return for the Warriors' Message. I invite them to make a good use of it.

Children. I comply, with pleasure, with the request you have presented me in behalf of three persons of your village.

Children. You have done me the pleasure to advise me of what your brethren, the Nontagués, have done in passing by Choüéghen: Had I known it sooner I would have told them my mind thereupon. As your flag is worn, I give you another, because I regard you as my true Children, and believe your heart to be as pure as this flag is white.

Children. My village is not changed; I do not think that you have been repulsed when going in quest of provisions, as that would be contrary to my intentions. You ought to be aware that the store is small, and that every body cannot get into it.

Children. Here are some presents for your villages; I am told that those I sent thither were consumed before reaching you; on this account I have instructed my son Joncaire to distribute them for me.

Artillery at present in the several Forts of France.

At Quebec.

7 iron	24 pounders, with	8 marine carriages	and 1500 balls.	
20 iron	18 pounders, "	22 carriages	and 1372 balls and 150 barred shot.	
18 iron	12 pounders "	20 carriages	and 1248 balls and 150 barred shot.	
26 iron	8 pounders "	28 carriages	and 1554 balls.	
35 iron	6 pounders with	34 marine carriages	and 1154 balls	
3 iron	3 pounders "	9 field carriages		
and		3 carriages	82 balls.	
2 brass	4 pounders	4 field carriages	and 12 limbers.	
1 brass	4 pounder culverine			

1 brass 12½ inch mortar, one carriage and 263 shells.
1 other brass mortar 9⅓ inches in diameter; one carriage and 310 shells.

At Montreal.

2 iron 4 pounders with 2 marine carriages.
2 iron 12 pounders " 2 carriages.
6 iron 8 pounders " 7 carriages.
7 iron 6 pounders " 8 carriages.

At Three Rivers.

1 iron 4 pounder.
8 iron 6 pounders.

At Fort St. Frederic.

12 iron 4 pounders with 15 marine carriages and 690 balls.
1 iron 2 pounder 1 carriage.
2 small grenade mortars, 2 carriages and 200 grenades.
13 swivels mounted on parapets and 31 case shot and 160 iron half pound balls.

At Fort Chambly.

2 brass 2 pounder culverines, with 2 field carriages, 200 balls of various calibres.
1 iron 1 pounder culverine, and 1 carriage.
3 iron 1 pounders and 1 carriage.
12 swivels, mounted on parapet, and 14 case shot *(boëtes à pierriers)*.
Done at Quebec, 30th July, 1742.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I am in receipt of the letter you did me the honor to write me, in the month of April last.

The affair that occurred between the Indians of the Sault and those of the Lake of the Two Mountains has been unattended by any consequences. I shall, as much as in me lies, prevent any division between them, for although nothing has happened, there is always reason to apprehend that the semblance of union which they assume, covers on both sides some secret resentment. My attention in this regard must be so much the greater, inasmuch as the conduct of the Iroquois of the Sault, which I must watch, is not free from suspicion, in consequence of the commercial relations they secretly keep up with the English; those of the Lake who entertain different relations, are considering whether they will not reproach them with their conduct, which, perhaps, would not be kindly received.

Certain it is, that the suppression of the Misses Desauniers' store at Sault St Louis, was a necessary means to put a stop to, or at least to diminish, the foreign trade that was carried on

at that place; but though they have been forbidden to continue their former store there, and have given up the open trade they have carried on, their residence in a place that ought not furnish them any further advantage, creates suspicions which cause it to be supposed that these ladies have still, by secret means, some indirect interests there resulting from the relations they continue to entertain with the Indians of that quarter. In fact, My Lord, I am told by the Missionary of the Indians belonging to the Lake of the Two Mountains, that the Iroquois of the Sault had been, last spring, to the Grand River, loaded with Brandy, to meet those of the Two Mountains who were returning from hunting, and that they had traded with them as well as the Nepissings for nearly 300 packs, which it is calculated have already arrived among the English. It is difficult for me to believe that the Misses Desauniers do not participate in some degree, if not entirely, in the spirit of this trade, and do not themselves furnish this liquor to these Indians; and when I conjoin to this reflection the report that foreign trade had begun to be introduced into the villages adjoining that of the Sault, through the intervention of the Indians of the latter locality, I cannot help thinking that they have no other views, in remaining there, than to pursue, by means of the Indians, a secret and contraband trade, inasmuch as they, otherwise, have no motive to reside in a place which cannot furnish them any direct advantage; I shall investigate this matter very thoroughly, and if I find that they participate in these abuses, I see no other way of remedying it than to oblige them to leave the place altogether, and I shall order them to do so, with your permission. As for the rest, My Lord, I think the Missionaries will conduct themselves towards these Indians as they ought, and I shall be pleased to have no other than favorable accounts to give of them.

I have none other to render you, My Lord, of the Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains, of the Algonkins and Nepissings. I thank you for the additional assistance that you have just obtained for them, and I shall see that its destination be not changed. I have the honor to transmit to you the Plan I have caused to be prepared of the present condition of the works constructed for the establishment of the village of these last, whereby you will easily distinguish what is actually done, and what it would be necessary to complete, in order to place that Mission in a defensible state against all events. 'Tis certain, My Lord, that independent of the tokens of approbation due to the fidelity of the Indians composing it, the importance of this post deserves a particular attention, and entitles it to some outlay by his Majesty for its security, in consequence of the advantages to be expected from it, into some details of which I have considered it my duty to enter.

The Lake of the Two Mountains may be regarded as the place which would be exposed to the first attack in case of rupture with our neighbors, and as that whence aid could be easily drawn for the different incursions which would be made into that Colony. The Nations composing the three villages, number over 300 warriors, who to bravery conjoin a strong attachment towards the French and whatever is connected with the service of the King, in whose name all business among them is transacted. Situated as they are at the head of the towns and rural settlements of the Colony, not only are they in a position to offer the first resistance, but also to discover any parties of Indians in alliance with the English, and to put us on our guard against them. The solidity of the settlement would attract thither many other Indians, even of those who appear attached to the English; and my prejudices on this point are founded on the promise a Mohawk Chief has given to those of the Lake that he would come with twenty-nine of his family to settle among them. This is a matter which is secretly going on, and which the Missionary of the Lake communicated to me within a few

days. In fine, My Lord, all these objects combined, appear to me by their utility to merit consideration and some expense so as to put that place in the condition I have had the honor to represent to you, and which hinges principally on the necessity of fortifying it according to the plan I annex, the foundations of which are laid. I consequently beseech you to prevail on his Majesty to continue for some years the grant to that mission of 2000[ll] which will be employed as well for this object as to complete the works which remain to be constructed for the settlement of the Algonquin and Nepissing villages. It would be desirable, My Lord, that this sum were increased in the beginning, with a view to the application of more diligence in the execution of what is necessary. But I have not dared to propose it to you, and if the precautions, the adoption whereof you have been pleased to recommend to me for my protection against events, did not require me to seize every means to contribute thereunto, I should not have taken the liberty of supplicating you to engage his Majesty in this expense, the utility whereof, and the advantages to accrue therefrom, I flatter myself you will acknowledge.

The suspicions, My Lord, which you had conceived in regard to the migration of the Chaouanons ought, it seems, to disappear in consequence of the conduct they have observed. I annex the address of these Indians and my answers, which I have already had the honor to send you, from which you will perceive, My Lord, that they have accepted the propositions I made them to go and settle at the Prairie of the Maskoutins, and they have set out with that design. I have written to Sieur de Joncaire to let the Senecas know it beforehand, and to tell them that it is by my orders that the Chaouanons take up their fire to remove it to the place I have indicated to them. I have adopted this precaution in order that the Iroquois should not take any umbrage against the Chaouanons, who requested me, themselves in Council, to do so, in consequence of the apprehension they entertained of the former. I have, besides, enjoined on Sieur la Saussaye who went up this summer to where they were collected together, not to neglect any thing in regard to this migration, so that it may not be deferred any longer. I hope to have the honor to advise you, next year, that these Indians have performed the promises they have made, and I have not omitted to impress upon them how particular they ought to be to observe their words.

The expedition organized by the Iroquois of the Lake of the Two Mountains against the Flatheads, returned with one or two scalps of the latter, when the idea came into my head to propose the matter to them. I expected, indeed, that it would not meet with much success, as parties of this character confine their conquests ordinarily to very trifling affairs, but I considered that the best means of breaking up the negotiations of the Flatheads with the Chaouanons and the Iroquois, was to have these harassed by the very Nations with whom they were expecting to be able to treat for peace. Sieur de Joncaire writes me that the Senecas have raised different parties against them; that some had returned with scalps and that others had again immediately set forth in quest of more. He adds that these Indians are more excited than ever in this war, and that he observes them disposed not to accept any proposals of peace the Flatheads might offer them. I recommend this officer to keep them in these sentiments, and I will encourage them therein more and more in the course of the visit they are about to make me next summer, having sent me word that they were unable to come down this year in consequence of their being occupied in fitting out different parties against the Flatheads.

I shall continue, My Lord, to cause a diversion to be made in that quarter against the Chicachas, until M. de Vaudreuil inform me of the necessity of putting a stop to them. I

have noticed that the expeditions organized by our Nations against those Indians did not appear to be very successful. But greater success can hardly be expected from these sorts of parties, so great is the fatigue these Indians have to endure in these expeditions, and so great the distance to be traveled before arriving at the field of operations; nothing is capable of discouraging them, but taking one or two scalps or the smallest prisoner satisfies them in an equal degree, and they return as victorious as if they had wholly destroyed the Nation they are about to attack. This is the mode of thinking among all Indians, which it is impossible to alter. However that may be, these sorts of diversions always have a good effect, for by harassing the hostile Nations, the obligation the latter are under to protect themselves, cripples them in the organization of parties at home independent of our Indians always destroying some of them. The Outaouas of Missilimakinac have fixed their residence at Arbre croche, and Sieur de Verchères advises me that they have made their clearances in the resolution not to quit that place. In regard to the Chief Pendalouan, his repentance up to this time appears sincere, and the conduct he observes, whereof I have received this spring only good accounts, will possibly induce me next year to restore him to his dignity, subject to his Majesty's pleasure, especially if I learn that he has persevered in his present sentiments.

I coincide with you, My Lord, that the conduct of the Senecas, Nontagués and Cayugas in regard to the English and us, may lead these Indians to adopt a neutral course in the event of war. I do my utmost to retain the good will of these Nations, and to do what is best in the circumstances, but I dare not flatter myself that they are as much in our interest as I would desire. A favorable occasion occurred last year to bring about a rupture between the English and Five Nations, and I seized it in order to push it to that result. A party of Onontagués going to war against the Chicachas, was attacked by the English settled in Carolina, who opposing the designs of the former, came to blows with their party, so that about 30 Onontagués remained on the field. In so favorable a circumstance I caused to be insinuated among the Five Nations what I thought of the conduct of the English towards them, and that they ought to see by the action just perpetrated, that I was fully justified in warning them to be distrustful of the English. On receiving intelligence of it from the Indians of the Sault S^{t} Louis on my arrival at Montreal, this spring, I made them the answer, copy whereof I have the honor to annex hereunto, with a view that they should communicate it to the Five Nations, and that the resentment the latter ought to feel at this affair would be thereby aggravated. Every thing appeared to me favorable to the end I proposed to myself had the Onontagués responded thereto, but far from meditating revenge, and accepting the proposals submitted to them by the Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas, to declare war against the English, Sieur de Joncaire observes to me that they have allowed themselves to be swayed by the presents and the messages the English brought to their village, copy whereof I also have the honor to annex hereunto, from the Original transmitted to me by Sieur de Joncaire; so that there is now no question of a movement either on their part nor on the part of the rest of their nation. It is very possible, however, that they dissemble their resentment for a season, and until they find occasion to take sides; but this is what I cannot fathom, and what it were desirable they would determine on. I likewise annex to this despatch the message brought to me by the two Onontagué Chiefs, on the 26th of July last, and my answer to them which they are to repeat te the Chiefs of the Five Nations.

I am truly mortified, My Lord, that you should remark with pain that the expenses for the Indians are increasing every year. I dare assure you, notwithstanding, that I sanction those

only which the service absolutely requires; the greater or less importance of the affairs that I have to transact with the different Nations cannot render this amount fixed, and augments or diminishes it according to circumstances. I am aware, My Lord, that these presents have been considerable last year, in consequence of those I have been obliged to make to the Sioux, Sacs and Foxes, an account whereof I had the honor to render you. The motives of their voyage, and the advantages to be expected from the promises they had made, required that I, on my part, should send them back contented, and this could not be accomplished except by such means. Although these Indians as well as others, have come down this summer in great numbers, these sorts of presents ought not amount to near as much as those of last year, if, as I must presume, other expenses are not included, and I beg you to be persuaded that, as far as I am concerned, they contain only what I cannot refuse to the good of the service.

I have had the honor to give you an account, My Lord, in my despatch of the 16th September, of the dispositions in which the Sioux, as well as the Sacs and Foxes, continue. And I have nothing to add thereunto.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Quebec, 13th of October, 1743.

Abstract of the despatch of Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart of the 10th October, 1743.

They report what Sieur de Celoron, formerly commandant at Detroit, had written in the month of June last to M. de Beauharnois respecting some Indians who have seated themselves of late years, at the White river.

These Indians are Senecas, Onondagas, and others of the Five Iroquois villages. They have earnestly asked that officer for some Frenchmen to supply their wants, under promise that if their request be granted, they would drive off the English from that quarter and have no dealings with them, whilst, if refused, they would be under the necessity of inviting them thither.

Sieur de Celoron, who thought it worthy of attention, has permitted some residents of Detroit to carry goods thither, in exchange for which they returned with about 200 packs of peltries, of which the English would, no doubt, have had the benefit. And to assure himself of the importance of this new Establishment, and to be able to give some account of it, he has sent Sieur Navarre, who has drawn up a report thereupon, copy whereof they have annexed to their despatch.

By this report it will be seen that those different tribes may amount to about 600 men; that they seem to feel a sincere desire that the French should go to trade with them, and that they are equally disposed to keep the English at a distance; that game is abundant in the place where these Indians are seated, but that they are in want of ammunition and merchandise,

some of which they would assuredly obtain from the English, should the French not carry any to them.

Mess^{rs} de Beauharnois and Hocquart observe that they cannot give any other guarantee for the correctness of this report than that furnished by Sieur de Celoron himself, who writes M. de Beauharnois that entire reliance can be placed in this particular on the probity and disinterestedness of Sieur Navarre; but until the receipt of fuller confirmation of what is stated therein, M. de Beauharnois has ordered Chev^{er} de Longueuil to send to these Indians one or two canoe-loads of goods from each of which he will derive as much as 400^{ll} profit for the King, and that with a view to ascertain, whilst awaiting My Lord's orders, whether the trade ought to be prosecuted or abandoned.

They are, moreover, of opinion that as it is useless to flatter ourselves with the idea of breaking up that settlement composed of different nations, or of obliging them to return each to their respective tribes, it would be well to profit by the advantages it presents, especially to deprive the English of them, or at least to lessen those they can derive therefrom. They will furnish further information next year on this head, after they will have received Chevalier de Longueuil's report.

January, 1744.

Canada.

M. de Beauharnois has been informed that the English are engaged in fortifying the post of Chouaghen on Lake Ontario, and that they are about building on that Lake two sloops, the equipment whereof would render them masters of the navigation; and on the report he made last year of this news, he was ordered to oppose these undertakings, and to make use for that purpose of the Indians until further orders.

But by the last despatches from this governor, information is received that the emissaries he had sent out in order to be informed of what would be passing, have reported to him, that there was no question as yet of any preparations for the building of the two barks; that the garrison of Fort Chouaghen had not been increased, and that there had been no other augmentation at that post than the erection of two private houses outside the fort.

Independent of the serious prejudice that this fort causes to the trade of Canada, it also places the English in a position to form connections with the most of the Indian Nations, always fraught with danger. Its destruction will be easy, and the Canadians will undertake it the more readily as they are perfectly sensible of its necessity. They will be seconded therein by all the domiciliated Indians, and particularly by the Algonkins and Nepissings, who have hitherto regarded it as an essential point of their conduct, not to frequent that post.

4th March, 1744.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I had the honor to report to you in detail, by a despatch, some news I have received this winter from Fort S[t] Frederic, the particulars of my journey to Montreal on the ice, and of the measures I have taken, as well as those I shall adopt, to oppose the project to which the news relates. The uncertainty of opportunities for conveying them to you, considering the circumstances we may be placed in with respect to the English, has induced me to adopt the course of annexing to this despatch the proces-verbal prepared by Sieur Beaubassin in the voyage he made to Fort Anne with Sieur Boishebert, which will enable you to judge, *My Lord*, of the motive of my journey, and whereupon I have *taken the liberty* to communicate to you some measures I shall adopt in case *the* project it mentions be carried out. *I* shall *not* recapitulate *them* here for the reason I have just had the honor to explain. I merely beg you, *My Lord*, to be pleased to rely on my applying *all my* care to thwart our neighbors' designs, and that I will not omit any of the rules his Majesty has been *pleased* to prescribe to me in 1732 and 1733, in regard to the settlements they might make on lands belonging to the King's dominion.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and most
Obedient servant,

Montreal, 15[th] of April, 1744. (Signed) BEAUHARNOIS.

NOTE. Written in cypher, except the words in Italics.

Copy of Sieur de Beaubassin's Procès-verbal.

Having been detached, on the 20[th] of February, in the year One thousand seven hundred and forty, by Captain Fouville, commandant of Fort S[t] Frederic, to accompany M. de Boishebert to Fort Anne, whither he was sent by order of M. Fouville for the purpose of examining, as usual, the movements of the English, and whether they did not intend commencing some establishments at that place or in its neighborhood, on the territory belonging to the King, or to ascertain by means of the Indians whether the English had not some such object in view; and being at said place, we did not discover any establishment begun either at said Fort Anne or *any where else*. The Indians for whom I acted as interpreter, told M. de Boishebert *only* that the English intended to settle on Wood creek *(à la rivière du Chicot)* next spring, and to erect at the Little falls two mills, *whereof* one is to be a grist, and the other a saw mill; and they being ignorant of what we were desirous of discovering, and M. de Boishebert *wishing* to obtain, if possible, other than Indian information, we visited what is called Lidius settlement,[1] which *was no more* than two leagues or thereabouts from the place where we reached the height of land; and being at the Great Carrying place,[2] we met two Englishmen who had hoes *which they used* to turn up the soil, *and who* were examining *the* timber, *and as* one of these spoke Mohegan,[3] I inquired of him what they were doing at that place, and what *was their* design; he answered me that they were *simply* taking a walk, and were coming to see *the* land, *and* they set out with us for Lidius, where we slept, without any thing being mentioned.

[1] Fort Edward. [2] now, Dunham's basin. [3] la langue des Sauvages loups. *Text.* — ED.

And *these two* Englishmen *being* departed next day, Lidius, *in reply to* the questions we asked him, on occasion of meeting these two Englishmen and *what* we saw them doing, confirmed *what the* Indians had told us, that the English were assuredly to erect *in the* spring *the two* mills in *question and* an establishment on Wood creek for the purpose of locating *the* Scotchmen there, *inasmuch* as they did *not* fear *the* Indians *like the other* people who were coming from Europe. Whereupon we came to make a report of our mission to M. de Fouville, and I have exclusively drawn up these presents which I have placed in his hands.

Done at Fort S^{t} Frederic, this 2nd of March, 1744.

(Signed) BEAUBASSIN.

NOTE. Written in cypher, except the words in Italics.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I have just this moment received a letter from Sieur de Joncaire, who is at the Seneca Village, whereunto he annexes the message of the English sent to each of the villages of the Five Iroquois Nations, copy whereof I have the honor to address you. *I know not, My Lord, what could have given rise to its contents, and from what quarter* Menade could have received any assaults. *I see so little probability in it that I would be inclined to suspect* this message is rather a ruse to keep people's minds in suspense, than a reality, *unless* a party of Onontagués to the number of 70, in union with the Indians of the Saut and the Mohawks of the Lake of the Two Mountains, have wreaked vengeance for the blow the former received from the English of Carolina. *I shall have an opportunity to unravel this during my sojourn here, and shall have the honor to make a report to you thereupon, as well as respecting the other circumstances in connection with it.* This one thing is certain, according to what Sieur de Joncaire has written to me, that one Indian from each Nation, except the Senecas, has remained at Choüeguen since the close of December, and *that they were* to remain there until spring.

I am with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and most
Obedient servant,

Montreal, 20th of April, 1744. (Signed) BEAUHARNOIS.

NOTE. Written in cypher, except the words in Italics.

Message of the English to the Five Iroquois Nations, sent with four Strings of Wampum, 26th December, 1743.

Brethren. I give you notice that Menade has been attacked, and that so many men have been killed on both sides, that nothing but blood is to be seen all around. I know not as yet what nation is attacking us; therefore, Brethren, make haste and send one man from each village to Choüeghen for the defence of the fort there, and you will go on the scout as far as Fort

Frontenac. If you perceive any movement you will come and advise me at once, and I shall immediately set out with my troops to repair with you to our fort, and we will defend it.

When I shall learn who has attacked us, I will let you know by a courier whom I shall send to you.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I had communication by the despatch you did me the honor to write to me on the 30th of April last, of what you were pleased to observe to me respecting the King's intentions in regard to the existing rupture with England, and I have the honor to answer it in detail, as well as to render you an account of the measures I have adopted and will hereafter take, for the purpose of responding to his Majesty's views and to his expectations from my zeal in the different operations I shall have to pursue in this Colony.

The first point, which has reference to the attempt the English might make on Canada by sea, is not, in my opinion, My Lord, devoid of some apprehension, especially were the contrary to be inferred from the difficulties they had to surmount on the two different demonstrations they already made. In fact, My Lord, the weakness of the first fleet that arrived here in 1690, at a season which did not admit of their continuing a long siege, as well as the accident that occurred to the last in 1711 at Egg Island, *(Ile aux Œufs,)* are two obstacles both of which can be surmounted by greater foresight, and the hope of better success. As for the expenses they will incur, I admit, My Lord, that they cannot but be very considerable, and that the occupations of the English elsewhere might not permit them at present to achieve the conquest of this Colony; but in regard to the object contemplated, 'tis not to be doubted that it excites their jealousy to a great degree, and that they will take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize upon it at all imaginable points. It is in that probability, as I have just had the honor to observe, that, whilst conforming carefully to his Majesty's intentions in providing for operations which, were the enemy at hand, there would not be leisure to attend to, I have commenced to put in order all my batteries as well on the ramparts as on the platforms of the Lower town and wharves along the shore, where one has been erected to defend the landing on that side. From the mills near the Palace to the woods of the General Hospital a palisaded intrenchment consisting of a ditch fifteen feet wide and six feet deep has been constructed to prevent the passage of the Little River St Charles at that point, and Sieur de Léry has sent me the annexed plan, whereon you will see, My Lord, the stockade work which I shall have commenced this spring. I do not, however, consider it capable of resisting a large force; but in the present situation of this place, and in the spirit of economy you are pleased to recommend, it is an intrenchment capable of procuring us some advantages over the enemy before he succeed in forcing it, and the least that can be done for the defence of this town; for there are other means of securing it, which I would have the honor to propose to you, were it his Majesty's intention to consider the expenses they would occasion.

The case is the same in respect to the incursions the English might make into the Colony overland. It is impossible to expect that Forts St Frederic, Chambly, and the fortifications

of Montreal could completely stop or prevent them. 'Tis certain that should they lay siege to these places, they would before capturing them, experience resistance and even some difficulties; but these would not arrest any expeditions they might send across the country to ravage and lay waste the settlements on the south side of the government of Montreal, which could only oppose some militia to them. As a matter of anticipation, I have directed not only the restoration of the old forts in all the settlements, but even the construction of new ones in those recently formed, and where such were necessary; and these forts are now in a condition to receive the inhabitants of each parish, and to defend themselves as well against the attacks of the English as against any Indians that might accompany them.

I have, moreover, reinforced the garrison of Fort S^{t} Frederic, which is composed of seventy-two soldiers and cadets and nine Officers, and have had munitions of war, provisions and artillery, a return whereof I had the honor to send you, supplied to this fort as abundantly as I was able, considering the amount of our supplies and the actual condition of the Colony in regard to provisions.

As for Fort Chambly, you know, My Lord, what the garrison consists of, and that its guns have been taken to furnish Fort S^{t} Frederic. 'Tis true that, in case of need, an increased force could be thrown into it, and even the farmers of the place might retire thither to defend themselves; but independent of its strength being greatly impaired by the want of cannon, neither it nor Fort S^{t} Frederic could offer any opposition to whatever attempts the English might make by land.

I have sent Sieur de Celoron to command the post of Niagara, and have added thirty men to its garrison, so that this consists at present of sixty-four soldiers and six officers; our small supply of cannon did not allow of my removing any that are permanently fixed, to increase the few already at Niagara, which consist of only five peteraros and four two pounders. Sieur de Léry went up there this summer with Sieur Lamorandière, to cause the old stockades of the enceinte to be repaired and doubled, in order to put that place in a better state of defence; and I expect this and the works he has ordered for the preservation of the fort and the house, to be completed by the end of autumn.

In regard to the fortifications of Montreal, they are in the best possible state as far as they go. I have had the platforms constructed that were wanting at the flanks; and on the brow *(butte)* of the hill which serves as a cavalier a barbet-battery has been erected, on which thirty pieces of cannon can be planted, for the defence of the approaches on the land and river sides, and by the high road from Quebec. The main point is to furnish these platforms and this battery with cannon; the town has only thirty-eight guns, including those already there and those I had transported from here, some of which were purchased from vessels that have been condemned, and are of a small calibre. I have had five @ six thousand balls ordered at the furnaces to supply any deficiency, and according to the specimen furnished, they appear to be of a suitable quality.

Such, My Lord, is the condition of the places and forts I have just had the honor of enumerating to you, and the precautions my means have permitted me to adopt for their safety, and which I shall second with all the foresight and strength I shall be able to make use of, according as circumstances will demand; but in regard to my views respecting offensive operations against the English, I have the honor to report to you, My Lord, what I had already undertaken before the receipt of your letter; what I propose to do next spring, and the difficulties which oppose the execution of the Choüéghen project.

On receiving intelligence this spring of the different settlements and magazines the English have formed on the Beautiful river, I issued my orders and sent Belts to the Detroit nations to drive them thence by force of arms and to plunder the stores they have there; I gave like orders to the Commandant among the Ouiatanons, and the Miamis. Therefore, according to what the Outagaes and Poutouatamis of Detroit have promised me this summer at Montreal, and what the Commandants of the other posts have written to me respecting the dispositions of the Indians, I have reason to presume that these will act against the English settled on the Beautiful river, and also against the other settlements the latter may possibly form in that vicinity, and which the former will not suffer, as, independent of the war that I have had chanted in all the villages, they have accepted the Belts presented on that occasion.

In regard to the posts on Hudson's bay and those they have established on this side, in the direction of Temiscaming, and which his Majesty has been pleased to recommend me to endeavor to neutralize, or to utterly destroy if possible; I have accordingly instructed Sieur Guillet who farms the post of Temiscaming, and has gained the good opinion and confidence of all the nations thereabouts, to prevail on them to assemble together in the course of this winter in order to fall, at the opening of the spring, as well on Fort Rupert as on the other posts in the direction of Hudson's bay; I have, in like manner on receiving news of the war, sent orders to Missilimakinac, to be transmitted to Alepimigon and the other posts in that neighborhood, so that they may all coöperate in the destruction of the English establishments at the North, and among the rest, of that newly built about twenty leagues above Michipicoton,[1] by a Canadian refugee, who has conducted thither seven or eight Englishmen who trade there; and I have ordered not only the forcible destruction of that establishment, but also that the Canadian be killed, if it be impossible to seize him. I have also given Sieur Guillet notice, that I should, at the very opening of spring, dispatch a party of Frenchmen and Indians, under the command of an Officer and some others, so as to make a simultaneous attack on those posts. Sieur Guillet is to warn those Indians of this expedition, in order that they may hold themselves in readiness to join it, and in fact I calculate on sending it thither as soon as the season will permit, and I beg you, My Lord, to assure his Majesty that I will not neglect any thing to utterly destroy, if possible, the English establishments in that quarter, as well as all those the difficulties whereof I shall be able to surmount.

On the receipt of the declaration of war addressed to me by M^r^ Du Quesnel, the post of Chouéghen was the first object of the views I entertained against the English establishments, and I should have attempted its capture, had I been able to overcome the difficulties that presented themselves. The first, which relates to the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Colony, was, of itself, sufficiently grave to be an obstacle to this expedition, but the certainty I had of the sentiments of the Iroquois of the Five Nations, and which they explained when that post was established, was a much more serious impediment to such an undertaking, unless assured of their dispositions, so as to avoid, on our part, any ground for a rupture with them. In my despatch of the 30^th^ of June last, I had the honor to give you an account of this matter, and of the pretext I employed to fathom their opinions, in the voyage I caused Sieur de Lachauvignerie to make to these nations in the course of this summer, accompanied by twelve trustworthy Indians of the Saut S^t^ Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains. And from the report of the conferences he held with the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, they appeared to me to persist in their usual sentiments, that the traps at Chouéghen and at Niagara should remain

[1] A river and harbor on the Northeast of Lake Superior. — Ed

undisturbed (this is the expression they used), and that they will, moreover, remain neuter in our differences with the English. The Senecas, who came down last August, made use of the same language to me, though I did my best to change them; they only promised me that they would look on whilst we were at work, but the traps especially must not be upset. Under these circumstances, My Lord, I feel it would not be prudent to commence with operations against Chouéghen, especially when, to the dangerous consequences that would result from such a proceeding, I add the inevitable loss of the post of Niagara; the English would not fail to attempt the seizure of the latter, whether the conquest of Chouéghen were achieved or attempted, and you know, My Lord, that it is far from being in a condition to resist the force the English can dispatch against it, and which the Five Nations would not fail to second, in case of an expedition against Chouéghen. If it has appeared of importance to his Majesty that this should be executed, without occasioning any movements among the Iroquois, the preservation of Fort Niagara, which is the passage to all our Lake posts, deserves, at least, as much consideration, and it is, My Lord, in such conjunctures which, moreover, it is impossible for me to remedy, that I have considered it my duty to make no attempt against this place until circumstances become more favorable. The English, on their part, according to the report of the Indians to me, promised to undertake nothing unless constrained thereunto, nor unless a commencement be made at this side; but whether their sentiments be sincere or simulated, would not in the least impede me, could I surmount the obstacles I have just had the honor of laying before you, and which appear to me sufficiently serious to deserve particular attention, especially the preservation of the post of Niagara. The Five Nations, who are impelled by one and the same interest, would doubtless most certainly oppose any attempt on the part of the English against Niagara, just as they would resist any effort on our part against Chouéghen; on the other hand, the Iroquois would have nothing to reproach us with, were the English the first to move against Niagara; under such circumstances I would be always in time to attempt the capture of Chouéghen, wherein I would experience less opposition, and which I would not fail immediately to attack.

The obstacles I now have the honor to enumerate as opposing the views his Majesty entertained against Chouéguen, and which had, in like manner, prevented my designs against the English posts, will in no wise arrest the expeditions I propose sending in the course of the winter into New England, to be composed of young Canadians and our domiciliated Indians under the command of Officers whom I shall consider the best qualified to make some progress in these descriptions of forays, and the best suited to them. 'Tis true that the conquests to be made in those parts, must, as in times past, be inconsiderable, and untenable; but our rupture with the English obliges me to profit by the most trifling advantages. I beg of you, My Lord, to assure his Majesty that I shall not neglect any of those that will offer, and that I will act offensively on occasions from which none but the ordinary events of war will possibly follow; the destruction of the posts towards Hudson's bay, as well as those commenced on the Beautiful river, which I have had the honor to mention to you, will also form the object of my operations and earliest movements,—that against Hudson's bay at the opening of the spring—for as respects the settlements on the Beautiful river, I expect they will be the subject of the operations of the Detroit Indians, the Miamis and Ouitanons this winter for which purpose I have sent them Belts; these they have accepted, and have promised me, and made me promise, not to suffer any Englishmen in that quarter.

The conquest of Acadia which his Majesty would desire to be able to accomplish, has been, in consequence of its importance, also one of the principal subjects of my views. Mr Du Quesnel has, in the course of the summer, imparted to me his views and the measures he contemplated taking, to insure success, and which he must, My Lord, have reported to you. The Indians of Panasamské and Narantsouak being at the time here, I engaged them to unite with the forces Mr Du Quesnel was to employ on that expedition, and I have, according to custom, presented them Belts and hatchets which they have accepted; he writes me on the 3rd of last month that the Indians had already made some incursion on the Port Royal countries; this induces me to think that they have kept their promise to remain attached to, and to espouse the cause of the French on the present occasion. I would have wished that the situation of the Colony previous to the arrival of the flour, might have enabled me to send Mr Du Quesnel the other assistance he required of me for that expedition; but we were unable to attempt any thing in consequence of the extreme scarcity of provisions to which we were reduced this year. This Commandant writes me that he has designed *l'Ardent* and *le Caribou* to attempt the capture of Port Royal, observing the proper precautions at the same time, so as not to risk too much as he is not very certain of success. He informs me that he is about to withdraw Sieur Duvivier and the troops in that quarter in order to bring them back to Louisbourg. This circumstance has induced me to defer sending him by *la Gironde* whatever reinforcement of Canadians might have been at my disposal to coöperate with him in his expedition. I was led to adopt this course on reflecting that the withdrawal of his forces from that quarter would render those I should send him not only useless, but even an incumbrance on account of the scarcity of provisions from which, as he tells me, he is suffering. Mr Hocquart and I are, however, doing all in our power to procure him the largest supply of provisions possible, notwithstanding the opposition that exists thereto in consequence of the loss experienced in thrashing out the grain at this season of the year, not to mention the fact that the farmers are quite busy with their usual fall ploughing. I have prevailed, likewise, on the Becancourt and St Francis Indians to organize a party, without weakening their Villages too much, to coöperate with those at Panawamské, and Narantswouak in their intended incursions on Acadia; I expect them to start immediately, and as regards Mr Du Quesnel's views in favor of this expedition, I write him to communicate them to me this winter overland; or by sea should he find an opportunity this fall; and according to the arrangements he will have made, the progress of the King's ships destined thither, the situation of the English of Acadia, and the measures he will judge proper to adopt, I will furnish him whatever number of men I shall be able to detach from this place, to increase his forces and second him in this enterprise; but I observe to him, that it will be only in case he will absolutely require them, as I am interested in retaining for the entire continent the few militia that are here, of the strength of which you will judge by the general census I have had taken, and annex hereunto. You will remark that one-third of these militia are without arms and that it is out of our power to remedy the deficiency notwithstanding His Majesty's gracious permission to Mr Hocquart to purchase some for the supply of these men, as it is certain, from the search I have had made, that there are none in the hands of the merchants of the town who, in consequence of the small importation this year, cannot supply the trade of the Upper countries.

To the advantages we are endeavoring to procure for Mr Du Quesnel, I shall add, that we calculate on putting on board *la Gironde* several seamen who are here in the ships that have

been condemned or are unemployed, and I will prevail on as many young men of the country as possible to proceed to Louisburg in this ship, by allowing them subsistence only, so that Mr Du Quesnel may employ them, should he determine on any expedition this winter, or in any forays he will have occasion to make next spring.

This, My Lord, is the report I am able to render you of what it is in my power to do at present and of my views in case of war, attention being had to the situation of this Colony. More favorable opportunities may occur which I shall not neglect, and as these will depend on different circumstances which may eventually arise, I beg you to be persuaded that I shall profit as much as possible by every advantage.

In regard to the two points his Majesty has been pleased to recommend to me, which are of such great importance to the defence of the Colony, and which relate to the government of the Indians and my selection of commanders of Posts, or of those to whom I shall furnish special commissions for different negotiations with the Indians; the first has always constituted the principal subject of my obligations in this Colony, and independent of the justice which, I flatter myself, My Lord, you will be pleased to render me on this occasion, I beg you to be persuaded that it will become more particularly my care in our present circumstances, and that I will spare no pains, not only to maintain the Indians in our interests, but also, to derive from them all the advantages that can possibly be expected. The dispositions in which I found them when war was declared, flatter me with favorable prejudices in their regard, and with the hope that they will afford evidence of their attachment to the French on such occasions as I shall employ them. As regards the Nations the English might employ to make some incursions on our Tribes, the Mohegans *(Loups)*, who are their allies, came this summer to the number of twenty-five to ask my permission to visit their brethren of St Francis and Becancourt, for the purpose of renewing their ancient covenant, and keeping the path open for reciprocal intercourse, as they were not disposed to remain under the dominion of the English, and if I would give them land, that they would unite with their Brethren so as to enrol themselves among the number of my Children. I accorded them the permission they requested to visit the St Francis and Becancourt villages, observing on my part the proper precautions. Their interview took place in presence of the Missionaries. No suspicion was manifested adverse to the motive which made them desire to make this journey; but as to their other requests, I merely said: I consent to the path remaining open if they deserved it by their conduct, and that the favor they were asking of me, to place them on my lands would depend entirely on their future behavior. They returned content with my answers, and have assured me that I should be so with them. I am informed, for certain, that four villages of this Nation had retired to the Senecas, though I know not wherefore; they appear to me, nevertheless, unable to reflect except on the scheme they communicated to me, of wishing to quit the English dominion; but as the Senecas have urged me particularly to permit Sieur de Joncaire who had come down this summer from their village, to return to winter with them, according to the message I annex hereunto, I shall have the means of ascertaining the behavior as well of the Mohegans *(Loups)* as of the Five Nations among whom the presence of Sieur de Joncaire, whom they regard as their child, could not, in my opinion, but be highly necessary.

After having requested you, My Lord, to please to be persuaded of my entire attention to the government of the Indians, and to the details into which I have the honor to submit to you, I dare flatter myself that you will condescend to be satisfied with the care I continue to

pay to the selection of the commandants of the Posts, and of those to whom I shall intrust the superintendence of Indian negotiations or of the different parties I shall send out. I have remarked, since my residence in this Colony, that all do not possess suitable qualities in the same degree, and this will cause me to apply, in the present conjuncture, a most particular attention to the choice I shall make of the officers for the one, and the other, service. I have never denied that the influence of the Missionaries over the minds of the Indians among whom they reside, could greatly contribute to the advantages to be expected from them; and if respect and marks of confidence are capable of exciting their zeal for his Majesty's service in this portion of their obligations in this Colony, I think, My Lord, I have left them nothing to desire up to the present time in that regard.

I am, with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and most obedient servant,

Signed: BEAUHARNOIS.

8th October, 1744.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit to you annexed, some intelligence that I have just received from Mr de Beaucours to whom the Indians communicated it. If true, its contents are no more than what I am well satisfied of, as well on account of the precautions the English are taking to remain on the defensive on this side, as of the opinion entertained by the Iroquois of the Five Nations in regard to the post of Choueghen. It tends, besides, to confirm but too strongly the reasons I had the honor to submit to you in my despatch of the 8th of this month as to the opposition to be expected from them in the projected attack on that post. I feel more strongly the necessity that existed for my sending back Sieur de Joncaire to the Senecas, both for the purpose of tranquilizing the minds of the Five Nations as well as to restrain them, and to be informed by him of what was doing in these Cantons. And as to the threats the English make use of against him, I advised him beforehand to secure himself against their effects by passing along the North shore of Lake Ontario.

I am with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Quebec, 29th October, 1744.

Intelligence communicated to M. de Beaucours by Tecanancoassin, Chief of the Indians of the Sault St Louis, on his return to Montreal from Orange. 19th of October, 1744.

He reports that the town of Orange is inclosed with stockades, eight feet high.

That the town and country people are drilled with the musket on the shoulder and the hatchet in hand.

That the English told him they were fitting out a fleet large enough to cover the entire sea, and that the few ships the King of France had, would not dare make their appearance lest they should be all captured.

That all sale of ammunition to the Indians settled in Canada has been prohibited in that town, as well as repairing their arms.

That there is at Sarastau[1] a garrisoned fort of the same size as that at La Prairie de la Madeleine, furnished with a building in each bastion for the accommodation of the inhabitants in case of necessity.

That each of the merchants of the town is in turn obliged to be on guard through the night.

That six Mohawks, three Dutchmen, and two Mohegans *(Loups)* came some twelve days ago to Fort S[t] Frederic, to see what was going on there; that he saw and spoke to two Englishmen and one *Loup* at the River au , who were there for that purpose.

That the Indians whose effects have been seized at Fort S[t] Frederic, told the English to distrust Tecanancoassin, and that he was a spy.

That the Five Nations were under arms; on the two Mohawks who had come to Sault S[t] Louis having been notified by Néraguindiac, Tagocariache and Acouiresheche, Indians of that place, to withdraw forthwith lest they may be made prisoners of war, as such was Onontio's pleasure, it led them to say, that they saw clearly their Father was angry with them, since he did not send back their son Joncaire, as that alone could tranquilize them.

That there is at Choueghen, exclusive of the garrison, one hundred militia under the command of a Captain.

That a Mohawk squaw, his relative, had told him, should Nitachinon (that is Sieur de Joncaire) return to the Senecas, all will be changed, and we shall be satisfied.

That an Abenaki of Misiskoui had seen in the Grand Marais[2] of the Little falls, three River Indians who had been sent from Orange to examine whether any persons were hunting, as should he not discover any, it would be a proof that all the Nations would be under arms to wage war against them; that the Abenaki told them to go themselves and find those who were hunting, which induced them to return.

He says that he also had seen these three scouts, and assures that he is ready to go wherever he will be sent, and to strike a blow, with his hatchet only in his hand, as he has no gun.

That he requests Father Onontio to remember him, and to be persuaded that he hath seen all he has just related.

Intelligence communicated to M[r] de Beaucours by Neraguindiac, a Chief belonging to the Sault St. Louis. 21 October, 1744.

That a canoe of the Sault S[t] Louis passing, on its return from Orange, through the Lake called Tiondiondoguin, was stopped by some Oneida Chiefs who prevailed on them to tarry for the purpose of learning the truth of the current rumors, viz[t]: that Lake Ontario, from the Isle aux Galots to the Count's river, was covered with Frenchmen and Indians on their way to besiege Choueghen.

[1] Saratoga.

[2] Now called the Twelve Mile Marsh, which extends from Whitehall north half way to Ticonderoga. *Fitch's Topography of Washington County*, N. Y. — Ed.

That if such be the case, the Five Nations are armed to defend themselves, having been told that it was designed to raze their villages.

That four Onontagués had come to Lake Ontario to warn Sieur de Joncaire not to pass by Choueghen except at night, as the English had issued orders to take him dead or alive.

That the Five Nations had been warned in twenty-four hours that an enemy was coming against them.

That three officers were stationed at Choueghen with orders to stand an assault, and not to surrender on pain of death.

That there are scouts along the lake, on the look out for the army that is expected.

M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.

My Lord,

I have just received letters from the Commandants of Detroit and Niagara of which I am enabled to give you an account in consequence of the return of *la Gironde* and the merchantmen which have been forced by contrary winds to put back. I have already had occasion to inform you of the dispositions of the Detroit Nations in regard to the declaration of war against the English, and that they had, in consequence, accepted the hatchet which I had caused to be tendered to them for the purpose of striking the English settled on the Beautiful river in the course of this winter, and that I had engaged the Miamis and the Ouiatanons to do likewise. Sieur de Longueüil writes me on the 1st of September, transmitting to me the message to and answer of the 4 Nations, copy whereof I annex. These Indians continue in the same sentiments, and he is even flattered by the ardor and zeal they evince on this occasion; on receiving intelligence of the arrival of several Englishmen at the White river, he immediately raised a party of thirty-five picked Outagais to plunder and kill them, or to fetch them prisoners to him, and set out on the 17th of September with every desirable demonstration of joy. This officer adds, that he is so much the more determined to urge on this party, as he is informed that the English were loaded with powder and ball, and resolved to annihilate the French Traders who were going to that quarter; that he has farmed out, as he informs me, seven places[1] for his Majesty's profit, pursuant to the orders I had sent him last year; that he has, also, sent messages to the Indians seated on this White river, whereof I had the honor to inform you last year, in answer to their request to him to send them back some Frenchmen, and that they would not suffer any Englishmen there; whereby he prevails on them, in like manner, to take up the hatchet and join their brethren of Detroit. I have no doubt, My Lord, but they will have determined on this course when they will see the Detroit Nations moving, and I have none either of their driving off the English in their neighborhood, by their incursions in the course of this winter there as well as on the Beautiful River, and against the Flatheads, whom they include in this war, and with whom it is to be expected the Hurons will not risk the entering into any negotiations for peace, even if, as they have been accused, they had felt disposed to do so of late years.

[1] *livres.* qu? lieux.

I expect to have the honor to report to you next year, My Lord, the progress of this party of Outaouas against the English on White River, whence they ought to have returned at the close of October; as well as of those which the Detroit Nations will send against the other places in the course of this winter. The principal point was to get them to move. That is now effected, and provided they experience some losses at the hands of the English, it will be more difficult to stop them, in case the circumstances of peace require us to do so, than to determine them to enter on this great war, the events of which they seem to have accepted with pleasure.

As for the Iroquois of the Five Nations, Sieur de Celoron, the Commandant at Niagara, writes me on the 20th of last month that one of the brothers of Sieur de Joncaire, whom he had sent to the Senecas to examine what was going on there, had returned within two days, and reports that the result of the Council which the Five Nations and the English held at Orange this summer has been, a refusal to take up the hatchet which the English presented them, to strike the French who should visit them, and particularly Sieurs Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; that the Iroquois invariably answered all their demands by saying, that they would not do any thing; that they did not wish to take any part in the present war against their Father, Onontio.

Sieur de Joncaire the younger has added, according to Sieur de Celoron's letter to me, that during his sojourn among the Senecas, two English messengers had arrived there with Belts, to demand a Chief of each nation to guard the house at Choueghen, who had received for answer that they might guard it themselves; and on the messengers reproaching them that plenty of them were at Niagara, the Senecas had replied to them, that this Chief was there to settle any difficulties that liquor might occasion among the Indians in the work they had to do at the Carrying place; but as for the rest, they did not wish to participate in their war with their Father.

The Senecas have likewise sent word to Sieur de Celoron, to assure me that, whatever proposals and advances the English may cause to be made to them, they will never declare in their favor; that they requested me to be at ease on that score, and when they would recover from the affliction caused by the death of two of their Chiefs, they should go to the Onontagués, to light up the Council fire, and prevail on that Nation to be as firm as they, in the resolution of neutrality they have adopted, provided always the Beaver traps at Choueghen and Niagara remain untouched; which are the words they used to me this summer at Montreal.

This, My Lord, is the news I have this day received, which appeared to me worthy to be reported to you. My expectations of the result are thereby encouraged, in consequence of the hopes I entertain of the seeming dispositions of the Detroit Indians and of the Iroquois of the Five Nations. Sieur de Joncaire, whom I have sent to the latter, has orders to maintain them therein as much as possible. This, under existing circumstances, is the most favorable thing that is to be desired.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,
BEAUHARNOIS.

Quebec, 7th November, 1744.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 492, line 3, *for* 1649, *read* 1690.
Page 878, line 14, *for* June, *read* January.
Page 1046, line 23, *for* 24, *read* 27.

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